

G. A. LOUD

The Latin Church in Norman Italy



THE LATIN CHURCH IN NORMAN ITALY

This is the first significant study of the incorporation of the Church in southern Italy into the mainstream of Latin Christianity during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Professor G. A. Loud examines the relationship between Norman rulers, south Italian churchmen and the external influence of the new 'papal monarchy'. He discusses the impact of the creation of the new kingdom of Sicily in 1130; the tensions that arose from the papal schism of that era; and the religious policy and patronage of the new monarchs. He also explores the internal structures of the Church, both secular and monastic, and the extent and process of Latinisation within the Graecophone areas of the mainland and on the island of Sicily, where at the time of the Norman conquest the majority of the population was Muslim. This is a major contribution to the political, religious and cultural history of the Central Middle Ages.

G. A. LOUD is Professor of Medieval Italian History at the University of Leeds. His previous books include *Church and Society in the Norman Principality of Capua, 1058–1197* (1985), *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily by 'Hugo Falcandus', 1154–69* (with Thomas Wiedemann; 1998) and *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (2000).

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Preface

This book has been in preparation for more years than I care to remember. My first duty is to thank successive editors at Cambridge University Press, Bill Davies and Simon Whitmore, for their almost superhuman restraint with an author who must have sorely tried their patience. I hope that they think the wait has been worthwhile. Secondly, I must thank the Leverhulme Trust, which paid for replacement teaching to allow me an entire year's study leave in 2005–6, during which almost all of this book was finally written. This is the second book of mine whose writing the Trust has facilitated: I am genuinely and deeply grateful for their generosity. I must also thank my colleagues, and especially Alan Murray, who ensured that my second-year pupils were in good hands during my absence, and Wendy Childs and Emilia Jamrosiak, who shouldered extra teaching and administration with exemplary grace.

The intellectual debts incurred have been many, only a few of which I can mention here. I am lucky to have access to the Brotherton Library at the University of Leeds, with its outstanding resources in medieval history. I am grateful to the former History librarian Neil Plummer, and the current incumbent Jane Saunders, for their stewardship, and for ordering so many recondite volumes for me and for my pupils. I have also benefited from the kindness of numerous colleagues in Italy, and also France and Germany, especially in sending me copies of books and articles that I might otherwise have missed, or which might have been unobtainable in Britain, and from which I have profited greatly. Foremost among these generous friends have been Edoardo D'Angelo, Vera von Falkenhausen, Hubert Houben and Jean-Marie Martin. I am grateful to Edoardo too for his hospitality in Naples on several occasions, and for taking me on a memorable visit to Montevergine (my first) on a cold and misty day in October 2005. The founder's biographer was not exaggerating about the bleakness of the site, but the conditions made it even more atmospheric. I have profited from a number of libraries and archives in Italy, but especially

from those of the abbey of S. Trinità at Cava dei Tirreni and the Museo del Sannio at Benevento. At the former I was greatly assisted first by the late Don Simeone Leone and then by Sign. Enzo Cioffe, at the latter especially by the (now retired) director Prof. Elio Galasso. My pupil Paul Oldfield, now of Manchester Metropolitan University, has been of tremendous help, both in finding copies of obscure primary sources and for many stimulating conversations about Norman Italy over the last four years. Bernard Hamilton has read this book in manuscript, as he did also its predecessor *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, and made many helpful suggestions, which I have done my best to follow. I have also benefited from the assistance of Horst Enzensberger, who advised me about the diplomas of King William II (his edition of which is eagerly awaited), Lindy Grant, who improved my jejune observations on Norman architectural influence, and Alex Metcalfe and Vera von Falkenhausen, both of whom read the last chapter, shared their expert knowledge of respectively Islamic Sicily and Byzantine Italy, and saved me from a number of egregious *faux pas*. Needless to say, none of them has any responsibility for any errors or misconceptions that remain.

John Cowdrey taught me more about being a historian than anyone else, and I have always benefited not just from his help (which has always been generous) but also from his example of careful scholarship, which I have tried to emulate. In addition, it would have been impossible to write this book without the work of three German historians of previous generations. Two of these, Paul Kehr (1860–1944) and his pupil Walter Holtzmann (1891–1963) died long ago. The third, Norbert Kamp (1927–99), I was fortunate enough to know – he was a nice man as well as a great scholar. Without their monumental labours, Kehr and Holtzmann in *Italia Pontificia* and Kamp on his mighty prosopography of the Staufener episcopate, I could not even have contemplated this study. All those who work on Norman Italy should cherish their memory.

The other incalculable debt is to my wife Kate; for her love and support over the last six years, for looking after me so well, for patiently tolerating the thousands of hours when I have been closeted in my study, deaf to the world outside, for helping me with the maps and index, and for responding so promptly with her superior computing skills to the cries of anguish when my laptop malfunctioned. This book is dedicated to her.

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Abbreviations

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| <i>Al. Tel.</i> | <i>Alexandri Telesini Abbatis Ystoria Rogerii Regis Siciliae atque Calabriae atque Apuliae</i> , ed. L. de Nava (commentary by D. R. Clementi (FSI, Rome 1991)) |
| <i>Amatus</i> | <i>Storia de' Normanni di Amato di Montecassino</i> , ed. Vincenzo de Bartholomeis (FSI, Rome 1935) |
| <i>BISIME</i> | <i>Bullettino dell'istituto storico italiano per il medio evo</i> |
| <i>Carte di Trani</i> | <i>Le carte che si conservano nell' archivio dello capitolo metropolitano di Trani</i> , ed. A. Prologo (Barletta 1877) |
| <i>Catalogus Baronum</i> | <i>Catalogus Baronum</i> , ed. E. M. Jamison (FSI, Rome 1972) |
| <i>Chron. Carpineto</i> | <i>Chronicon Liber Monasterii Sancti Bartholomei de Carpineto</i> , ed. B. Pio (FSI, Rome 2001) |
| <i>Chron. Cas.</i> | <i>Chronica Monasterii Casinensis</i> , ed. H. Hoffmann (MGH SS xxxiv, Hanover 1980) |
| <i>Chron. Casauriense</i> | <i>Chronicon Casauriense</i> , ed. L. A. Muratori (RIS ii(2), Milan 1726), 775–916 |
| <i>Chron. S. Sophiae</i> | <i>Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae (Cod. Vat. Lat. 4939)</i> , ed. J.-M. Martin (2 vols., FSI, Rome 2000) |
| <i>Chron. Vult.</i> | <i>Chronicon Vulturnense</i> , ed. V. Federici (3 vols., FSI, Rome 1925–38) |
| Clementi, 'Calendar of Henry VI' | D. R. Clementi, 'Calendar of the diplomas of the Hohenstaufen Emperor Henry VI concerning the kingdom of Sicily', <i>Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken</i> 35 (1955), 86–225 |
| <i>Cod. Dipl. Aversa</i> | <i>Codice diplomatico normanno di Aversa</i> , ed. A. Gallo (Naples 1927) |
| <i>Cod. Dipl. Barese</i> | <i>Codice diplomatico barese</i> (19 vols., Bari 1897–1950) |
| <i>Cod. Dipl. Brindisiano</i> | <i>Codice diplomatico brindisiano</i> , i. (492–1299), ed. Gennaro Maria Monti (Trani 1940) |
| <i>Cod. Dipl. Caiet.</i> | <i>Codex Diplomaticus Caietanus</i> (2 vols., Montecassino 1887–92) |
| <i>Cod. Dipl. Cavensis</i> | <i>Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis</i> , ed. M. Morcaldi <i>et al.</i> (8 vols., Milan 1876–93); vols. ix–x, ed. S. Leone and G. Vitolo (Cava dei Tirreni 1984–90) |

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| <i>Cod. Dipl. Tremiti</i> | <i>Codice diplomatico del monastero benedettino di S. Maria di Tremiti (1005–1237)</i> , ed. Armando Petrucci (3 vols., FSI, Rome 1960) |
| <i>Cod. Dipl. Verginiano</i> | <i>Codice diplomatico verginiano</i> , ed. P. M. Tropeano (13 vols., Montevergine 1977–2001) |
| <i>Constance Diplomata</i> | <i>Constantiae Imperatricis et Reginae Siciliae Diplomata (1195–1198)</i> , ed. T. Kölzer (<i>Codex Diplomaticus Regni siciliae</i> , Ser. II.1(2), Cologne 1983) |
| Cowdrey | H. E. J. Cowdrey, <i>The Register of Pope Gregory VII 1073–1085. An English Translation</i> (Oxford 2002) |
| Cusa, <i>Diplomi</i> | <i>I Diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia</i> , ed. S. Cusa (Palermo 1868–81) |
| <i>Documenti inediti</i> | <i>I Documenti inediti dell'epoca normanna in Sicilia</i> , ed. C. A. Garufi (Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia, Ser. I.18, Palermo 1899) |
| <i>Falcandus</i> | <i>La Historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie e la Epistola ad Petrum Panormitane Ecclesie Thesaurarium di Ugo Falcando</i> , ed. G. B. Siragusa (FSI, Rome 1897) |
| <i>Falco</i> | Falco of Benevento, <i>Chronicon Beneventanum</i> , ed. Edoardo d'Angelo (Florence 1998) |
| FSI | Fonti per la storia d'Italia |
| Gattula, <i>Accessiones</i> | E. Gattula, <i>Accessiones ad Historiam Abbatiae Casinensis</i> (Venice 1734) |
| Gattula, <i>Historia</i> | E. Gattula, <i>Historia Abbatiae Casinensis</i> (Venice 1733) |
| Gregory, <i>Reg.</i> | <i>Das Register Gregors VII.</i> , ed. E. Caspar (MGH <i>Epistolae Selectae</i> , ii, Berlin 1920–3) |
| <i>Italia Pontificia</i> | <i>Italia Pontificia</i> , ed. P. F. Kehr (10 vols., Berlin 1905–74; vol. ix, ed. W. Holtzmann, 1963; vol. x, ed. D. Girgensohn, 1974) |
| <i>Konstitution Friedrichs</i> | <i>Die Konstitution Friedrichs II. für das Königreich Sizilien</i> , ed. W. Stürner (MGH <i>Constitutiones et Acta Publica</i> , II Supplementum, Hanover 1996) |
| Loud, 'Calendar' | G. A. Loud, 'A calendar of the diplomas of the Norman Princes of Capua', <i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> 49 (1981), 99–143 |
| <i>Malaterra</i> | <i>De Rebus Gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis, auctore Gaufredo Malaterra</i> , ed. E. Pontieri (RIS, 2nd edn, Bologna 1927–8) |
| Mansi, <i>Concilia</i> | G. D. Mansi, <i>Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio</i> (31 vols., Venice 1759–98) |
| Ménager, 'Inventaire' | L.-R. Ménager, 'Inventaire des familles normandes et franques émigrés en Italie méridionale et en Sicile (XIe–XIIe siècles)', in <i>Roberto il Guiscardo e il suo tempo</i> (Relazioni e comunicazioni nelle Prime Giornate normanno-sveve, Bari, maggio 1973) (Rome 1975), 259–390 |

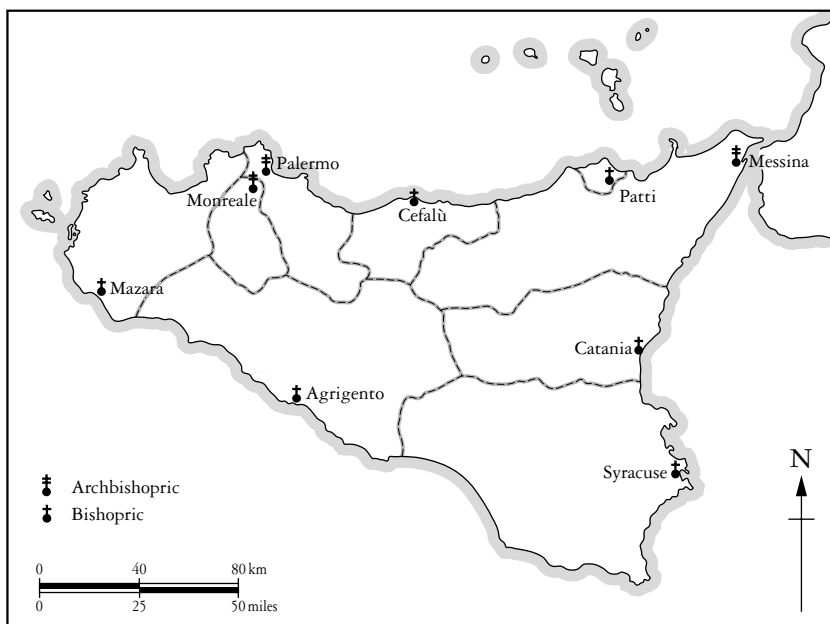
- Ménager, *Recueil* *Recueil des actes des ducs normands d'Italie (1046–1127), i, Les Premiers Ducs (1046–1087)*, ed. L.-R. Ménager (Bari 1981)
- MGH *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, following the usual conventions, e.g. SS = *Scriptores*; SRG = *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, etc.
- MPL J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 221 vols., Paris 1844–64.
- Necrologio del Cod. Cas. 47* *I Necrologi Cassinesi, i. Il Necrologio del Cod. Cassinese 47*, ed. M. Inguauez (FSI, Rome 1941)
- Necrologio di S. Matteo* *Necrologio del Liber Confratrum di S. Matteo di Salerno*, ed. C. A. Garufi (FSI, Rome 1922)
- Orderic* *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall (6 vols., Oxford 1968–80)
- Papsturkunden* P. F. Kehr, *Papsturkunden in Italien. Reiseberichte zur Italia Pontificia* (6 vols., Rome 1977)
- Pflugk-Hartung, *Acta* J. von Pflugk-Hartung, *Acta Pontificum Romanorum Inedita* (3 vols., Leipzig 1880–6)
- Pirro, *Sicilia Sacra* *Sicilia Sacra*, ed. R. Pirro (3rd edn, ed. A. Mongitore, 2 vols., Palermo 1733)
- QFIAB *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*
- Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.* *Regii Neapolitani Archivii Monumenta* (6 vols., Naples 1854–61)
- RIS *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*
- Roger II Diplomata* *Rogerii II Regis Diplomata Latina*, ed. C.-R. Brühl. (Codex Diplomaticus Regni Siciliae, Ser. I.2(1), Cologne 1987)
- Romuald* *Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon*, ed. C. A. Garufi (RIS, 2nd edn, Città di Castello 1935)
- Tancred Diplomata* *Tancredi et Willelmi III Regum Diplomata*, ed. H. Zielinski (Codex Diplomaticus Regni Siciliae, Ser. I.5, Cologne 1982)
- Trinchera, *Syllabus* *Syllabus Graecarum Membranarum*, ed Francesco Trinchera (Naples 1865)
- Tyrants* *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily by 'Hugo Falcandus' 1154–69*, trans. G. A. Loud and T. E. J. Wiedemann (Manchester 1998)
- Ughelli, *Italia Sacra* *Italia Sacra*, ed. F. Ughelli (2nd edn, by N. Colletti, 10 vols., Venice 1717–21)
- W. Apulia* *Guillaume de Pouille. La Geste de Robert Guiscard*, ed. M. Mathieu (Palermo 1961)
- William I Diplomata* *Guillelmi I Regis Diplomata*, ed. H. Enzensberger (Codex Diplomaticus Regni Siciliae, Ser. I.3, Cologne 1996)



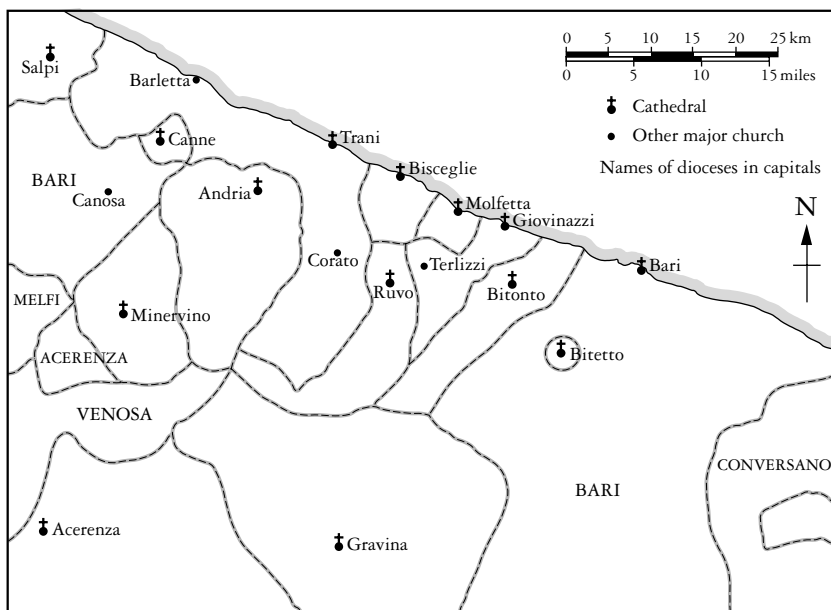
Map I Southern Italy: archbishoprics and principal bishoprics



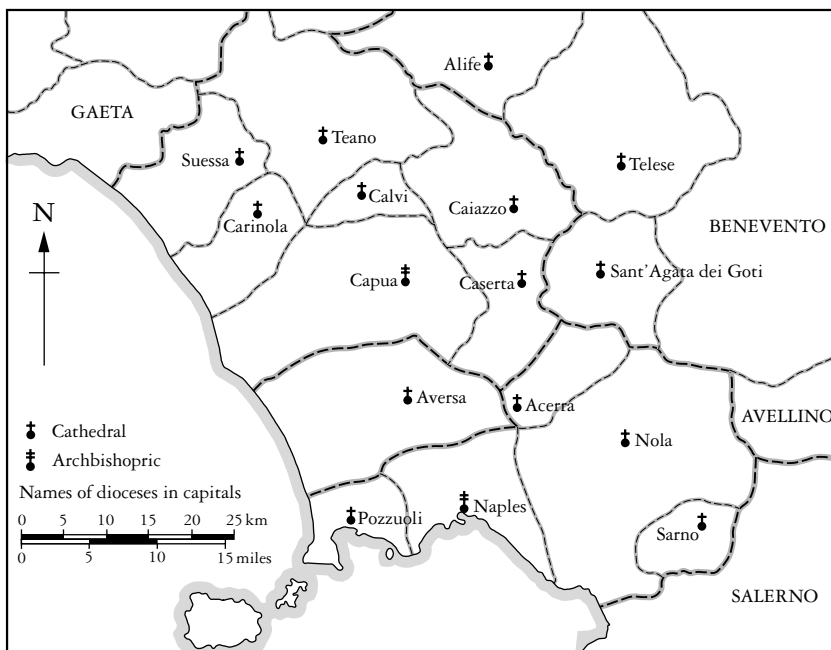
Map II Southern Italy: abbeys



Map III The dioceses of Sicily in the late twelfth century



Map IV The dioceses of the Terra di Bari



Map V The dioceses of the Terra di Lavoro

Introduction

The kingdom of Sicily was created by the coronation of its first ruler, the former Count Roger II of Sicily, in Palermo cathedral on Christmas Day 1130. The kingdom that was born then lasted, despite many vicissitudes, and even some lengthy periods of division, until the creation of modern Italy in 1860. The papal bull that sanctioned the creation of this new kingdom recorded that this was proper since God had granted Roger 'greater wisdom and power' than other princes, and in recognition of the loyal service to the papacy of his parents and himself.¹ The pope, Anacletus II, was obviously seeking justification for his action, and the reasons for such a grant were in fact considerably more complex, and will be discussed in a later part of this book (below, chapter 3). Yet as Roger's own contemporary biographer noted, without mentioning the papal role in the conferment of the new royal title at all, it was appropriate that one who 'ruled so many provinces, Sicily, Calabria and Apulia and other regions stretching almost to Rome, . . . ought to be distinguished by the honour of kingship'. After raising a spurious and unhistorical, if attractive, theory that Sicily had once, in ancient times, been a kingdom, he concluded:

now it was right and proper that the crown should be placed on Roger's head and that this kingdom should not only be restored but should be spread wide to include those other regions where he was now recognised as ruler.²

Alexander of Teleso undoubtedly had a strong case that the unification of southern Italy justified a new and superior status for its ruler. That unification had largely been accomplished by Count Roger during the previous three years, since the death of his childless cousin, Duke William of Apulia, the nominal ruler of much of the mainland part of southern Italy, in July 1127. This meant that the new Duke of Apulia (and

¹ J. Deér, *Das Papsttum und die süditalienischen Normannenstaaten 1053–1212* (Göttingen 1969), 62.

² *Al. Tel.* II.1–2, pp. 23–5.

subsequently king) ruled not just the island of Sicily but also the southern third of the Italian peninsula. Although this new royal status was far from popular, not least with the eastern (Byzantine) and western (German) emperors, both of whom had long-standing claims to rule over some or all of southern Italy, over the decade following his coronation, King Roger succeeded, albeit with some difficulty, in consolidating his rule throughout his mainland dominions. In 1140 he was even able to extend his kingdom northwards into the Abruzzi region, hitherto a debatable area, indeed a buffer zone, between the southern lands and the kingdom of (northern) Italy, ruled – albeit usually from afar – by the German emperors. From 1140 onwards it was clear that the kingdom of Sicily was there to stay as part of the political firmament of Latin Christendom.

However, the story was considerably more complicated than that. To begin with, the new kingdom was not simply an amalgam of various more local political units. These had themselves been created, or in the case of the principality of Capua, taken over, by the Norman conquest of the previous century. Over a period of almost ninety years groups of French warriors, many though by no means all from the duchy of Normandy, had settled in southern Italy, at first primarily as mercenary soldiers, and then bit by bit taken over almost the whole region. Only a few embattled, but well-fortified cities, notably Amalfi, Naples and Benevento, had managed to preserve their independence, and of these three only the last was ultimately, under papal rule, to resist King Roger's drive to consolidate his power. Roger himself was by paternal ancestry a Norman: his grandfather, Tancred de Hauteville, had been a minor landowner in the Cotentin peninsula in western Normandy, blessed with limited lands and a superfluity of sons, most of whom ended up in southern Italy.³ But the Normans, and their French allies, were never very numerous. Their conquest in the south was explicable as much in terms of the divisions among the native inhabitants and the availability of local allies as of their own strength and prowess; however much their own contemporary historians might exalt the virtues of their race. While many of the new aristocracy who emerged in the wake of the conquest were indeed Normans, there was never such a wide-ranging and complete takeover as there was in, for example, Norman England. In parts of the mainland, especially in the former 'Lombard' principalities, indigenous aristocratic families remained as part of the power structure, and new Norman lords often had Lombard vassals. Furthermore intermarriage rapidly diluted any sense of conqueror

³ *Malaterra*, I.4–5, p. 9, provides the most detailed account of Tancred's family.

and conquered.⁴ By the mid-twelfth century the word 'Norman' was rarely used in 'Norman' Italy. It had, in a very real sense, become redundant.⁵

What, however, made southern Italy so complex was not simply the presence of an (initially) alien ruling class, but the diversity of its existing population. Much of the region had at some time or other been under the rule of the Byzantine emperors of Constantinople, and when the Normans arrived in Italy significant parts – southern Apulia, much of Lucania and Calabria, and parts of the island of Sicily – were Graecophone, and following the rites of the eastern (Orthodox) part of the Church. This was not as significant a factor as it would become in later centuries – Latin and Greek were still parts of one and the same Church, and in southern Italy there was often close and friendly contact between Greek- and Latin-rite Christians, even if tensions were already growing between Rome and Constantinople. But there was a cultural, as well as linguistic, divide between Greeks and Latins, and in this respect southern Italy was very much on the frontier of Latin Christendom. That frontier was even more apparent on the island of Sicily, which the Normans, under the leadership of King Roger's father, Count Roger I (d. 1101), wrested from Muslim rule in a thirty-year struggle, between 1061 and 1091. For conquest did not mean conversion, and the majority of the population of the island remained Muslim for many years after 1091. Furthermore, most of the Christians on the island in the early years of Norman rule followed the Greek rite. Admittedly immigration and acculturation changed the demographic balance, and increasing numbers of Latin Christians settled in eastern Sicily. But much of the west of the island remained speaking Arabic, and following the teachings of Islam, until the early years of the thirteenth century. On the island Latin Christianity had to be introduced, and a Latin Church created from scratch. That was a long and difficult process. At Agrigento, which was the seat of one of the six Latin bishoprics founded by Count Roger I, the later thirteenth-century historian of the see recorded that: 'there were few Christians there before the death of King William II' (in 1189).⁶

Roger II was recorded by one contemporary as remembering his Norman origin and retaining a partiality for those who came from north

⁴ See especially, G. A. Loud, 'Continuity and change in Norman Italy: the Campania during the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Journal of Medieval History* 22 (1996), 323–32.

⁵ Not all historians of the region would agree with such a dogmatic statement, but for justification see G. A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard. Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (Harlow 2000), 278–89.

⁶ *Le più antiche carte dell'archivio capitolare di Agrigento (1092–1282)*, ed. P. Collura (Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia, Ser. I.25, Palermo 1960), 307.

of the Alps.⁷ Yet while there were instances of newcomers, especially (although not exclusively) from the Anglo-Norman world, being employed and favoured in the twelfth-century kingdom of Sicily, in fact what was more significant was the role of the native peoples in its government. Both of Roger's chief ministers, in his early years Cristodoulos, and then George of Antioch, after 1130, were Greeks. Many of the other administrators he and his successors employed, especially in their financial administration, were Arabic – albeit that conversion to, at least outward, Christianity was mandatory for such senior officials. The Latin element grew increasingly important as the twelfth century progressed, and in the reign of William II (king 1166–89) Latin bishops played, for the first time, a prominent role as royal ministers. But up until the fall of the Norman dynasty in 1194 its functionaries continued to be drawn from different cultural, linguistic and religious backgrounds. Furthermore, a degree of tolerance was extended to the practice, not just of Greek Christianity, but of Islam and Judaism too. Such tolerance was pragmatic rather than principled; a price that had to be paid for the stability of the state. But it was enough to appear unusual to those coming from the monocultural Christian world of northern Europe. If the kingdom of Sicily had therefore something of an exotic appearance to foreign contemporaries, this is not surprising.⁸

Nonetheless, if one fundamental theme might be identified in the history of southern Italy under the Norman rulers it would probably be the growing predominance of the Latin Church. An area that was religiously and culturally mixed in the early Middle Ages was by 1194 much more securely incorporated within Latin Christendom. Latin-rite Christianity had spread southwards into the Greek areas. Latin bishops had been installed in formerly Greek sees, Greek monasteries taken over by Latin ones, and sometimes converted to Latin, Benedictine, observance. A Latin Church had been created, and increasingly predominated, in Sicily. Certainly this process was slow, and far from complete by the end of the twelfth century; there were still Muslims in Sicily, and Greek Christians both there and on the mainland. Messina, for example, remained a primarily Greek city until well into the thirteenth century.⁹ Indeed, the Greek

⁷ *Falcandus*, 6 (translation, *Tyrants*, 58).

⁸ See most recently G. A. Loud, 'The kingdom of Sicily and the kingdom of England, 1066–1266', *History* 88 (2003), 540–67; and H. Houben, 'Religious toleration in the south Italian peninsula during the Norman and Staufen periods', in *The Society of Norman Italy*, ed. G. A. Loud and A. Metcalfe (Leiden 2002), 319–39.

⁹ V. von Falkenhausen, 'The Greek presence in Norman Sicily: the contribution of archival material in Greek', in *The Society of Norman Sicily*, 276, 282–3.

rite persisted in southern Calabria through to the end of the Middle Ages and beyond. The last Greek bishopric to survive in that region was not finally converted to the Latin observance until 1573. But the religious balance of power had changed irrevocably. *How* it changed is worthy of examination.

However, the development of the Latin Church in southern Italy involved far more than simply its expansion at the expense of its Greek counterpart, or the eventual conversion or displacement of the Muslims of Sicily. The Church itself changed greatly over the century and a half between the establishment of the Normans and takeover of the kingdom by the German emperor in 1194. In itself, this is not surprising. This was, after all, the great formative period of the medieval Church, when the diffuse, localised Church of the early Middle Ages became the centralised, increasingly monolithic Catholic Church of the Lateran Councils and the so-called 'papal monarchy'. Such developments inevitably affected the south Italian Church, not least because of its physical proximity to Rome and the papal court. Indeed, during this period the popes acquired their own enclave within southern Italy at Benevento, surrendered to Gregory VII by its last Lombard prince in 1073, which over the next century was to be a frequent residence and valuable bolt-hole for his successors. Furthermore, southern Italy was even more closely linked to the Curia because from 1059 onwards its Norman rulers acknowledged themselves to be papal vassals, holding their lands as fiefs from the pope. Innocent III in 1198 went so far as to claim that 'among all the various regions in which the Christian name is honoured it [the kingdom of Sicily] has remained almost always more active and devoted to the service of the Roman Church [than others]'.¹⁰

On the other hand, the significance of this relationship remains disputed. It might be argued – indeed it will be argued below – that the Norman rulers in 1059 sought merely to justify and to legitimise their usurpation of power through papal recognition, as indeed did Roger II in 1130, and that they served the popes loyally only when it was in their interests to do so, although to be fair it often was. Nor was their treatment of the Church in their own dominions always considered to be a model of Christian rulership. 'The king of Sicily', wrote the Englishman John of Salisbury in the 1160s, 'after the fashion of tyrants has reduced the Church in his kingdom to slavery.'¹¹ Such a view was extreme, and its validity

¹⁰ *Die Register Innocenz' III. 1 Pontifikatsjahr 1198/9*, ed. O. Hageneder and A. Haidacher (Graz/Cologne 1964), 616–18, no. 411.

¹¹ *The Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall (London 1956), 65.

requires examination. But there is at least some evidence to support it, not least in the powers claimed as a consequence of the rights over the churches under his rule conceded to Roger I by Pope Urban II in 1098, and later by the ecclesiastical concessions granted to King William I by John of Salisbury's friend Adrian IV at the treaty of Benevento in 1156 (see chapter 3 below). These claims were to prove controversial not just during the twelfth century, but for centuries thereafter, especially when they were revived by the Spanish government of the kingdom during the sixteenth century: to such an extent that no less a scholar than Cardinal Baronius was to maintain that Urban's alleged grant was in fact a forgery.¹² The 'Apostolic legation' of the Sicilian kings was only finally abolished in 1715. But we need to examine not just what powers and rights might in theory be granted or claimed, but how they were exercised, and what effect they had in practice upon the government of the Church. One needs therefore to study not just the relationship between the papacy and the rulers of southern Italy, important as that was, but also papal policy towards the churches of the Mezzogiorno.

Furthermore, the structure and organisation of the Latin Church in southern Italy underwent far-reaching changes in the century or so after 1050. In other peripheral, but long-Christianised areas of Europe, notably England and Germany, the diocesan structure changed little after c. 800.¹³ But in southern Italy new bishoprics, archbishoprics and provinces were created, existing provinces reorganised, and an ecclesiastical structure was established on the island of Sicily, and thereafter considerably reorganised. There was also a degree of internal reorganisation within dioceses, although this was more marked in some than others, and is not always easy to document. The papacy was inevitably closely concerned with changes to the diocesan structure, but it was not simply a matter of papal pressure or initiative, and also reflected the concerns of secular rulers, developments in the structure of settlement, and a legacy of administrative confusion from the pre-Norman era. Furthermore, we need to look at who bishops were, what they actually did (or did not do), at the clergy who staffed the cathedral chapters and local churches, and to what extent the Church provided a ministry for the population as a whole. Perhaps inevitably, this last aspect is the least satisfactory.

¹² A. D. Wright, "Medievalism" in Counter-Reformation Sicily', in *Church and Chronicle in the Middle Ages. Essays Presented to John Taylor*, ed. G. A. Loud and I. N. Wood (London 1991), 233–49.

¹³ C. N. L. Brooke, 'Rural ecclesiastical institutions in England: the search for their origins', in *Cristianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne nell'alto Medioevo: espansione e resistenze* (Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo 28, Spoleto 1982), 688–90.

In addition, the period after 1050 saw, as elsewhere in Christendom, a significant expansion of monasticism. However, there were important facets of this development that differed considerably from the expansion in other areas. South Italian monasticism came to be dominated by great Benedictine congregations, whose wealth and influence far outweighed those of the bishoprics of the secular Church, and whose patronage networks dominated particular regions. Furthermore, there was extensive colonisation of areas that had before the early eleventh century received little or no monastic settlement. This Benedictine predominance was maintained right through the twelfth century, while the influence of the so-called 'new religious orders' only began to be significant at the very end of the period. There were reforming impulses within south Italian monasticism not dissimilar to those in other parts of Christendom, and in particular the desire for solitude and the eremitic life. But in the Mezzogiorno these were for the most part soon domesticated within a more conventional observance. A study of Latin monasticism needs to examine both those houses such as Montecassino that were already long-established when the Normans arrived, and more recent creations, including those founded by ascetic reformers such as William of Vercelli in the early twelfth century, as well as the extent to which south Italian monasticism (and the Church as a whole) was open to outside influence. Monastic provision for women, already relatively well-established in some parts of the region before the Normans arrived, also needs examination. Patterns of benefaction may tell us much about contemporary piety.

Of all the outside influences that were brought to bear upon the south Italian Church, perhaps the most notable was that of the Normans themselves. (The word 'Norman', used by the contemporary south Italian sources, will continue to be employed as a portmanteau term here; although it should be understood that the newcomers also comprised a minority of men from other parts of France.)¹⁴ Given the importance of the Church to the fabric of medieval society and the *mentalité* of its inhabitants, and that major churches were extensive property-holding corporations, the arrival of the Normans inevitably affected it. In the initial phase of the conquest the Church was a source of plunder and remuneration. Subsequently, as the Normans transformed themselves from invaders into rulers, it was potentially a vital source of support, and by founding and patronising churches the new ruling class had a means of acquiring

¹⁴ I have discussed this issue in a number of publications, but especially in *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, 81–91.

legitimacy, as well as saving their souls. But, as with so many other aspects of this subject, the extent to which the Normans colonised, took over or influenced the south Italian Church has never been fully examined, not least because to do so effectively requires study of an extensive surviving documentation, by no means all of it available in published editions.

The historian of Norman Italy is to some extent at a disadvantage when compared with those of other areas of Europe in the Central Middle Ages. Certainly the narrative sources from the region, while individually interesting and rewarding, are relatively few compared with, for example, the kingdoms of England or Germany, and there are periods – the first two decades of the twelfth century, the last decade of King Roger's life, and the 1180s – when our knowledge of events is relatively thin. Nor, despite the clerical provenance of most of their authors, do all the chroniclers provide us with much detailed information about the Church. The purely monastic histories, from Montecassino and St Vincent on Volturno, and from the Abruzzi abbeys of Casauria and Carpineto, are, obviously, an exception, but their focus tends to be local and self-regarding.¹⁵ Furthermore, the hagiographical literature from the period, while interesting, is similarly limited in extent. What we do possess is an abundance of documentary evidence. Its scope may, to an extent, be misleading: there is extensive documentation surviving from the monasteries, that from cathedrals and the secular church is less satisfactory, and has suffered greater losses, including in relatively recent periods. A number of sees in Apulia lapsed as a result of population changes in the later Middle Ages, and others, especially in Campania, were suppressed by Pius VII in the early nineteenth century: hardly any charters have survived from these dioceses. In other cases fire, whether accidental or arson, has destroyed the records. Earthquake damage has also exacted a heavy toll, especially in Calabria.¹⁶

We are therefore overly dependent on those relatively few cathedral archives where extensive documentation has been preserved: particularly Bari and Troia in Apulia; Aversa, Benevento, Capua and Salerno in

¹⁵ The *Chronicon Vulturnense*, although written in the early years of the twelfth century, has anyway little detailed information after the 1060s.

¹⁶ Thus, in the principality of Capua the cathedral archives of Teano perished in a fire in the early sixteenth century, those of Suessa were burned by the French in 1799 and those at Isernia by Garibaldi's troops in 1860. In Apulia, the archives of Otranto cathedral were lost in the sack by the Turks in 1480, and those of Siponto in the sack of Manfredonia, also by the Turks, in 1620. The archives of Torremaggiore were presumably lost when that abbey was destroyed by earthquake in 1627. In Calabria there have been severe losses through earthquakes, notably at Malvito in 1638 and at Mileto in 1783, while the cathedral archives of Squillace, and those of the abbey of St Michael of Montescaglioso in Lucania, were lost in the destruction of the Archivio di Stato of Naples in 1943.

Campania; and Lipari and Cefalù in Sicily. Even for these sees the number of episcopal *acta* surviving (as opposed to documents concerning the cathedral) is relatively limited in comparison to other parts of medieval Europe, although this probably reflects the lack of active diocesan government.¹⁷ However, by contrast three of the most important south Italian monasteries of the Norman era still exist today: Montecassino, Cava and Montevergine, with their archives largely intact (and covering not just the mother-house but a number of dependencies as well), while much of the original archive of St Sophia, Benevento, suppressed as late as 1806, also survives at the Museo del Sannio in Benevento. For several other monastic houses we have chartularies, either original or in later antiquarian copies. The scale of this monastic documentation is considerable; at Cava, the largest medieval archive in southern Italy, there are, for example, more than 5,000 original charters from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, of which fewer than a third have been edited in print. What follows has drawn heavily on this charter evidence, both published and, in the cases of Cava and St Sophia, Benevento, also in manuscript. But the evidence that survives today, even for those churches that are well documented, is undoubtedly much less than once existed.¹⁸ Furthermore, the focus of our evidence is uneven. We know far more about the institutions, resources and politics of the Church than we can ever discover about its mission, and more about the upper levels of the clerical hierarchy than about those who served the spiritual needs of the majority of ordinary Christians.

¹⁷ R. A. Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of Leon in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford 1978), 87–8, for example, lamented the paucity of surviving episcopal documents from this region; however, we have much less documentation from many south Italian sees than from most of the Leonese ones. For the activity of cathedral chapters compared with the frequent passivity of bishops, R. Brentano, *Two Churches. England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century* (Princeton 1968), 97–9.

¹⁸ Thus, at Bari in 1067 a priest receiving a church accepted, among its property, no fewer than 48 charters relating to it, none of which now survives, *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.44–6 no. 26, at 46.

The Church in southern Italy before the Normans

Shortly before the year 980 a Greek monk called Nilos, a celebrated holy man from Calabria, who was the abbot of a monastery near Rossano, on the northern side of the Sila mountains, tired – so we are told – of the pressures of his renown and his would-be disciples, and worried about the danger of a Muslim attack, decided to abandon the abbey that he had founded, and leave for pastures new. Despite his considerable age – for he was then already about seventy – he travelled northwards into the Campania, the area on the western, or Tyrrhenian, coast of the peninsula, which was ruled not, as was Calabria, by the Byzantine Empire, but by the various petty native princelings who still described themselves as ‘Lombards’, but whom we may consider as, by this time, indigenous Italians. According to his biographer:

Fleeing from the honour in which he was held among them [the Greeks], he preferred to dwell among the Latins, since he was unknown to them and not held in respect among them. He did indeed take great care to avoid honours, but by doing so he became more famous and distinguished in the sight of Heaven, and he was received by all as if he was one of the Apostles, and equal reverence was shown to him.¹

Not surprisingly, his merits soon became clear to his hosts, and the Prince of Capua, Pandulf, sought to make him a bishop, or so the biographer claimed. That miscarried; presumably it was quite contrary to what Nilos wanted, but with the prince’s support the abbot of the great local monastery of Montecassino allowed him and his handful of companions to settle on the lands of that house at Valleluce, about 10 km to the north of Montecassino itself, where he founded another monastery. There Nilos remained for some fifteen years, before, disillusioned by the internal disputes of the princely family and by the behaviour of Abbot Manso of Montecassino, a relative of

¹ *Vita Nili*, c. 72: Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 120, col. 124.

the princely house, he left once again, moving first to the territory of Gaeta, then to Rome, before he eventually died at Grottaferrata, in the Alban Hills to the south-east of Rome, in 1004, aged 95.²

This well-known episode encapsulates a number of important themes in the religious history of southern Italy in the earlier Middle Ages. Above all, it reminds us that the region was not an exclusively Latin region; and indeed the Latin Church was not to be the religion of the overwhelming majority in a number of areas until the early fourteenth century. But it also shows that in this earlier period there was no outright hostility between Christians of the Greek and Latin rite, that they still considered themselves part of one and the same Church, that a ruler who adhered to the Latin part of the Church could still patronise and esteem a Greek monk, and that Latin and Greek clergy could co-operate together. Indeed, the *Life of Nilos* went on to describe how the monks of Montecassino ceremonially greeted the saint with chants 'as though he was another Saint Anthony or Saint Benedict', and later invited him to celebrate vespers in Greek in their abbey church. Afterwards, at their request, he instructed them in the way of life appropriate for the true monk – 'tell us, holy father, what is the work of the monk and how may we merit mercy?' His teaching, we are informed, was received with open admiration. He even wrote a hymn in honour of Saint Benedict, who was of course the founder of Montecassino.³ Somewhat later, in another instance of the esteem in which the Greek holy man was held, after the death of Prince Pandulf (Pandulf I 'Ironhead', who ruled 961–81), his widow Aloara begged Nilos to prescribe a penance to her for her sins: he in turn replied that she ought to ask for such penance from the local (Latin) bishops, although in the event he felt that they let her off far too lightly. But despite his reproaches, the princess continued to hold him in respect.⁴

As this episode shows, Southern Italy in the early Middle Ages was a cultural and religious frontier, and often a very porous one. Nilos was certainly not the only Greek, monk or layman, to travel northwards into the Lombard principalities, and to have regular and friendly contact with the local inhabitants. Southern Italy was a meeting ground for Christians of the Latin rite and those of the Greek, of Christians and Muslims, especially on the island of Sicily, and there too with Christians whose everyday language and culture was Arabic. It also saw successive waves of foreign

² There is a convenient summary of the 'Life' in G. da Costa-Louillet, 'Saints de Sicile et d'Italie méridionale aux VIIIe, IXe et Xe siècles', *Byzantion* 29/30 (1959/60), 148–65.

³ *Vita Nili*, cc. 73–4; MPG 120, cols. 125–8. ⁴ *Ibid.*, c. 80, MPG 120, col. 136.

penetration, and attempts to control the region by external overlords. Without some knowledge of these factors, and of the complex mosaic of south Italian society at the time of the Normans' arrival, understanding the development of the Latin Church to a dominant position in the region will be nigh-on impossible.

The Lombard invaders of the Italian peninsula in the sixth century had spread slowly southwards, and eventually confined those who still acknowledged the rule of the 'Roman' emperor in Constantinople to the southernmost parts of Calabria and the Terra d'Otranto. Indeed, by the middle of the eighth century the Lombard penetration of southern Apulia stretched as far south as Otranto itself.⁵ The conquest of the island of Sicily by Muslims from North Africa during the ninth century meant that the region was also a frontier between Christianity and Islam. Furthermore, it was at precisely this period that the internal unity of the Lombard principality of Benevento broke down, and the hitherto unified principality split into three contending units. Taking advantage of this, Muslim troops established a bridgehead on the mainland, at Bari in 843, and while this important town was retaken by Christian forces, led by the Carolingian emperor Louis II, the ruler of northern Italy, in 871, another band of Muslims subsequently, c. 880, established themselves at the mouth of the River Garigliano, whence they were only driven in 915. Although both of these footholds were eventually eliminated, expeditions by Muslim armies, as well as smaller-scale piratical raids, continued to destabilise the mainland, and especially Calabria, throughout the tenth century. There were at least a dozen large-scale attacks on Calabria during the course of that century.⁶ Meanwhile the military and political frontier between those parts of the mainland still under Byzantine rule and the Lombard principalities of the central and western parts of the region remained in dispute. The period from 871 onwards had seen the Byzantines extend their rule northwards once more, regaining northern Calabria and even pushing into northern Apulia, but the Lombard princes were far from happy to accept this, and on several occasions, notably in the 920s and again in the 960s, sought to conquer the more vulnerable parts of Byzantine territory.

Furthermore, the takeover of northern Italy by the German king Otto I, and his subsequent coronation as western Roman emperor in 962,

⁵ J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille du VI au XII siècle* (Rome 1993), 166.

⁶ L.-R. Ménager, 'La Byzantinisation religieuse de l'Italie méridionale (IXe–XIIe siècles) et la politique monastique des Normands de l'Italie', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 53 (1958), 758.

introduced a new and very significant threat to the Byzantine dominions in the south. Otto shrewdly allied with the most powerful of the southern princes, Pandulf I of Capua and Benevento, the ruler who gave his patronage to Saint Nilo, and in 968–9 the two invaded the Byzantine lands, laid siege to Bari, and when that proved fruitless, invaded northern Calabria. Peace was only eventually secured with the marriage of Otto's son and heir to a Byzantine princess in 972. Even this did not prevent Otto II launching another, though in the event disastrous, invasion of Byzantine territory in 982. After unsuccessfully besieging Taranto and Matera, he had marched deep into Calabria, where his army was then catastrophically defeated by an invading Muslim force, either at Cape Colonna near Stilo, or (more probably) much further south near Reggio.⁷ The emperor was lucky to escape with his life, and thereafter German ambitions in the south of the peninsula were more limited, and largely confined to occasionally vindicating imperial claims of overlordship over the Lombard princes.⁸

Yet for all these tensions, and the sporadic conflicts that occurred, southern Italy was a region where in fact different peoples, or least different religious and linguistic groups, mingled together and interacted, however much their rulers might on occasion dispute. The principal reason for this is clear: the shifting political frontiers were often quite distinct from the linguistic and cultural ones. While the latter might also change, such alterations were much slower and more evolutionary than those brought about by political gains and losses. Thus although during the tenth century Byzantine rule in Apulia stretched as far north as the River Ofanto, and after 980 was extended further to the north, as far as the River Fortore, to include the Gargano peninsula and the Tavoliere plain inland, the population of this province remained overwhelmingly Lombard, and religiously part of the Latin Church. Only in the deep south of Apulia, in the Salento peninsula, were most of the inhabitants Greek-speaking. In Calabria, by contrast, the southern and central parts of the province were overwhelmingly Greek, and this Greek element was reinforced by immigration from Sicily, while Muslim raids on the coastal regions were encouraging a shift of the Graecophone population northwards, spreading into Lucania, the instep of the Italian 'boot'. The increasingly Greek character of Lucania was recognised when c. 970 the Byzantine government

⁷ For the arguments in favour of the latter location, D. Alvermann, 'La battaglia di Ottone II contro i Saraceni nel 982', *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 62 (1995), 115–30.

⁸ For more detailed discussions of these events, G. A. Loud, 'Southern Italy in the tenth century', in *New Cambridge Medieval History*, iii, ed. T. Reuter (Cambridge 1999), 624–45; and Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, 14–29.

organised this region as a separate *thema* or province.⁹ But there were still Latin inhabitants in northern Calabria, and Taranto in southern Apulia remained a city with a mixed Latin and Greek population, even if the Greeks would seem to have been increasingly in the majority. (In the ninth century, by contrast, the town had been almost exclusively Latin.) The bulk of the – admittedly relatively exiguous – documentation from Taranto from the century before 1080 is in Greek, and only one of the ten *turmarchs* (local governors) attested in this period signed his name in Latin, the other nine all in Greek. However, the archbishop and cathedral clergy were still Latins in the eleventh century.¹⁰

Furthermore, shifts in the population, of Christians from Sicily to the mainland, and from Calabria northwards, also affected the Lombard principalities, and particularly the most southerly one, that of Salerno. Thus the guarantor of a transaction at Capaccio, a hilltop town overlooking the plain south of the city of Salerno, in 1094 was a cleric called Pando, son of Peter *Cosentinus*, that is from Cosenza in northern Calabria.¹¹ This man had a characteristically Lombard name. However, by no means all the immigrants to the principality were displaced Lombards. There were during the eleventh century a considerable number of Greeks there. So, for example, in 1054 a Greek called Theodore sold a wooden house in the suburbs of Salerno to a fellow Greek called Constantine, who had come originally from Sicily.¹² Another Greek immigrant to the region at the same period was a goldsmith from Sicily called Basil, who died before 1068. In 1084 one of his sons sold property at Vietri, just outside Salerno, to another goldsmith, Solomon, who was also an immigrant from Sicily.¹³ And as late as 1113 two brothers at Avellino, on the border between the principality of Salerno and the *Terra Beneventana*, were identified as the sons of a Greek priest called Constantine.¹⁴ It is clear therefore that there were Greek inhabitants even within the Lombard regions that had never been subject to rule by the Byzantine Empire.

Meanwhile, on the island of Sicily, there remained, despite emigration to the mainland, the immigration of Muslims from north Africa, and the inevitable tendency of Islamic rule to encourage conversion, as much

⁹ A. Guillou, 'La Lucanie byzantine: étude de géographie historique', *Byzantion* 35 (1965), 119–49, especially 127–34.

¹⁰ V. von Falkenhausen, 'Taranto in epoca bizantina', *Studi medievali*, Ser. III.9 (1968), 133–66, especially 149–53, 163.

¹¹ Cava, *Arca* xv.46. ¹² *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, vii.253–4 no. 1204.

¹³ *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, ix.200–1 no. 65; Cava, *Arca* xiv.24.

¹⁴ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, ii.100–7 nos. 124–5.

unconsciously as deliberately, a numerous Christian population. By the eleventh century this was certainly a minority, but still a substantial one. The inhabitants of the north-east of the island, the Val Demone, remained overwhelmingly Greek-rite Christians, something that was to be of considerable assistance to the Normans when they invaded the island in 1061. On the edge of this region, there were towns like Petralia with mixed Christian–Muslim communities. There was also a Christian community at Palermo, with its own bishop, at the same period, even if this may not have been large.¹⁵ Furthermore, even in the predominantly Muslim west of the island, there were still some Christians, although almost all of these used Arabic as their everyday language.¹⁶

The cultural, linguistic and religious confusion of southern Italy was further intensified by enclaves such as the coastal duchies of Amalfi, Naples and Gaeta, which the Lombards had never conquered. These city-states were largely reliant on overseas trade for their prosperity, and remained nominally subject to the rule of the eastern emperors at Constantinople, even if this had little practical importance. Although there was at Naples still some open space within the city walls, and a larger and more fertile hinterland than was available in the other maritime duchies, already by the early tenth century most of the urban area was crowded and constricted by close-packed houses.¹⁷ Population pressure was even more of a factor in the duchy of Amalfi. Many Amalfitans had moved away from their mountainous homeland, with its little ports clinging to the cliff sides, or in the case of Amalfi itself confined to a narrow valley running a few hundred metres inland, and settled in the Lombard principalities, and especially that of Salerno. But they remained a distinct group, not least because of their continued adherence to Roman (i.e. Byzantine) law. The use of Roman law was equally valid within that principality as were the edicts of the ancient Lombard kings, even if, as time went on, both systems borrowed one from another.¹⁸ The coastal duchies were the region's principal conduits for overseas trade, and in particular for contact with Islamic Sicily and north Africa. These trading links, as well as the vulnerability of coastal cities heavily dependent on maritime travel, explains why these duchies were

¹⁵ Ménager, 'La Byzantinisation religieuse' (Part II), *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 54 (1959), 18–20; *Malaterra*, II.20, 45, pp. 35, 53.

¹⁶ A. Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily. Arabic Speakers and the End of Islam* (London 2003), 22–4, 86–8, 93–6.

¹⁷ P. E. Skinner, 'Urban communities in Naples 900–1050', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 62 (1994), 283–9.

¹⁸ H. Taviani-Carozzi, *La Principauté lombarde de Salerne (IXe–XIe siècle). Pouvoir et société en Italie lombarde méridionale* (Rome 1991), 516–20.

often reluctant to co-operate with the inland principalities against Muslim attacks. Indeed, in the late ninth century Athanasius, who was both Duke of Naples and bishop of that city (died 898), allied on several occasions with the Muslims, while in 903 the Gaetans assisted the Muslim colony on the Garigliano against an attack led by the prince of Benevento.¹⁹ The extent of Islamic economic influence was shown by the Amalfitan currency: from the 960s onwards gold coins called *tari* were minted that were direct imitations of Islamic quarter-dinar coins. From the early eleventh century similar coins were also minted at Salerno. Such gold can only have been obtained from north Africa: there were no indigenous sources within Christian Europe.²⁰

An anecdote from the tenth-century *Chronicon Salernitanum* also shows that contacts between Islam and the Christians of south Italy were not, or were not perceived to be, universally hostile. The incident purported to have happened in the 870s. The prince of Salerno, Guaiferius, was on his way to the bath house when an Arab 'staying (*residens*) in the market place at Salerno' asked him whether he might have the hat that he was wearing, which the prince duly gave him. Subsequently, after returning home, the Arab sent warning, through one of a number of Amalfitans then visiting, of a proposed Muslim attack on Salerno, advising the prince to strengthen the defences of his city.²¹ The story thus shows, at a relatively early date and despite military clashes, Christian traders going to Muslim lands, a Muslim – presumably also a trader – in Salerno, and a degree of linguistic comprehension.

There is evidence at a later period for some settlement of Arabic-speakers in Calabria. In the mid-eleventh-century documents from the bishopric of Oppido, a hilltop settlement established probably after a Muslim raid on Reggio in 976 some 35 km to the north-east of that town, some 13 per cent of the personal names are Arabic.²² These people might well have been descendants of Arabic-speaking Christians who had emigrated from Sicily. However, Amatus of Montecassino was clear that the community at Reggio on the eve of the Norman invasion of the island of Sicily contained 'Saracens' who were expressly distinguished from the Christian inhabitants

¹⁹ Erchempert, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum*, c. 3, MGH *Scriptores Rerum Langobardorum* (Hanover 1879), cc. 44, 54 pp. 251–4, 257; *Chron. Cas.* I.50, pp. 130–1. B. M. Kreutz, *Before the Normans. Southern Italy in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Philadelphia 1991), 73–4.

²⁰ L. Travaini, *La monetazione nell'Italia normanna* (Rome 1995), 19–22; G. A. Loud, 'Coinage, wealth and plunder in the age of Robert Guiscard', *English Historical Review* 114 (1999), 819–20.

²¹ *Chronicon Salernitanum*, ed. U. Westerbergh (Stockholm 1956), c. 110, pp. 122–3. Discussed by Kreutz, *Before the Normans*, 55.

²² A. Guillou, *La Théotokos de Hagia-Agathè (Oppido) (1050–1064/1065)* (Corpus des actes grecs d'Italie du sud et de Sicile 3, Vatican City 1972), 29–30.

of the town.²³ There were also other identifiable minorities, especially in the Byzantine provinces. There was a Slav colony at Devia and Peschici on the northern coast of the Gargano peninsula during the mid-eleventh century.²⁴ Towards the end of that century a certain Stephen the Slav was involved in moneylending in Bari: among the goods he received in pledge were two gold brooches from one of the daughters of Duke Robert Guiscard.²⁵ The presence of such free Slavs in Apulia was probably due to the close commercial relations between the two sides of the Adriatic, although some Slavs were also to be found as domestic slaves. Somewhat later, there were also Bulgars, presumably originally hailing from Epiros, among the dependent peasants of the monastery of St Peter of Taranto in the early twelfth century. In addition, there were a number of Armenians in the Bari region from the 990s onwards.²⁶ These last may have been, or been descended from, soldiers in the Byzantine army; it is possible too that their presence was the result of one of the population transfers within the empire that were often practised by the Byzantine government. Certainly under Leo VI (emperor 886–912) settlers from Paphlagonia, on the Black Sea coast of Asia Minor, were established at Gallipoli in the Salento peninsula.²⁷ And among the inhabitants of Oppido in the eleventh century were a Khazar, and Armenian and a Cappadocian.²⁸ While such settlers, and more especially their children, would inevitably tend over time to assimilate into the dominant cultural group in their locality, their presence reminds us that southern Italy was far from homogenous.

The Church in southern Italy underwent grave vicissitudes in the early Middle Ages. By the time of Gregory the Great at the end of the sixth century the institutional Church was already in crisis. Late Roman Italy had been covered with a dense network of episcopal sees. But of the twenty-two bishoprics that had existed in the Campania in the early sixth century, nine had apparently disappeared by the death of Pope Gregory in 604, and similarly four of the eight in Lucania.²⁹ Even sees that nominally still

²³ *Amatus*, V.ii, p. 234 (English trans. 137).

²⁴ A *zupan* of this colony, Andrew, witnessed a sale to the monastery of Tremiti in June 1043, *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, ii.101–4 no. 32. Cf. also other references to Slav *zupans*, *ibid.*, ii. 134–5 no. 42 (1050), 150–6 nos. 47–8 (both 1053).

²⁵ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, v.20–1 no. 10 (1089), cf. *ibid.*, 49–50 no. 29 (1098).

²⁶ Martin, *Pouille*, 504–9, 518–20. ²⁷ *Ibid.*, 224–5. ²⁸ Guillou, *La Théotokos de Hagia-Agathè*, 32.

²⁹ C. D. Fonseca, 'Aspetti istituzionale dell'organizzazione ecclesiastica meridionale dal VI al IX secolo', in *Montecassino dalla prima alla seconda distruzione. Momenti e aspetti di storia Cassinese (secc. VI–IX)*, ed. F. Avagliano (Miscellanea Cassinese 55, 1987), 297–316, at 301. The following discussion draws heavily on Fonseca's study.

existed might actually be vacant for long periods. So in 592 Gregory ordered the bishop of Agropoli to administer the dioceses of Policastro, Velia and Blanda, which were lacking both bishops and clergy. All of these sees later disappeared. Similarly, in southern Apulia the bishoprics of Brindisi, Lecce and Gallipoli were vacant in 595, and Gregory entrusted their administration to the bishop of Otranto.³⁰ Monasteries too were in decline. In 600, for example, Gregory united a monastery at Pozzuoli that had been abandoned by its monks with the abbey of Sts Theodore and Sebastian at Naples.³¹ Fifty years later organised monasticism had all but disappeared in mainland southern Italy, apart perhaps from one or two houses in Calabria.³²

The most obvious cause of this crisis was the Lombard invasion, and as the still pagan Lombards advanced south there can be no doubt that they inflicted significant damage both to the organisation and to the pastoral ministry of the Church. Montecassino was destroyed by the invaders c. 580, and remained deserted for more than a century thereafter.³³ At Capua the episcopal see was vacant when the city was captured by the Lombards in 595. A new bishop was elected, but remained in exile, in Sicily and Rome, for the rest of Gregory's pontificate.³⁴ However, the Lombards were not the only reason for the crisis. The late Roman countryside was already in decline, and plague was taking its toll of the population. According to Paul the Deacon, the desertion of villages and *castra* (fortified settlements) was widespread: '[they were] formerly filled with crowds of men, and on the next day all had departed and everything was in utter silence.'³⁵ Urban life, certainly in the smaller towns, was in decline. The breakdown of Roman drainage arrangements and the growth of salt marshes led to the abandonment of coastal settlements: it was this that led, for example, to the collapse of the Bishopric of Minturno, which was lacking both clergy and lay people when it was entrusted to the nearby Bishop of Formia by Gregory I in 590.³⁶ A number of sees had already disappeared before the

³⁰ Gregory, *Registrum Epistolarum*, II.42; VI.21, ed. P. Ewald and L. M. Hartmann (MGH *Ep. Selectae*, 2 vols., Berlin 1891–9), i.141, 399.

³¹ *Ibid.*, X.18 (MGH *Ep. Selectae*, ii.253).

³² G. Vitolo, 'Caratteri del monachesimo nel Mezzogiorno altomedievale (secoli VI–IX)', in *Montecassino dalla prima alla seconda distruzione*, 36–8.

³³ Cassinese tradition claimed that the community remained in being in Rome, along with Benedict's autograph manuscript of the rule, until the restoration of the monastery on its original site in the early eighth century, *Chron. Cas.* I.2, pp. 20–1.

³⁴ J. Richards, *Consul of God. The Life and Times of Gregory the Great* (London 1980), 70–1.

³⁵ *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. P. Bethmann and G. Waitz (MGH *Scriptores Rerum Langobardorum*, Hanover 1878), II.4, p. 74.

³⁶ *Registrum Epistolarum*, I.8 (MGH *Ep. Selectae*, i.10).

arrival of the Lombards; nor can they have been responsible for the problems of churches in southern Apulia and Lucania, regions into which they only penetrated towards the end of the seventh century. However, the spread southwards of the invaders during that century may well have been responsible for the disappearance of some Apulian bishoprics like that of Siponto, last attested in 649. Subsequently, after their conversion, the Lombard dukes placed Siponto and the Gargano peninsula under the jurisdiction of the bishop of their capital, Benevento, and it was only in the eleventh century that the see of Siponto was revived.³⁷

Some bishoprics admittedly showed remarkable resilience. Lucera was destroyed, not by the Lombards but by the Emperor Constans II during his expedition to Italy in 663; however, the bishop established a new seat at Lesina on the Adriatic coast, some 40 km to the north, and his successors had returned to their original seat by 743.³⁸ But even though, once the Lombards had accepted Christianity, which they had by c. 700, a degree of reconstruction took place, the overall impact of the late antique crisis on the episcopal structure was clear. Apulia in the sixth century had fifteen bishoprics, in the ninth there were only six.³⁹ Similarly, in the Abruzzi, where there had been fourteen late Roman sees, by the ninth century there were also just six. The medieval diocese of Valva, for example, occupied the territory of three late Roman bishoprics. Indeed, the survival of as many as six sees in this remote and mountainous region is surprising: two of them, Marsia and Valva, lacked even a rudimentary town for their cathedral.⁴⁰

However, the emergence of the Lombard duchy of Benevento, and the Christianisation of the invaders, or at least of their rulers, allowed some revival of the Church, and in particular of monastic foundations, with the encouragement and patronage of the dukes. The monastery of St Vincent on Volturmo was established by three Beneventan nobles, Paldo, Tato and Taso, during the reign of Duke Gisulf I (689–706), the date traditionally ascribed to this being 703. Then, round about 720 Petronax of Brescia re-established the monastery of St Benedict on Monte Cassino. Other monastic foundations followed, including several for female religious, notably S. Maria at Piumarola, in the plain below Montecassino, S. Maria Cingla, near Alife, both dating from the 740s, and St Sophia at Benevento,

³⁷ *Vita Barbati Episcopi Beneventani*, c. 7, MGH *Scriptores Rerum Langobardorum*, 560; *Italia Pontificia*, ix.230–1.

³⁸ Paul, *Historia Langobardorum*, V.7, p. 147; *Italia Pontificia*, ix.154–5. ³⁹ Martin, *Pouille*, 248–50.

⁴⁰ L. Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales. Territoire, économie et société en Italie centrale du IXe au XIIe siècle* (Rome 1998), 118–19.

founded by Duke Arechis of Benevento not long before 774, all three of which were made subject to Montecassino. Arechis also founded another nunnery at Alife, which was subordinated to St Vincent on Volturmo.⁴¹ But, for all the claims of Cassinese tradition about the unbroken continuity of the community through its Roman exile, we can be sure neither of this, nor of whether, to begin with at least, the refounded eighth-century monastery actually followed the rule of the founder. It is possible that the monks only adopted the rule of Benedict after a visit by the Anglo-Saxon missionary Willibald some years after they had re-settled on the mountain, or even, if we are to believe Paul the Deacon, during the pontificate of Pope Zachary (741–52).⁴² These two monasteries were both greatly favoured by the Lombard dukes, although the surviving diplomas attesting to their generosity are later forgeries. Thus we are told that Montecassino was given extensive lands around the monastery by Duke Gisulf II in the 740s, but the only near-contemporary source for this, the ninth-century *Chronica S. Benedicti Casinensis*, simply says that he gave ‘all the mountains and plains in the district’, without any specific detail. Leo of Ostia’s later abbey chronicle gave what purported to be the precise boundaries of this land: in fact these were taken from a tenth-century confirmation of the ‘Lands of St Benedict’, and the version of Gisulf’s diploma in the abbey’s chartulary of 1130–3 was a forgery.⁴³ In addition, not only did these two monasteries profit from the favour of the dukes of Benevento, but they maintained good relations also with the Lombard kings of north Italy, and after the Carolingian takeover of 774 also with the new rulers of the Italian kingdom.

Once again the details have been obscured, especially of the links with the Carolingians, by the desire of later generations to emphasise such a prestigious connection. Thus of the five alleged charters of Charlemagne copied in the Montecassino chartulary of the 1130s, the Register of Peter the Deacon, one may be an interpolated version of a genuine original, the other four are outright falsifications. The details concerning the boundaries of the abbey lands in these forgeries were taken from a much later diploma of

⁴¹ The alleged ‘foundation charter of St Sophia’, *Chron. S. Sophiae*, i.289–91, is a forgery; for discussion of the date of foundation, *ibid.*, i. 45–50. Cf. Erchempert, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum*, c. 3, p. 236.

⁴² Paul, *Historia Langobardorum*, VI.40, p. 179. P. Engelbert, ‘Regeltext und Romverehrung. Zur Frage der Verbreitung der Regula Benedicti im Frühmittelalter’, in *Montecassino dalla prima alla seconda distruzione* (above, n. 29), 154–5; W. Pohl, ‘History in fragments: Montecassino’s politics of memory’, *Early Medieval Europe* 10 (2001), 357.

⁴³ *Chronica S. Benedicti Casinensis*, c. 21, ed. G. Waitz, MGH *Scriptores Rerum Langobardorum*, p. 480. *Chron. Cas.*, I.5, pp. 25–8; from Gattula, *Historia*, p. 105 (928). Cf. H. Hoffmann, ‘Chronik und Urkunden in Montecassino’, *QFIAB* 51 (1971), 193–4.

the Emperor Otto II.⁴⁴ Similarly the claims in the Volturno chronicle that Abbot Joshua (792–817) was the brother-in-law of Louis the Pious, and that the latter visited the abbey in person, cannot be taken at face value.⁴⁵ But there can be no doubt that the Carolingians did endow these abbeys generously, and treated them as privileged ‘imperial’ churches, not least because they sought to create bastions of loyal support in a region of which they claimed to be overlords but could rarely if ever visit. Franks were installed as abbots at both Montecassino and St Vincent on Volturno in 777. Furthermore Charlemagne was prepared to depose the next abbot of Volturno in 783 for disloyalty towards him and for his refusal to take part in prayers for the well-being of the Carolingian family.⁴⁶ His successors, Paul and Joshua, were almost certainly Franks, even if the latter was not directly connected to the royal family.

The abbeys in turn profited greatly from the Frankish connection, for by the early ninth century both were exceedingly wealthy. Under Abbot Joshua, the monastery of St Vincent was almost entirely rebuilt, and on a lavish scale. The account of the building of the new abbey church in the chronicle has been amply confirmed by recent archaeological work, that has revealed a vast and intricately decorated edifice, 63.5 metres (just over 200 feet) long, and 28.3 metres (93 feet) wide, built on a raised terrace that would by itself have required a considerable labour force to construct. At the same time the existing buildings were extensively rebuilt, with the former abbey church now becoming part of a palace for distinguished guests, and with the construction of a new kitchen and refectory, this last large enough for a community of more than 300 monks. Building continued under Joshua’s immediate successors, Talaricus (817–23) and Epiphanius (824–42). Under the latter’s direction a new atrium (an enclosed courtyard) was constructed in front of the abbey church, and the existing chapel at the north end of the monastery complex reconstructed, perhaps as a mausoleum for the abbots.⁴⁷ This building activity

⁴⁴ E. Caspar, ‘Echte und gefälschte Karolingersurkunden für Monte Cassino’, *Neus Archiv für ältere deutsches Geschichtskunde* 23 (1907/8), 53–73.

⁴⁵ *Chron. Vult.* i.219–20.

⁴⁶ H. Houben, ‘Karl der Grosse und die Absetzung des Abtes Potho von San Vincenzo al Volturno’, *QFLAB* 65 (1985), 405–17. On the role of the Franks more generally, M. del Treppo, ‘Longobardi, Franchi e Papato in due secoli di storia vulturnese’, *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane* 73 (1953/4), 37–59; H. Houben, ‘L’influsso carolingio sul monachesimo meridionale’, in *Montecassino dalla prima alla seconda distruzione*, 101–32.

⁴⁷ R. Hodges, *Light in the Dark Ages. The Rise and Fall of San Vincenzo al Volturno* (Ithaca, NY, 1997), especially 77–131, and the detailed excavation report, *San Vincenzo al Volturno*, ed. R. Hodges (2 vols. so far, British School of Rome, 1993–5).

created one of the great monasteries of ninth-century Europe, comparable in size to such bastions of Carolingian monasticism as St Wandrille and Fulda, and considerably larger than, for example, Sankt-Gallen.⁴⁸ The size of the great church and of the refectory suggest that there was more than a little truth to the abbey chronicler's boasts about the great reputation of the house, 'the extraordinary number of its congregation', and the widespread recruitment of monks under Abbot Joshua, while Paul the Deacon noted that it 'was celebrated for its great community of monks'.⁴⁹ Meanwhile at Montecassino under Joshua's contemporary, Abbot Gisulf (796–817), not only was a new church built for the main monastery, but an entirely new monastery was constructed at the foot of the mountain, with a church which was, if not quite on the same scale as that of Volturno, still of impressive dimensions. The reason for this, we are told, was that 'the steep and narrow location of the mountain was insufficient for such a large number of brothers'.⁵⁰

Yet while support for these monasteries played an important part in Frankish policy with regard to the southern borders of their Italian kingdom, their spectacular efflorescence cannot be ascribed to the Franks alone, nor indeed perhaps was this the primary reason for their success. Equally, if not more important, was the support of the local aristocracy. In the generation before 820 their gifts extended the lands of St Vincent from the relatively bleak uplands around the monastery itself, and the similarly mountainous Abruzzi, into more fertile lowland regions such as the Caudine valley to the west of Benevento and the Capuan plain, as well as at a number of places in Apulia. After a brief pause, further gifts followed from Prince Sicard of Benevento and other local laymen in the 830s and 840s.⁵¹ Montecassino too gained extensively at this period, and its new possessions included properties in Apulia, such as a fishery at Lesina given by Prince Grimoald of Benevento, and in the Abruzzi.⁵² Furthermore, what was significant was not just gifts, but an effective exploitation of these greatly increased monastic lands. Thus, from c. 800 onwards the lands of

⁴⁸ R. Hodges, 'San Vincenzo and the plan of St. Gall', in *San Vincenzo al Volturno*, ii.160.

⁴⁹ *Chron. Vult.* i.238, *Historia Langobardorum*, VI.40, p. 179.

⁵⁰ *Chron. Cas.* I.17–18, pp. 57–9 (quote, 57). This church was 36.4 m long, 19 m wide (120 by 63 ft), see A. O. Citarella and H. M. Willard, *The Ninth-Century Treasure of Monte Cassino in the Context of Political and Economic Developments in Southern Italy* (Miscellanea Cassinese 50, 1983), 38–43.

⁵¹ C. J. Wickham, 'Monastic lands and monastic patrons', in *San Vincenzo al Volturno*, ii.138–52, especially 144–5.

⁵² *Chron. Cas.* I.14, pp. 49–51. Martin, *Pouille*, 187. For Cassinese possessions in the Abruzzi, E. Carusi, 'Il Memoratorium dell'Abate Berthario sui possessi cassinesi nell'Abruzzo Teatino', *Casinensia* (2 vols., Montecassino 1929), i.97–114.

St Benedict were reorganized, with the monastery of the Holy Saviour at the foot of Monte Cassino as the centre for the administration of the Cassinese estates, and at least nine monastic cells grouped round it, as foci for colonisation and sub-centres of estate exploitation, where renders in kind were collected from tenants and the labour of the abbey's *servi* was organised on those lands retained under the direct ownership of the monks.⁵³ Similarly the abbey's dependency of the Holy Liberator on Monte Majella served as a centre for the administration of its lands in the Abruzzi, although it also possessed other cells in this region, that remained directly dependent on the mother house.⁵⁴ Such monastic lordship could bear heavily on the subject population. The peasants of one of Volturno's subordinate churches in the Abruzzi rebelled in 779, invading its demesne forest and refusing to pay their customary crop renders. A number of similar revolts followed in the ninth century.⁵⁵

The extent of the resources available to these great abbeys can be seen from their vicissitudes after 839 when civil war split the principality of Benevento, and then soon afterwards the Muslim attacks began. When one of the two rival princes, Siconulf, sought cash to pay his Arab mercenaries, and then to gain the support of the Carolingian king of Italy, Louis II, through bribery, much of the very large sums involved, in cash, precious metals and church treasures, came from Montecassino. The bribe to Louis alone amounted to at least 50,000 solidi.⁵⁶ Despite this confiscation, Montecassino still had some liquid resources, and both it and Volturno later paid substantial sums to buy off Muslim raiding parties.⁵⁷

Yet ultimately such payments proved fruitless, and the obvious wealth of these abbeys, and of other churches as well, proved an irresistible magnet for the invaders. St Vincent on Volturno was sacked in October 881, and the few monks who escaped took refuge in Capua. Interestingly, the Muslims managed to force entry into the monastery, despite fierce resistance, with the help of some of the abbey's *servi*.⁵⁸ Two years later both the lower and

⁵³ L. Fabiani, *La Terra di S. Benedetto* (2 vols., Miscellanea Cassinese 33–4, 1968), i.146–50; G. A. Loud, 'The Liri Valley in the Middle Ages', in *idem*, *Montecassino and Benevento in the Middle Ages. Essays in South Italian Church History* (Aldershot 2000), 3–4.

⁵⁴ Feller, *Abruzzes médiévales*, 157–63.

⁵⁵ *Chron. Vult.* i.194–5. M. del Treppo, 'La vita economica e sociale in una grande abbazia del Mezzogiorno: San Vincenzo al Volturno nell'alto medioevo', *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane* 74 (1955), 56–8.

⁵⁶ *Chronica S. Benedicti Casinensis*, c. 7, p. 473; *Chron. Cas.* I.26, pp. 74–6. Citarella and Willard, *The Ninth-Century Treasure of Monte Cassino*, 72–3, 77–80, 86–93.

⁵⁷ *Chronica S. Benedicti Casinensis*, c. 18, p. 477; Erchempert, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum*, c. 29, p. 245; *Chron. Vult.* i.357.

⁵⁸ *Chron. Vult.* i.364.

upper monasteries at Montecassino were destroyed, despite the fortifications which Abbot Bertharius had erected around them, and the abbot himself was murdered. The monks of Volturno only returned to the site of their mother house in 914. The exile of the monks from Montecassino lasted considerably longer. They remained, first at Teano and then, after a disastrous fire there in 896 that destroyed many of their manuscripts including the alleged autograph copy of Saint Benedict's Rule, at Capua until 950.⁵⁹

The effects, and certainly the memory, of the Islamic incursions on the mainland remained for a long time. As late as 1115, the proprietors of a church in the south of the principality of Salerno could recall that 'it had in former times been destroyed by the barbarians'.⁶⁰ Writing at more or less the same time, although using older sources, the chronicler of St Vincent on Volturno stressed the horrors of the sack of his monastery by the Muslims in 881, and the destruction of the great basilica of Abbot Joshua.

This desolation of the monastery of the precious martyr Vincent continued for 33 years, during which it was not the habitation of man but the possession of many beasts, and the place which had formerly been raised up over many was now more humble than anywhere else. There were neither monks living there, nor was it possible for there to be an abbot, for the aforesaid time of 33 years, which is the same number [of years] that the Redeemer of the human race deigned to associate with men in this world, before his Passion on the most holy Cross.⁶¹

The more contemporary chroniclers also stress the devastation caused by the Muslims, and especially the 'depopulation' of wide regions, the latter probably an accurate reflection of one of the primary aims of such raids, to acquire slaves.⁶² With regard to the Church, one can point also to other important cult centres ravaged by the invaders, as far north as the Abruzzi.⁶³ In 911 the monks of Casauria, an abbey founded some forty years earlier in the Pescara valley by Louis II, and richly endowed by him, were also in exile, further north in the County of Aprutium.⁶⁴ Later charters described this monastery as having been 'laid waste by the pagans', although it is not clear whether this refers to a Muslim attack shortly before 911, a Magyar raid c. 937 (when these nomads penetrated deep into central Italy), or indeed both.⁶⁵ The Muslim conquests in southern and central Apulia in the mid-ninth century undoubtedly damaged the Church in the

⁵⁹ For the fire at Teano, *Chron. Cas.* I.48, pp. 126–8.

⁶⁰ Cava, *Arca* xx.30: *que ab antiquis temporibus destructa fuit a barbaris.* ⁶¹ *Chron. Vult.* i.370.

⁶² Kreutz, *Before the Normans*, 53.

⁶³ Notably S. Maria at Apianici, a dependency of St Vincent, *Chron. Vult.* i.369, ii.9.

⁶⁴ Paris, BN MS Lat. 5411 (the Chronicle-Chartulary of Casauria), fol. 123r–v.

⁶⁵ Feller, *Abruzzes médiévales*, 217–18.

short term – we know, for example, that the Bishop of Canosa fled to Salerno, and eventually succeeded to that see.⁶⁶ Yet it is often difficult to see beyond the chroniclers' hyperbole, couched in very general terms. Thus Erchempert on the early 880s: 'they [the Saracens] ravaged all the land of Benevento and at the same time that of Rome and part of the Spoleto region; they plundered all the monasteries and churches, and all the cities and towns, villages, mountains, hills and islands.' However, apart from the attacks on the monasteries of St Vincent and St Benedict, no specific details are given.⁶⁷

The long-term effects, once southern Apulia was firmly in Byzantine hands after 880 and then the last mainland Muslim base was eliminated in 915, are also difficult to assess. Some of the lands of the bishopric of Salerno, in close proximity to Salerno itself, were still abandoned, or were only just being brought back into cultivation, in the 940s, apparently because of Muslim ravages, even though these had largely ceased a generation earlier.⁶⁸ Undoubtedly the great abbeys also took a long time to recover. Although the monks had returned to the monastery of St Vincent in 914, it was only at the very end of the tenth century that they began once again to use the great church built by Abbot Joshua, even though the archaeological record suggests that its walls, at least, had survived relatively undamaged – unlike much of the rest of the monastery.⁶⁹ Leo of Ostia lamented that in the early tenth century:

Not just the monastery [of Montecassino] but the whole plain round about it was then deserted because of Saracen attacks, so that few if any could be found who showed any of the proper obedience to the servants of God dwelling there.⁷⁰

Yet he went on to suggest that the problem was not so much that the region was devastated as that the local nobles had taken advantage of the monks' exile to take over much of the abbey's lands. And that the monks of St Benedict remained away for so long was not a direct consequence of the attacks – rather it was due to the princes of Capua, who by keeping the monks under their wing in their own capital could control the community and its assets, as for example in 914 when Prince Landulf I appointed the archdeacon of Capua, John, as abbot, even though he had not previously undertaken monastic vows. Shortly afterwards the new abbot was sent by him on a diplomatic mission to Constantinople.⁷¹ When the monks did

⁶⁶ *Chronicon Salernitanum*, c. 97, p. 97. ⁶⁷ *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum*, c. 44, p. 251.

⁶⁸ Taviani-Carozzi, *La Principauté lombarde de Salerne*, 622–3.

⁶⁹ *Chron. Vult.* ii.342–3. Hodges, *Light in the Dark Ages*, 148–54. ⁷⁰ *Chron. Cas.* II.1, p. 166.

⁷¹ *Chron. Cas.* I.53, p. 135. *Le pergamene di Conversano i. (901–1265)*, ed. G. Coniglio (*Codice diplomatico pugliese*, xx, Bari 1975), 8–10 no. 4. Surprisingly, this mission was not mentioned by the chronicle.

return to Montecassino in 950, they did so with the support of the princes, and seemingly as part of a change in princely policy whereby the rulers sought to use the abbey, with which they continued to be closely allied, as a bastion of their power in the north of the principality, and as a means of controlling the nobility of the region, notably the gastalds (from the 980s counts) of Aquino. Prince Landulf II (died 961) and his son Pandulf I forced these nobles to return alienated abbatial property, and upheld (or encouraged local counts to uphold) the claims of Montecassino and other monastic houses, including the nunnery of S. Maria, Cingla, against various inhabitants of the region in a series of land pleas in 960–3. A notable feature of the documents recording these pleas was that they gave snippets of witnesses' testimony in the vernacular.⁷²

According to Leo of Ostia, Abbot Aligern of Montecassino had found almost the whole of what had once been the abbatial lands under the control of the gastalds of Aquino and the counts of Teano.

Hence the wise abbot began skilfully to identify and reclaim the property which the monastery has held in the past wherever it was, but especially those lands which adjoined it and were nearby, from those who had seized it during this period of warfare. He devoted every effort to finding and making public the grants and charters of those who had formerly given these possessions to us. But when he realised that no prayers or arguments of his could persuade these perverse thieves to restore this property, then he made complaint about this to Prince Landulf of Capua.

Not surprisingly this led to opposition, and indeed to the abbot being kidnapped by Atenulf of Aquino, and publicly humiliated in the main square of Aquino. But the prince reacted by mounting a punitive expedition against Atenulf, who was in turn forced to make a very public and humble submission – and the chronicle makes clear that it was what was perceived as an overt attack on princely authority that led to this violent reaction. Once at liberty, the abbot then consolidated his victory by securing both a formal surrender of his claims by the lord of Aquino and a series of princely grants and confirmations of the abbey's property and its boundaries.⁷³

The problems of the monks of St Vincent seem to have been less the result of exile *per se* – the monks after all returned home much more speedily than did those of St Benedict – and more the consequence of an

⁷² *I placiti cassinesi del secolo X con periodi in volgare*, ed. M. Inguanez (Miscellanea Cassinese 24, 1942).

⁷³ *Chron. Cas.* II.1–2, pp. 166–71 (quote 167). For the confirmation of the boundaries of the *Terra Sancti Benedicti*, Gattula, *Accessiones*, p. 57.

acute shortage of resources and the disruption of the economic structure that had existed before 881. This led to large-scale leasing of the abbatial property, a process which began almost immediately after the destruction. In 885 Abbot Maio leased properties at a number of places in the Capuan plain in return for a loan of 35 pounds of silver, recording that this was necessary because of the loss of all the abbey's treasure and equipment, the capture of some of its monks (whom presumably he wished to redeem, if possible), and the lack of food and clothing for those who remained.⁷⁴

In some cases, especially with regard to the abbey's lands in the Abruzzi, leases to aristocrats for fairly low rents may well have been recognition that the lands concerned were already under their control. Even if this was not the case, the chances of recovering properties leased for a term of several lives, such as the half share in an estate and church in the county of Penne, leased to Count Atto II of Chieti and his sons and grandsons in 984, were not high.⁷⁵ In other instances, as for example the lease of a church and other property at Lesina, along with the abbey's fishing rights there, in 965, or of four churches in the region of Canosa in 976, the properties concerned were distant ones that were probably impossible to administer; fixed rents in kind were therefore specified instead in these leases, although one wonders whether, and how, these renders, baskets of cuttlefish, eels and other dried fish, were actually delivered to the abbey on its remote plateau in Molise.⁷⁶ Towards the end of the tenth century, when the monks finally started to repair the main abbey church and more generally to restore the pre-881 buildings, cash was once again very necessary. Hence from 982 onwards much of the abbey's remaining land in the Abruzzi was leased to local aristocrats for substantial cash payments 'up front', and small rents thereafter, *ad pars nostro monasterio restaurandum*.⁷⁷ The consequences of such policies were the effective abandonment of the more distant lands that the abbey had in its ninth-century heyday possessed and the concentration of its resources in the area immediately surrounding the monastery, which could be defended and administered much more effectively.⁷⁸

Much the same process occurred with the lands of other great monastic landowners. Both Montecassino and St Sophia, Benevento, abandoned, or lost, virtually all of the extensive possessions that they had once enjoyed in Apulia. Montecassino for a time made some effort to maintain its claims in Apulia through its sporadic contacts with the Byzantine authorities there.

⁷⁴ *Chron. Vult.* ii.8–10. ⁷⁵ *Chron. Vult.* ii.328–30. ⁷⁶ *Chron. Vult.* ii.180–1, 183–5.

⁷⁷ *Chron. Vult.* ii.292–4 (982); cf. 295–7 (982), 328–30 (984), 334–7 (988).

⁷⁸ Wickham, 'Monastic lands and monastic patrons' (above, n. 49), 149–51.

So, for example, the properties of its cell at Ascoli, on the inland frontier of the province, were confirmed by the *strategos* (governor) of 'Langobardia' in 911.⁷⁹ But given the close links between the Cassinese community and the princes of Capua/Benevento, and the often hostile relations between the princes and Byzantium, contact with the Byzantine government of Apulia was limited, and it is unlikely that the latter was really much concerned with the abbey's claims. When in 956 during a brief period of *détente* the then *strategos* Marianos Argyros issued a *sigillion* for Abbot Aligern, he gave the abbot permission 'to travel in the entire province of Langobardia and to reclaim all the rightful possessions of the monastery'; phraseology which surely suggests that these properties had by this time been lost.⁸⁰ Certainly, when after the Norman conquest Montecassino once again became a major landholder in Apulia, there was no continuity with what had once been held there. Similarly, although St Sophia, Benevento, by now converted from a nunnery to a male monastic house, obtained a series of diplomas from the Ottonian emperors, from 972 onwards, which confirmed long lists of properties supposedly owned by the abbey both in Apulia and in the plain north of Naples, these lists no longer corresponded with reality. At best what was detailed in these documents were unacknowledged claims. From now onwards the monks of St Sophia concentrated their efforts on lands in the immediate vicinity of Benevento and, to a lesser extent, in the mountains to the north of that city.⁸¹

From 945/50 onwards the abbots of Montecassino and St Vincent not only focused their attention on the consolidation of the compact blocks of territory around the monasteries themselves, the *Terra Sancti Benedicti* and the *Terra Sancti Vincenti*, but they developed new means of exploiting them. Much of the land was now leased to groups of peasant cultivators; on the Montecassino lands usually in return for a standard render in kind of a third of the wine crop and a seventh of the grain.⁸² Some of these peasants were immigrants, especially from the Abruzzi, offered favourable terms in return for settlement. The Volturmo chronicler indeed stated that the semi-deserted state of the abbey's lands made it essential to bring in new

⁷⁹ *Le colonie cassinesi in Capitanata*, iii Ascoli, ed. T. Leccisotti (Miscellanea Cassinese 19, 1940), 33–4 no. 3 (also Trinchera, *Syllabus*, 4 no. 5).

⁸⁰ Trinchera, *Syllabus*, 5 no. 6. Cf. G. A. Loud, 'Montecassino and Byzantium in the tenth and eleventh centuries', in *The Theotokos Evergetis and Eleventh-Century Monasticism*, ed. M. Mullett and A. Kirby (Belfast 1994), 30–58, especially 34–7.

⁸¹ *Chron. S. Sophiae*, ii.587–611. Martin, *Pouille*, 295–9, 677–9. G. A. Loud, 'A Lombard abbey in a Norman world: St Sophia, Benevento, 1050–1200', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 19, *Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1996* (Woodbridge 1997), 280–1.

⁸² *Chron. Cas.* II.3, pp. 171–2.

cultivators.⁸³ So in 962, for example, a monk sent by Abbot Paul of St Vincent leased land at a place called *Causa* near the River Volturno to a group of seven immigrants from 'the lands of Francia' (probably from the north Italian kingdom, which was considered 'Frankish', that is once part of the Carolingian Empire).⁸⁴ In 972 another representative of the same abbot leased land at Colli and Fornelli, in the south-east of the *Terra Sancti Vincenti*, to some 22 men from 14 families, two of which were identified as coming from the Abruzzi. This second charter was notable in that not only were the tenants to cultivate the land assigned, in return for an annual render of one measure of grain and one of barley, and two measures of wine must, from each household, as well as one pig in every eleven, but they were also to build a *castellum*, that is a fortified, nucleated village.⁸⁵ This is one of no fewer than 17 charters of *incastellamento* contained within the chronicle-chartulary of Volturno from this period, and in several other cases a new settlement later developed into a fortified *castellum*, as at *Causa*, the little village established in the 962 charter mentioned above, which a century later was the site of a *castellum* called Cerasuolo (in the south-western part of the abbey's *terra*).⁸⁶ This *incastellamento*, the development of private fortification on the abbey lands, was expressly sanctioned by the princes of Capua/Benevento, the brothers Pandulf I and Landulf III, in July 967.⁸⁷ A month earlier the princes had issued a similar charter for Montecassino.

The *incastellamento* on the Cassinese lands was, however, at least to begin with, much less extensive than on the territory of St Vincent on Volturno. Abbot Aligern founded one *castellum*, at Sant'Angelo in Theodice, on the River Gari 5 km south-east of the monastery, in 966. He settled a group of 30 men there, giving them land in return for a money rent and two-fifths of the wine harvest, and agreed to pay and feed the masons (*magistri fabricatores*) building the walls of the settlement. But, in the grant of (retrospective) permission to erect fortifications a year later only two other sites were specifically mentioned, and one of these, Rocca Janula, was a fortress pure and simple, guarding the approach road up the mountain to the abbey. Thereafter there was little further development of fortified settlements on the abbey lands until c. 1000, and even then only a few sites were fortified, and in some cases perhaps with a

⁸³ *Chron. Vult.* ii.42. ⁸⁴ *Chron. Vult.* ii.121-2. ⁸⁵ *Chron. Vult.* ii.117-19.

⁸⁶ C. J. Wickham, *Il problema dell'incastellamento nell'Italia centrale. L'esempio di San Vincenzo al Volturno* (Florence 1985), 39. For a general discussion of the *incastellamento* of the Volturno lands, to which what follows is much indebted, see *ibid.*, 24-52.

⁸⁷ *Chron. Vult.* ii.162-4.

tower rather than a complete set of walls. The large-scale *incastellamento* of the Montecassino lands took place only after the arrival of the Normans.⁸⁸

The concentration of settlers in protected sites, usually on easily defensible hilltops or ridges, was much more extensive on the lands of St Vincent. Even here, there was a contrast between the central area of the territory, around the monastery itself, where the whole settlement, clearance and economic exploitation of the land were organised around the new *castella*, and the north-eastern part, on generally poorer land, which remained largely as an area of dispersed settlement. Where there were *castella* founded along the eastern frontier of the *Terra Sancti Vincenti* their purpose was primarily defensive, to resist encroachments by the neighbouring Count of Isernia.⁸⁹ Furthermore, it should be emphasised that *incastellamento* was a widespread phenomenon, and not found simply on the lands of these two great abbeys. Indeed, during the later tenth century *castella* spread across a wide area of central and southern Italy, in the latter region primarily in the Principality of Benevento, but also in parts of the Principality of Capua, and even in the relatively tiny duchy of Gaeta. Similarly, there was an extensive process of *incastellamento* in the Abruzzi, largely between c. 970 and 1020.⁹⁰ (By contrast, the Principality of Salerno and the Byzantine province of Apulia had relatively few *castella* at this period.) While these *castella* were usually fortified settlements, and not 'castles' in the north European sense, they were an integral part of a wide-ranging fragmentation of effective authority over much of Lombard southern Italy, whereby aristocrats, using these foundations as a means of controlling and exploiting the local population, increasingly consolidated their power in particular districts, to the long-term detriment of princely authority. To some extent the rulers even encouraged this process, no doubt unintentionally, by granting comital authority to members of junior branches of their own family, and sometimes through specific grants of judicial rights and immunities. Here short-term advantage, satisfying relations and allies, was gained, but at the ultimate expense of the grantor's successors. Ironically, this haemorrhage of long-term princely authority began in earnest during the rule of Pandulf I Ironhead (961–81), under

⁸⁸ L. Tosti, *Storia della badia di Montecassino* (3 vols., Naples 1842), i.223–8; Loud, 'Liri Valley', 7–19.

⁸⁹ Wickham, *Il Problema dell'Incastellamento*, 30–3, 50–1.

⁹⁰ L. Feller, 'Pouvoir et société dans les Abruzzes autour l'an mil: aristocratie, *incastellamento*, appropriation des justices (960–1035)', *BISIME* 94 (1988), 1–72; and Feller, *Abruzzes médiévales*, 213–87.

whom the power of the Princes of Capua/Benevento appeared to be at its apogee.⁹¹

The princes saw in the two great abbeys valuable agents counterbalancing the nobility in the north of the principality of Capua and the inland mountain region respectively. Hence they were at pains to defend them, as Pandulf I did for Montecassino against the gastalds of Aquino and the Counts of Teano, and as his father Landulf II defended Volturno against the incursions of the Counts of Venafrò in 954.⁹² They were also prepared to make a few modest gifts themselves to these abbeys, as with Pandulf I's donation to Montecassino of a plot of land and permission to build a bathhouse at Capua in 961, and his grant of a large number of separate landholdings near the Lago di Patria, on the border between the principality of Capua and the duchy of Naples, to Volturno in 964.⁹³ However, for the most part, the princes preferred not to use their own, increasingly finite, resources to enrich these monasteries, but rather to aid and protect them, and to grant them legal privileges. And after the death of Pandulf I in 981 the situation was much less promising. The two principalities of Capua and Benevento, which had been ruled together for the previous 80 years, were now once again divided, and though the rulers were cousins (and briefly in the early eleventh century brothers) there was henceforth very little co-operation. Furthermore, the consolidation of local aristocratic power meant that effective princely power became increasingly confined to the vicinities of the capital cities. One symptom of this was that after the early 980s there was virtually no contact between the princes and the abbey of St Vincent. This fragmentation of secular authority was to be an important factor facilitating the Norman take-over in the eleventh century.

The pre-eminence of Pandulf Ironhead came about through his alliance with the German ruler Otto I, who was crowned in Rome as Emperor of the West in February 962, and who made his first visit to southern Italy later in that same year. By working with the apparently strongest local ruler, Otto sought to exercise that right of overlordship that the

⁹¹ J.-M. Martin, 'Éléments préféodaux dans les principautés de Bénévent et de Capoue (fin du VIII^e siècle – début du XI^e siècle): modalités de privatisation du pouvoir', in *Structure féodales et féodalisme dans l'Occident méditerranéen (Xe–XIII^e siècles)*, ed. G. Duby and P. Toubert (Rome 1980), 553–86 (a seminal study of the issue). See also Loud, 'Southern Italy in the tenth century', 636–41, and for the duchy of Gaeta, J.-F. Guiraud, 'Le Réseau de peuplement dans le duché de Gaeta du Xe au XIII^e siècle', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: Moyen-Âge, temps modernes* 94 (1982); P. Skinner, *Family Power in Southern Italy. The Duchy of Gaeta and its Neighbours, 850–1139* (Cambridge 1995), 160–73.

⁹² *Chron. Vult.* ii.64–8. ⁹³ Gattula, *Accessiones*, 59–61; *Chron. Vult.* ii.216–33.

Carolingians had earlier claimed, and to vindicate his role as king of the whole of Italy, and not simply of the north. Hence, like the Carolingians he acted as patron and protector of the great 'imperial' monasteries: in his first diploma for a south Italian house, issued in favour of St Vincent on Volturmo while he was at Capua in August 962, he expressly cited the example of his Carolingian predecessors, Charlemagne, Louis the Pious and Lothar, and confirmed the abbey's property *per diversos fines regni Italici*, then expressly listing possessions, not just within the traditional kingdom of Italy (in the case of St Vincent that would be its lands in the Abruzzi), but also those that were within the principalities of Capua and Benevento.⁹⁴ But his south Italian policy went a long way beyond simply issuing formal diplomas of confirmation and protection. Between 967 and 970 Otto led four separate expeditions south of Rome, and the aim of these was, with the assistance of Prince Pandulf, to conquer some or all of the Byzantine dominions in the south. In the spring of 968 he besieged Bari, the capital of the Byzantine province of Langobardia, albeit unsuccessfully. Later that same year he launched a renewed invasion, and in May 969, in a diploma for the Abruzzese abbey of St Clement at Casauria, issued at Bovino, an important stronghold on the frontier between Apulia and the principality of Benevento, he said expressly that he was returning from Calabria, 'which we have tried to subject to our rule'.⁹⁵ In all, Otto I spent some fifteen months in southern Italy during the last eleven years of his reign.⁹⁶ His example was followed, if to a lesser extent, by his successors: each of the next five emperors led at least one expedition to southern Italy during the course of their reign.

This imperial involvement in the south, and more specifically Otto's attempt to conquer the Byzantine provinces, which his son was to revive in 981/2, had significant consequences for the south Italian Church. In 966, Pope John XIII, who had been forced into exile from Rome and taken refuge with Pandulf Ironhead at Capua, raised the bishopric of that city to be in future an archbishopric. From the prince's point of view, this was probably primarily a matter of prestige; although he may also have been trying to bring the Church in the principality more firmly under his control, for the first archbishop was his younger brother John. In return,

⁹⁴ *Chron. Vult.* ii.127–33, especially 128 (also published MGH *Diplomatum* i, *Conradi I, Heinrici I et Ottonis I*, ed. T. Sickel (Hanover 1879–84), 349–53 no. 245).

⁹⁵ MGH *Diplomatum*, i.511–13 no. 373. For background and a detailed discussion of these campaigns, J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantine* (Paris 1904), 301–15.

⁹⁶ C.-R. Brühl, *Fodrum, Gistum und Servitium Regis* (Cologne 1968), 476.

he assisted the emperor to restore the pope to Rome.⁹⁷ It is not clear whether an ecclesiastical province of Capua subject to the archbishop was envisaged at this point, although one certainly existed by c. 1000. Such provinces had hitherto been unknown in the Latin Church in southern Italy. But less than three years later, in May 969, Pope John also raised the see of Benevento to be an archbishopric, and expressly to be the head of a metropolitan province with ten designated suffragan sees. Three of those sees lay along the border of Byzantine territory, and were actually in Byzantine hands at this period. Furthermore, the pope also confirmed the see of Benevento's historic claims over the church of Siponto and the Monte Gargano peninsula, which had a long historical precedent, dating back, as we have seen, probably to the late seventh century, but which referred to a region that was in the later tenth century an area in dispute between the Lombard princes and the Byzantines.⁹⁸

These measures were surely intended to further the designs of Pandulf and Otto on Byzantine territory – and it should be remembered that despite Byzantine rule the population of northern Apulia was overwhelmingly Lombard, and churchmen there followed the Latin rite. By attaching churches in Byzantine territory to the archbishopric of Benevento, the intention was surely to subvert the loyalty of those subject to those churches, weaning them away from Byzantium and towards Benevento. The next, and most ambitious, steps in this policy came some years later. In 983 John XIV repeated his predecessor's privilege to the church of Benevento, but added four further suffragan sees, three of which were in the Capitanata, the region which the Byzantines were in the process of taking over at precisely this time. And in 989 John XV granted the new archbishop of Salerno metropolitan rights over seven sees, one of which (Acerenza) lay within the Byzantine province of Lucania, and no fewer than three (Bisignano, Malvito and Cosenza) were in Calabria.⁹⁹ Whatever the historic claims of Salerno, and much of northern Calabria had been under the rule of the Lombard dukes and their successors at Salerno in the eighth and ninth centuries, in the context of the late tenth, when Byzantine rule extended as far north as the River Sinni, this was a provocative action,

⁹⁷ *Chron. Cas.* II.9, p. 186. N. Cilento, 'L'istituzione della metropoli di Capua (966)', in his *Italia meridionale longobarda* (2nd edn, Milan–Naples 1971), 184–207.

⁹⁸ *Italia Pontificia*, ix.54–5 no. 15.

⁹⁹ *Italia Pontificia*, ix.56 no. 17; viii.346 no. 11. Salerno's promotion to archiepiscopal rank probably took place in the autumn of 983, but no bull has survived. Conza, also named in this bull, lay on the frontier between Salerno and Lucania, and may too have been under Byzantine control at this period.

designed surely to destabilise that part of the province where there were still some Lombard inhabitants. All three of the Calabrian sees which the papacy considered to be subordinate to Salerno were in Byzantine eyes suffragans of the archbishop of Reggio.

The papacy too had historic claims that it wished to vindicate. Its ancient jurisdiction over churches in the Byzantine provinces of south Italy had been summarily abrogated by the Emperor Leo III during the Iconoclast controversy, who had made these churches subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople. But in giving the new archbishoprics at Benevento and Salerno claims over bishoprics in Byzantine territory (and those in northern Apulia had Latin bishops, although in Calabria Malvito had certainly been converted to the Greek rite by 983), the popes were acting primarily as the agents of Ottonian policy. By so doing, they began a period of intense ecclesiastical competition between Rome and Constantinople. The Byzantine reaction was to promote the claims, and hence the loyalty, of sees in their provinces. The promotion of Otranto to be an archbishopric in 968/9 may well have been linked with the creation of the new *thema* of Lucania, for that region lay within its (geographically rather awkward) metropolitan province. But thereafter a whole series of Latin bishoprics within Apulia were promoted to archiepiscopal rank, some with dependent sees, but most, at least at first, autocephalous: Taranto in 978, Trani (perhaps by 987, certainly by 999), Brindisi (992), Lucera (1005), and Siponto by 1023. At Siponto, which the archbishops of Benevento claimed to be under their direct jurisdiction, an entirely new see was created. Similarly, at some point in the early eleventh century Cosenza (which the papacy considered to be subject to Salerno) was apparently promoted to be an archbishopric.¹⁰⁰

The papal provisions concerning the subordination of sees in Byzantine territory to Benevento remained probably, and to Salerno certainly, a dead letter, although this did not prevent six subsequent popes repeating the terms of the 989 bull in favour of the latter archbishop. But the creation of these archbishoprics in the capitals of the three Lombard principalities was the first step towards building an effective organisational and disciplinary structure, something which the south Italian Church was conspicuously lacking in the

¹⁰⁰ The death of Archbishop Peter of Cosenza was recorded by a Bari annalist in 1056, Lupus Protospatharius, *Annales*, MGH SS v.59. Generally, see C. G. Mor, 'La lotta fra la chiesa greca e la chiesa latina in Puglia nel secolo X', *Archivio storico pugliese* 4 (1951), 58–64; V. von Falkenhausen, *Untersuchungen über die byzantinische Herrschaft in Süditalien vom 9. bis ins 11. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden 1967), 148–55; Taviani-Carozzi, *La Principauté lombarde de Salerne*, i.671–4. However, Mor's suggestion that some sees may have had rival Greek and Latin prelates appears improbable.

early Middle Ages. And however formal and routine many of the bulls confirming the rights and privileges of these new Latin archbishoprics were, the fact that they were issued at all, and that south Italian prelates bothered to request them, showed a markedly increased level of contact between the region's Church leaders and the papacy compared with the situation before the 960s. Admittedly, the creation of an overarching ecclesiastical structure did not happen in most of southern Italy until after the Norman conquest, and the undue proliferation of archiepiscopal sees in Byzantine Apulia did not make that process any easier. But the changes of the later tenth century at least gave later Church reformers a starting point.

Despite the creation of these new archbishoprics, the Church in southern Italy during the tenth and early eleventh centuries still lacked organisation and coherence. Cathedrals were more important as cult centres than as foci for the government of the clergy. There appear to have been occasional local Church councils in the ninth century, but we have no evidence for further councils being summoned until 1061, when Archbishop Udalric of Benevento held a synod attended by two papal legates and nine of his suffragan bishops, as well as 'abbots, priests, other clerics and some laymen'.¹⁰¹ However, until the Norman conquest of inland Apulia in the 1040s we cannot be sure how far the metropolitan province of Benevento described by papal bulls existed in more than theory. By contrast, although we have no surviving bulls listing those bishops subject to the archbishop of Capua, this is the one south Italian church province where the archbishop can actually be seen exercising his metropolitan rights before the Norman takeover. In 979 Archbishop Gerbert of Capua consecrated the Bishop of Caiazzo, whom he said had been made subject to him by the Apostolic See. In 1007 his successor Archbishop Pandulf 'along with his fellow bishops and suffragans' excommunicated those who had stolen property belonging to the see of Caiazzo, and in 1032 Archbishop Atenulf consecrated a new bishop of Suessa Aurunca, confirming the boundaries of the diocese and the churches subject to the bishop, and laid down instructions about the provision of the sacraments. In this charter, Atenulf also referred to a bull of Benedict VIII, now lost, that confirmed his right to confirm and consecrate the bishop.¹⁰² A previous bishop of Suessa had accompanied the archbishop to a Roman synod in 999.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ *Chron. S. Sophiae*, ii.679–82.

¹⁰² Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vi.442, 535–7. *Le pergamene dell'archivio vescovile di Caiazzo (1007–1265)*, ed. C. Salvati, M. A. Arpago *et al.* (Caserta 1983), 25–7 no. 1.

¹⁰³ MGH *Constitutiones et Acta Publica*, i, ed. L. Weiland (Hanover 1893), 52.

While the archbishop of Capua undoubtedly exercised his authority over a functioning metropolitan province, even here matters were not entirely straightforward. Towards the end of his long pontificate, in 1048 Archbishop Atenulf consecrated a new prelate for the diocese of Isernia in inland Molise, issuing a privilege similar to the one that accompanied the consecration of the bishop of Sessa Aurunca 16 years earlier; however, he lamented, the see of Isernia had hitherto lacked a pastor for a very long time.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, the situation in the northern parts of the province of Capua was complicated by the immunities enjoyed by the two great abbeys of St Benedict and St Vincent, the former from Pope Nicholas I (858–67), the latter perhaps also from the later ninth century, but certainly from Marinus II in 944. These were exempt from normal episcopal authority, and free to choose any bishop to ordain priests and deacons, to dedicate altars, and to perform the other sacramental functions of a bishop, in the monastery. These privileges, it should be noted, antedate significantly the exemption subsequently given to the French abbey of Cluny, often seen as the model for such privileged monasteries.¹⁰⁵

Elsewhere, moreover, archiepiscopal authority and church organisation was much less developed than at Capua. For all the theoretical claims embodied in the papal privileges of his see, the archbishop of Salerno, for example, had in reality only one other see subject to him, that of Paestum, in the plain to the south of Salerno. This was the only other see in the principality of Salerno in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, given that Conza, on the border with Lucania, may well have been under Byzantine control at this period. Nor indeed can we be sure that the see of Conza was functioning after the town was devastated by an earthquake, in which the bishop and many others were killed, in 990.¹⁰⁶ Meanwhile the see of Paestum, while retaining its traditional title until the middle of the twelfth century, had actually moved its seat away from the marshy and malarial plain where the classical city of Paestum lay to a healthier and safer hillside at Capaccio, some 6 km inland, perhaps already in the tenth century, certainly by the time of Bishop Amatus (1047–58).¹⁰⁷ In addition, the

¹⁰⁴ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vi.394 (there dated to 1032). For the date, E. M. Jamison, 'The administration of the County of Molise in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', *English Historical Review* 44 (1929), 532–3. Bishop Ardericus of Isernia was previously recorded in 967–70, *Chron. Vult.* ii.162, 211–13, but the see is too poorly documented to know who, if any, his successors were.

¹⁰⁵ *Italia Pontificia*, viii.125 no. 33; *Chron. Vult.* i.32–3, ii.103–9. Vitolo, 'Caratteri del monachesimo', 50–3.

¹⁰⁶ *Chron. Cas.* I.11, p. 189.

¹⁰⁷ *The History of the Normans by Amatus of Montecassino*, trans. P. N. Dunbar and G. A. Loud (Woodbridge 2004), 13. The continued existence of the see of Paestum is made clear by a charter of November 1073 that contains earlier charters issued by successive bishops, from 932 until 1019, *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, x.59–71 no. 19.

actual authority exercised by the archbishop of Salerno was remarkably slight. Only a handful of the churches in the principality were under his direct authority, and these were churches that he personally owned, not ones subject to him through his episcopal status. Nor were the sees of Salerno and Paestum well endowed with land or revenues, and what possessions they had took some time to recover from the disruption caused by the Muslims in the later ninth century. Until well into the eleventh century, the bishopric/archbishopric of Salerno was considerably less prosperous than two private churches established by the princes in the city of Salerno: St Maximus, founded by Prince Guaiferius in 868, and S. Maria de Domno, founded in 989 by John, the former princely official who had established a new ruling dynasty from 983 onwards. Both of these wealthy churches were exempt from episcopal authority; Prince Guaimar I, the founder's son, persuaded the bishop to sanction the *libertas* of St Maximus in 882, while S. Maria was exempted at its foundation.¹⁰⁸ These two churches were private ones, not 'princely' churches *per se*. Ownership, and the appointment of the *rectores* who ran the churches on a day-to-day basis, lay with the descendants of the founders as a whole kin group, not just with the prince.¹⁰⁹ But the independence of these two prestigious and privileged churches was by no means exceptional, for the church in the principality of Salerno was little more than a ramshackle arrangement of proprietary churches, and insofar as it was organised, this was done as much if not more by the prince, who retained close judicial control over clergy and laity, and their property, than by the archbishop.¹¹⁰

Neither was the situation very different in the principality of Benevento or in Byzantine Apulia. The two most important monasteries in the diocese of Benevento were both exempt from episcopal authority: St Modestus and its subordinate churches by grant from Bishop Aion in 879, and St Sophia through a papal bull in 1022.¹¹¹ The diocesan structure was still inchoate. There were one or two new bishoprics founded in the later tenth century: of the sees listed in the bull creating the archbishopric of Benevento in 969,

¹⁰⁸ *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, i.iii–12 no. 87; *ibid.*, ii. 272–4 no. 412.

¹⁰⁹ E.g. S. Maria de Domno, *pertinet ipsa ecclesia de eredes quondam domni iohanni olim principis*, *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, vi.4–5 no. 873 (1034). B. Ruggiero, *Principi, nobiltà e Chiesa nel Mezzogiorno longobardo. L'esempio di S. Massimo di Salerno* (Naples 1973), especially 15–23.

¹¹⁰ See Taviani-Carozzi, *La Principauté lombarde de Salerne*, i.611–67. V. Ramseyer, 'Ecclesiastical re-organization in the Principality of Salerno in the late Lombard and Early Norman period', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 17, *Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1994*, ed. C. Harper Bill (Woodbridge 1995), 203–7.

¹¹¹ *Le più antiche carte dell'abbazia di San Modesto in Benevento (Secoli VIII–XIII)*, ed. F. Bartoloni (Rome 1950), 7–11 no. 4; *Chron. S. Sophiae*, ii.616–20.

S. Agata dei Goti was founded in 970, Bovino was in existence by 971, Alife by 982, and Trivento before 1001,¹¹² but it is by no means clear that all the sees listed in papal bulls creating metropolitan provinces actually existed at the time when the privilege was issued, or indeed for some time thereafter. Two of the bishoprics listed in the 969 bull were Ariano, some 25 km to the east of Benevento, and Avellino, 22 km to the south, but we have no evidence that there was actually a bishop at Ariano until 1039, or at Avellino until 1053.¹¹³ When John XIX confirmed the archiepiscopal status of Bari in 1025 – this to a see which had in fact been an archbishopric, and been treated as such by the Byzantine authorities, for more than 70 years – he decreed that there should be 12 subordinate bishoprics, but then gave a list of 17 places where these might be situated.¹¹⁴ What we have here is clearly a blueprint for a province that did not in fact exist, although some new sees were founded in Apulia at this period: thus the bishopric of Canne was established shortly before 1030.¹¹⁵ Meanwhile Vieste, on the north of the Gargano peninsula, already had a bishop in 1019.¹¹⁶ A number of bishoprics were also established by the Byzantine Catepan (governor) of Italy, Basil Boiannes, in the new towns he founded to defend the inland frontier of the Capitanata after 1019.¹¹⁷ But, by contrast, some of the places mentioned as the seats for potential bishoprics by the bull in favour of the archbishopric of Bari in 1025 appear only actually to have received bishops a generation or more later. Giovenazzo had a bishop by 1055, but some (notably Ruvo, Conversano and Polignano) had to wait until after the Norman conquest.¹¹⁸

In addition, there was continued confusion as to the identity and jurisdiction of those older sees that the Byzantine authorities had promoted to archiepiscopal rank. Thus the see of Bari had been associated with the church of Canosa after the latter town, which is in fact more than 60 km to the west, had been destroyed by the Muslims. Yet in the 980s the see of Canosa was linked with that of Brindisi, itself a further 90 km south-east of

¹¹² Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, viii.345; *Le più antiche carte del capitolo della cattedrale di Benevento (668–1200)*, ed. A. Ciarelli, C. de Donato and V. Matera (Rome 2002), 51–5 no. 18; *Italia Pontificia*, ix.141, 193. H.-W. Klewitz, 'Zur Geschichte der Bistumsorganisation Campaniens und Apuliens', in his *Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Kirches- und Geistes-Geschichte des Mittelalters* (Aalen 1971), 350–3.

¹¹³ A. Pratesi, 'Chartae rescriptae' del secolo XI provenienti di Ariano Irpino', *Bullettino dell'istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo* 68 (1956), 193–7 no. 2; *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, i.221–3 no. 58.

¹¹⁴ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.21 no. 13 (*Italia Pontificia*, ix.317–18 no. 2; there considered genuine despite doubts from the earlier editors).

¹¹⁵ The authenticity of *Cod. Dip. Barese*, viii.22–3 no. 8, which records the consecration of the first bishop, Paul, has been doubted, but he was undoubtedly in office by March 1030, *ibid.*, 23–4 no. 9.

¹¹⁶ *Cod. Dipl. Tremiri*, ii.22–3 no. 7. ¹¹⁷ von Falkenhausen, *Untersuchungen*, 177–9.

¹¹⁸ *Italia Pontificia*, ix.349, 354, 358, 369.

Bari: it may indeed have been from this association that Brindisi claimed archiepiscopal rank, while in 999 Bari was united with the see of Trani, an existing bishopric some 40 km along the coast to the north (and not in fact very far from Canosa).¹¹⁹ Subsequently, by 1024, Bari was once again associated with Canosa, indeed the archbishop's formal title at this period was 'Archbishop of Canosa', even though he was actually resident at Bari.¹²⁰ Meanwhile Brindisi, whose bishop had previously been 'Bishop of Brindisi, Monopoli and Ostuni', now became associated with Oria, which became a secondary, and often a rival, cathedral, while somewhat later, in 1033, Monopoli became a bishopric, the one and only suffragan see to Brindisi.¹²¹ Trani was subsequently to be an archbishopric in its own right. Not surprisingly, these changes created a mass of conflicting claims, which were not to be fully settled until the early twelfth century.

The alterations to the episcopal structure in Apulia were, it would seem, the work of the Byzantine government, and they were dictated largely by secular considerations, above all to ensure the continued loyalty to the empire of the Latin population of northern Apulia. This may well explain the promotion of the see of Trani to archiepiscopal rank: certainly in 983 the Byzantine Catepan Kalokyros praised the loyalty of Bishop Rhodostamus during the recent siege of the town, presumably by the forces of Otto II, and included the telling phrase in his privilege that he (the governor) was under orders to restore men to their obedience to the emperors. In 999 one of his successors issued a further privilege to Chrysostom, 'Archbishop of Bari and Trani', freeing the clergy of the two towns from fiscal and labour services to the state (with the significant exception of work on the local fortifications).¹²² Such fiscal privileges were distinctly unusual; the Byzantine authorities were extremely reluctant to exempt anyone, cleric or lay, from their obligations to the state, and even clergy were liable to taxes to fund military service. The only other such privilege to a south Italian church was that granted by the Catepan Basil Mesardonites to the archbishop of Oria and Brindisi in 1010, a privilege that seems, insofar as one can gather from the exiguous documentation of this particular see, also to have been linked with a reorganisation of the diocese.¹²³

¹¹⁹ Martin, *Pouille*, 566–7. Among other relevant charters, see *Pergamene di Conversano i*, 51–3 no. 24 (992), *Carte di Trani*, 37–8 no. 8 (999).

¹²⁰ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.20–1 no. 12 (1024), 39–40 no. 19 (1029).

¹²¹ *Codice Dipl. Brindisiano*, 3–7 nos. 1–3. ¹²² *Carte di Trani*, 32–8 nos. 7–8.

¹²³ *Cod. Dipl. Brindisiano*, 5–6 no. 2 (the text survives only in a crude Latin translation); Martin, *Pouille*, 598–9. For the obligations laid on the clergy, S. Borsari, 'Istituzioni feudali parafeudali nella Puglia bizantina', *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane* 77 (1959), 123–35.

Furthermore, at Trani, it would seem from their names that the prelates in 983 (probably) and in 999 (certainly) were actually Greeks. And, while we know next to nothing about this see during the first half of the eleventh century, the next archbishop of Trani who can be identified, John, was in 1053 the recipient of letters from the archbishop of Ochrid, the ally and perhaps the spokesman of the Byzantine Patriarch Michael Keroularios, in the dispute about the use of leavened or unleavened bread at the Eucharist that greatly widened the rift between the papacy and Constantinople during the pontificate of Leo IX. John acted as an intermediary in transmitting the Greek view of this issue both to the pope and to other south Italian bishops. Subsequently, in 1063, he was deposed by Pope Alexander II.¹²⁴ It would seem probable, therefore, that John too was a Greek. Yet while there were a few Greeks in Trani, its population, including its clergy, was overwhelmingly Lombard, and practised the Latin rite. Some Greek names appear in its charters, but the people concerned usually had relatives with Lombard names, and, therefore, what this may show is onomastic fashion among the indigenous inhabitants, and not that these persons were actually Greeks. Documents issued at Trani were written exclusively in Latin.¹²⁵ The presence of a series of Greek prelates at Trani must therefore surely have been the product of outside influence; in other words, that of the Byzantine provincial government, anxious to ensure the loyalty of a key strategic town. Yet we should not deduce from this that such actions were necessarily anti-Latin, or even overtly anti-papal, even if the Byzantine authorities were clearly not enamoured of papal interference in the Church in Apulia. These Greek prelates would have to work with clergy the great majority of whom were Latin, and the 983 privilege to Bishop Rhodostamus noted that he had received ordination 'from the blessed Pope Benedict [VII]'. Indeed, the appointment of Greek bishops to sees where the population was Latin was distinctly unusual: we have already seen that at Taranto the converse was true – the prelates and cathedral clergy remained Latin, but by the eleventh century the majority of the populace were Greek (above, p. 14). But the Byzantine governors were

¹²⁴ H. Chadwick, *East and West. The Making of a Rift in the Church, from Apostolic Times until the Council of Florence* (Cambridge 2003), 201–2. For the date of his deposition, which was not in 1059 as used to be argued, T. Schmidt, *Alexander II. und die römische Reformgruppe seiner Zeit* (Stuttgart 1977), 187–95.

¹²⁵ Thus in 1072 a widow called Bisantia was the daughter of Maraldus, and her relatives included Grimus son of Tasselgardus; two of the witnesses signed in Greek, but one of them had the Lombard name Tasselgardus, *Carte di Trani*, 58–60 no. 18. A Greek inhabitant of Trani gave a church dedicated to St Basil to the (Latin) monastery of Tremiti in 1121, *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, iii.269–77 no. 95. But even this charter was written in Latin.

keen to ensure that prelates, whether Greek or Latin, were loyal and politically acceptable. Hence, in the words of a local annalist, the events that unfolded at Bari, the capital of Byzantine Italy, in 1035:

Bishop [*sic*] Bisantius died on the Epiphany of the Lord [6 January]. He was a most pious father of orphans, the founder of the holy church of Bari, the guard and defender of the whole city, and terrible and without fear against all the Greeks. Romuald the *protospatharios* was elected to that episcopal see by all the people. And in the month of April the emperor summoned him to him into exile, and on 9 August Nicholas was elected.¹²⁶

It seems, therefore, that on the death of an archbishop who had proved too independent towards the Byzantine authorities – ‘terrible and without fear against all the Greeks’ – popular election had produced a successor. In addition, the deceased Bisantius was possibly too closely linked with the papacy, for he had received consecration and a privilege from John XIX, the first such papal bull ever received by the church of Bari, hence perhaps the description of him as the *fundator* of the see.¹²⁷ (This was hardly literally the case, unless maybe he was seen as the man who had freed it from the link with Trani.) The successor, Romuald, despite his Byzantine rank, was clearly not acceptable, and was summoned to Constantinople and removed from office. His replacement Nicholas had previously been a layman, and indeed had a son, to whom in 1036 he entrusted a church. But he was a much more satisfactory archbishop from the point of view of the government, and remained in office until his death in 1061.¹²⁸ The episode clearly shows the importance that the Byzantine government attached to control of the Latin Church within its south Italian provinces.

However, the situation within the Lombard principalities was not much different, for the upper ranks within the Church were, insofar as the fragmentary evidence permits us to see, closely tied to the rulers. Three successive bishops of Capua in the ninth century were brothers of the ruling count. The first, Landulf, subsequently seized Capua and expelled his nephews to become count himself. The second, chosen as bishop while still adolescent, was later forced out of his post, but replaced by yet another brother, who was married.¹²⁹ The first archbishop of Capua in 966 was the prince’s younger brother. Abbot Manso of Montecassino (986–96) was a

¹²⁶ *Annales Bareses*, MGH SS v.54. ¹²⁷ *Italia Pontificia*, ix.317 nos. 1–2.

¹²⁸ *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*, RIS v.152. For the son and his previous lay status, *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, vi.61–2 no. 911, 115–17 no. 950.

¹²⁹ Erchempert, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum*, cc. 22, 40, pp. 243, 250. The Capuan rulers only adopted the princely title after the takeover of Benevento by Atenulf I in 900.

princely relative, and his involvement in the factional disputes besetting the principality in these years eventually led to his blinding at Capua in 996.¹³⁰ Pandulf II of Benevento installed his younger brother Atenulf as abbot of Montecassino in 1011, and his son, Pandulf IV of Capua, attempted to replace the incumbent archbishop of that city with his son Hildebrand in the 1030s. This attempt miscarried. Pandulf's deposition by the Emperor Conrad II in 1038 led to the restoration of Archbishop Atenulf, but when the latter eventually died, after an episcopate of over 40 years, Hildebrand was installed as his successor.¹³¹

Similarly, in the Abruzzi the bishopric of Marsia was more or less the private property of the local comital dynasty, right up until the era of the Gregorian reform. Atto, bishop of Marsia (c. 1048–57) and subsequently Chieti (1057–71), may have been a friend of the reforming Archbishop Alfanus I of Salerno, and have had close links with Montecassino, where he was buried, but he was still the son of Count Oderisius II of Marsia, and since he was only 38 when he died, he was appointed to office as a teenager, well below the proper canonical age.¹³² Other ruling dynasties may have been less consistently ruthless nepotists, but they still controlled appointments, and occasionally installed relatives. Peter, bishop successively of Canosa and Salerno in the early ninth century, was a cousin (*cognatus*) of Prince Grimoald, and Prince Ademarius of Salerno installed his son as bishop there in 860, although the resulting unrest contributed to the coup that led to his own deposition. The next bishop, Rachenald, was not a princely relative, but he was very definitely a princely appointment, *preordinatus* by the new prince, Guaiferius.¹³³ A century later, Gisulf I appointed his doctor as bishop of Salerno.¹³⁴ Bernard, bishop of Gaeta from 997, was the brother of the reigning duke, and since he held office for half a century must have been very young when appointed.¹³⁵

The most blatant example of this mingling of Church and state was Athanasius, bishop, but also ruler of Naples from 877 until his death in 898, who ruthlessly overthrew his own brother to take over the duchy, and thereafter pursued a pragmatic, hard-headed, and indeed downright unscrupulous policy, including on occasion alliance with the Muslims, as

¹³⁰ *Chron. Cas.* II.9, 12, 16, pp. 186, 189–90, 197–8.

¹³¹ *Chron. Cas.* II. 29, 79, pp. 219–20, 324. *Amatus*, I.39, pp. 51–2.

¹³² *Amatus*, VI.8, p. 268; *Le carme di Alfano I, Arcivescovo di Salerno*, ed. A. Lentini and F. Avagliano (Miscellanea Cassinese 38, 1974), 141–2 no. 16, 170 no. 31. For the tenth century, Feller, *Abruzzes médiévales*, 826–7.

¹³³ *Chronicon Salernitanum*, 98, 101–2, 105. Taviani-Carozzi, *La Principauté lombarde de Salerne*, i.644–5.

¹³⁴ *Chronicon Salernitanum*, 169. ¹³⁵ Skinner, *Family Power*, 90.

well as enthusiastic involvement with the internal conflicts among the other Christian rulers and attempts to aggrandise his dominions.¹³⁶ But he was hardly typical, even in the troubled ninth century. He and Landulf, bishop and subsequently count of Capua (863–79), were the only clerics to act as secular rulers. Their political prominence came not because they were clerics but because they were members of the ruling dynasty. Much of what we know about them comes from the pen of the chronicler Erchempert, and as a monk, whose monastery, Montecassino, suffered at their hands, at least indirectly, not surprisingly his opinion was hardly flattering. Landulf of Capua was moved to fight against his brother, ‘influenced not by religion but by madness’. He was ‘cunning by custom, very lubricious and petulant, more ambitious than other men, prouder than could be imagined, and an attacker and plunderer of monks’ – this last sufficient to damn him in the eyes of Erchempert. Indeed, he went on to claim that the bishop quipped: ‘Every time I see a monk, a good day is always ruined for me.’¹³⁷

But not all princely relatives destined for the Church followed this pattern, even assuming that Erchempert’s hostile portrait had some correspondence with reality. The predecessor of Duke Athanasius as bishop of Naples was his uncle and namesake, the son of Duke Sergius I, who died young. He was trained for the clergy from childhood, and recorded as being ‘ignorant of secular business, but imbued with every catholic doctrine’. We are told that even as a young man he showed himself well suited by his good qualities for promotion to the episcopate, and that his pleasant behaviour endeared him to Bishop John, who loved him like a son. On the latter’s death, his election as bishop was acclaimed by the people. He opposed the alliance with the Arabs made by his nephew Sergius II and was thrown into prison by him. The monks and clergy of the diocese then begged the duke: ‘Give us back our bishop, let the holy man go, the father of orphans, the defender of widows, the light of all our region.’¹³⁸ The picture presented by the ‘Deeds of the Bishops of Naples’ is of course as one-sided as Erchempert’s hostile view of Landulf of Capua; it does nonetheless suggest that not all princely bishops were cut from the same cloth. Nor were such appointments always unwelcome. The appointment of Atenulf as abbot of Montecassino in 1011 was at the request of the monks

¹³⁶ For a good discussion, N. Cilento, *Le origini della signoria capuana nella Longobardia minore* (Rome 1966), 122–47, and more briefly, Kreutz, *Before the Normans*, 73–4.

¹³⁷ *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum*, cc. 28, 31, pp. 245–6. Cf. Pohl, ‘History in fragments’, 373.

¹³⁸ *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, cc. 63, 65, *MGH Scriptores Rerum Langobardorum*, 433, 435.

themselves. They preferred him as their abbot to a nephew of the previous incumbent, John III; and they resented the efforts of the dying abbot John to foist his relative, who had only recently become a monk, on them. Atenuulf, by contrast, was already a monk, in the abbey of St Modestus at Benevento. However, what took place was actually in the nature of an exchange, since the prince then compensated the disappointed candidate with the abbacy of St Modestus.¹³⁹

While the appointment of princely relatives should be seen as exceptional, it was, of course, axiomatic that those who filled almost all senior positions in the Church were drawn from the upper class. Yet all too often bishops, abbots and other ecclesiastical officials are no more than names, and we know nothing of how and why they were chosen. A few examples of what little we do know must suffice. Hence Pando, archdeacon of Salerno in 973, was a relation of the prince's wife.¹⁴⁰ The first archbishop of Amalfi, appointed in 987, Leo de Urso Comite, was an aristocrat from a family of city officials.¹⁴¹ John III, abbot of Montecassino (998–1010), came from a noble family in Benevento (*prosapia genus nobile ducens*), and was archdeacon of Benevento cathedral before he became a monk at Montecassino.¹⁴² Theobald, who was elected abbot of Montecassino in 1022, with the encouragement of the Emperor Henry II, came from a noble family in the March of Chieti, and had entered Montecassino at the age of fourteen.¹⁴³ Yet even here one begins to wonder. Did the Montecassino chronicler Leo assume noble birth as a precondition for abbatial rank? But at least he tells us more about them than did his counterpart and contemporary who wrote the Volturno chronicle, who was, with rare exceptions, content to give simply the name of the abbot and how long he held office.

Rulers could take harsh measures against churchmen who stepped out of line. Abbot Deusdedit of Montecassino was arrested by Prince Siconulf of Benevento and died in prison in 834; so too did Bishop Tiberius of Naples a few years later, a victim of the political instability of his native city.¹⁴⁴ Sergius II of Naples sent his uncle Bishop Athanasius (I) to remain in a monastery on an island in the harbour of the town, effectively as a prisoner.¹⁴⁵ Pandulf IV of Capua forced Abbot Theobald of Montecassino to live in the Cassinese

¹³⁹ *Chron. Cas.* II.29, pp. 219–20. ¹⁴⁰ *Chronicon Salernitanum*, 181.

¹⁴¹ M. del Treppo and A. Leone, *Amalfi medioevale* (Naples 1977), 155.

¹⁴² *Chron. Cas.* II.22, p. 206. ¹⁴³ *Chron. Cas.* II.52, p. 262.

¹⁴⁴ Erchempert, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum*, c. 13, p. 239; *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, c. 58, p. 432.

¹⁴⁵ *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, c. 65, p. 435. The island was later joined to the mainland by a causeway, and is now the site of the (thirteenth-century) Castello del'Ovo.

cell in Capua while one of his own men administered the abbey, and (so it was claimed) kept Archbishop Atenulf in chains to make him resign the see.¹⁴⁶ The takeover of Amalfi by Guaimar IV of Salerno in 1039 led to the flight of its archbishop, Laurentius. He remained in exile, in Rome, for the last ten years of his life.¹⁴⁷ Yet to imply that many ecclesiastics played a significant role in political life would be misleading. Certainly the bishops/archbishops of Salerno took little or no part in the politics of their principality, and on the rare occasions when they did, their role was pretty ineffectual. Bishop Bernard protested when the prince, Guaiferius, lodged a Muslim ambassador in the episcopal residence next to the cathedral, and temporarily went into exile, but was bought off when the prince promised to build him a new house, and the envoy came anyway.¹⁴⁸ Anyway, like many other south Italian prelates, those at Salerno lacked the material resources to exercise much political influence. In what was by the eleventh century the most centralised of the Lombard principalities, where even routine ecclesiastical transactions were often carried out in the princely court, or needed princely permission, even the archbishop hardly enjoyed much freedom of action.¹⁴⁹

Nor should we assume that there was no concern with spirituality and ecclesiastical standards. A council held, perhaps at Benevento (though other possible venues have been suggested), towards the end of the ninth century produced a wide-ranging body of enactments, and bears comparison with contemporary Carolingian conciliar legislation. Clerics were to study the canons, remain free from secular affairs, know the creed and correct doctrine, remain chaste and avoid undue communication with women, live in common and be charitable to the poor. Regulations were laid down for women entering the religious life as nuns, marriages, and relations with Jews. Priests were not to receive offerings for which they promised to say masses, and then not perform these, nor should clerics receive as personal gifts donations intended for their churches. Admittedly there were references here to what were clearly problems that needed amendment, and to churches that had fallen into ruins through neglect or 'because there is division in our native land'. But even at the time when southern Italy was at its most vulnerable, beset by external attack and

¹⁴⁶ *Amatus*, I.35, 38–9, pp. 46–8, 51–2.

¹⁴⁷ U. Schwarz, *Amalfi im frühen Mittelalter (9.–11. Jahrhundert)* (Tübingen 1978), 50.

¹⁴⁸ *Chronicon Salernitanum*, c. 99, pp. 99–101.

¹⁴⁹ Taviani-Carozzi, *La Principauté lombarde de Salerne*, i.614–16, 647–50. See also V. Ramseyer, *The Transformation of a Religious Landscape. Medieval Southern Italy, 850–1150* (Ithaca, NY, 2006), chapter 2.

internal division, there was a sense among its churchmen of what ought to be done.¹⁵⁰

One enactment of the ninth-century council at Benevento was that all churches should be made subject to *plebes*. This was one of a number of, admittedly sporadic, references to such *plebes* that can be found in documents from many different parts of southern Italy from c. 830 onwards.¹⁵¹ Yet, in contrast to northern Italy, there was never any system of *plebes/pievi* – collegiate churches with baptismal rights, to which minor churches and chapels were subject, and which were themselves under the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese, in the south. Such churches did exist in a few parts of the region. There was, for example, the *plebs* of S. Maria at Nocera, belonging to the bishop/archbishop of Salerno, attested from 841 onwards. This was situated at a place that had once, in the late Roman period, itself been the seat of a bishopric, and may perhaps have replaced that see. From the ninth century onwards it would seem to have been the bishop of Salerno's administrative and pastoral base in the north-western part of his diocese. In the eleventh century there was another *pieve* subject to the archbishop at Rota (modern-day Mercato San Severino), on the northern border of the diocese.¹⁵² There was a third at Solofra, some 10 km to the north-east of Rota, that was also subject to the archbishop, but held from him by the proprietary church of St Maximus.¹⁵³ However, even in the Salerno region there were very few such churches; they seem to have existed only in the northern part of the archbishop's sprawling diocese. Indeed, before 1050 there were only a handful of churches directly subject to the archbishop.¹⁵⁴ Documents from the Benevento region make stray references to *plebes*, in the abstract, and the concept would seem to have been understood, but it is virtually impossible to identify any specific churches

¹⁵⁰ Dom G. Morin, 'Un concile inédit tenu dans l'Italie méridionale à la fin du IX^e siècle', *Revue bénédictine* 18 (1900), 143–51. Discussion, Taviani-Carozzi, *La Principauté lombarde de Salerne*, i.653–7.

¹⁵¹ C. D. Fonseca, 'Particolarismo istituzionale e organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne nell'Alto Medioevo nell'Italia meridionale', in *Cristianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne nell'Alto Medioevo: espansione e resistenze. Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 28 (1982), 1173–6.

¹⁵² Taviani-Carozzi, *La Principauté lombarde de Salerne*, i.668–71.

¹⁵³ B. Ruggiero, *Potere, istituzioni, chiese locali: aspetti e motivi del Mezzogiorno medioevale dai Longobardi agli Angioini* (2nd edn, Spoleto 1991), 88–90, also discussed by Ruggiero, *Principi, nobiltà e Chiesa*, 82.

¹⁵⁴ Ramseyer, 'Ecclesiastical reorganisation', 206, suggests that the archbishop directly possessed only seven churches.

that were deemed to have this status.¹⁵⁵ Similarly, although there were also occasional references to *pievi* in Apulia, these churches were again very few, and were confined to the immediate vicinity of Bari.¹⁵⁶ Nor indeed is the meaning of *plebs* in a southern context always very clear. In Apulia the term was sometimes used for a territory or district and its people rather than for a church. In the Abruzzi, where in several of the dioceses there was more than one church that might function as the bishop's seat, the term *plebs* tended to be used for these alternative 'cathedrals', rather than for other, subordinate churches.¹⁵⁷

In the ninth century some churchmen may have claimed that bishops should enjoy jurisdiction over the clergy of churches that possessed baptismal rights, but in practice this did not happen. It was certainly not to the taste of the lay owners of proprietary churches.¹⁵⁸ In any case, relatively few churches did enjoy such baptismal rights. Much more common were small local churches, whose clerics could convey some, but not all of the sacraments, which became known as *ecclesiae billanae*. The term is first found in 966, and thereafter became increasingly common in charters from the principality of Salerno, about which we are better informed than any other region of southern Italy in the century before the Norman conquest.¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, the bishops (or from c. 983 archbishops) of Salerno were often prepared to sacrifice their authority over churches, even those that enjoyed baptismal rights, as a consequence of princely influence, or in return for short-term gain. That the princely foundation of S. Maria *de Domno* was exempted on its foundation in 989, and granted baptismal rights, is hardly surprising.¹⁶⁰ But similar concessions were made for other, less prestigious and wealthy churches too. Thus, in 1005 Archbishop Grimoald of Salerno agreed to dedicate a church at Vietri that had recently been rebuilt by an Amalfitan, after 'this church was destroyed by the

¹⁵⁵ E.g. the reference in the 879 charter of Bishop Aion, discussed above (n. 111), that said churches belonging to the monastery of St Modestus should not be subject *nulli quoque plebi nullique alteri ecclesiae*, *Più antiche carte . . . di San Modesto*, 10.

¹⁵⁶ Martin, *Pouille*, 631–2. There was, for example, a *plebs* at Triggiano, 10 km south of Bari, that was leased by the archbishop of Canosa and Brindisi (as he was then titled) for 29 years in 983, *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.12–13 no. 7.

¹⁵⁷ Feller, *Abruzzes médiévales*, 789–94.

¹⁵⁸ *Chron. Vult.* i.297–302 (839): a legal dispute heard before Prince Sicard of Benevento, between the Bishop of Benevento and the representative of a local monastery. The bishop's spokesman claimed that 'the canons appear to say that a church which has a font built for baptism ought always to be subject to the lordship of the bishop.' Nevertheless, the church was adjudged to belong to the monastery, through a grant of earlier Lombard dukes.

¹⁵⁹ *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, ii.38 no. 242. Fonseca, 'Particolarismo istituzionale e organizzazione ecclesiastica', 1172–3.

¹⁶⁰ *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, ii.272–4 no. 412.

Saracens' (probably after a fairly recent raid). In return for a payment of two pounds of silver, he also agreed that the church should be entirely free (*secura et libera et indemne*) from his authority, and from any financial dues that might otherwise be owed to his see. The lay proprietor could appoint whatever priests, clerics or monks he wished to minister there, and these had the right to administer baptism and conduct burials in the church, and bless the wax on Easter Sunday, while seemingly retaining all fees and gifts accompanying such sacraments and services. All that the archbishop reserved for himself was the granting of chrism and holy oil in Easter Week, but he retained no other control whatsoever over the church or its property.¹⁶¹

Two further and very characteristic features of this transaction should be noted. The archbishop requested the permission of the prince (Guaimar III) to grant this exemption – a sign of quite how strict princely control over the Church remained in Salerno at the beginning of the eleventh century. And it was left up to the proprietor whether secular clergy or monks might be appointed to minister in the church. This last was a fairly standard provision in charters confirming the rights of proprietors over their churches: it can also be found, for example, in January 1043, for a church near the River Sele, south of Salerno; and in July 1047 when Bishop Amatus of Paestum exempted a church built in the territory of Capaccio by Guaimar IV's younger brother Pandulf. In this last case it should be noted that the church had baptismal rights – clearly some rural churches did – and, in return for his privilege, Pandulf paid the bishop no less than six pounds of silver.¹⁶²

Such private churches normally paid an annual income to their proprietors. In some cases this was relatively modest, not much more than an acknowledgement of ownership, but it could on occasion involve quite substantial payments. Thus the abbot of St Nicholas *de Gallucanta* at Vietri, a Greek monk called Theophilus, appointed in 1058, was not only to provide the proprietors with wax candles and a symbolic render (*paria de oblata*) three times a year, at Christmas, Easter and on the feast of Saint Nicholas (6 December), but also to pay them 34 *solidi* over the course of the next seven years.¹⁶³ Where the proprietor was actually another church, the

¹⁶¹ *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, vi.40–3 no. 898, there dated to 1035, but for the correct date, M. Galante, *La datazione dei documenti del Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis. Appendice: edizione degli inediti* (Salerno 1980), 57–8.

¹⁶² *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, vi.225–7 no. 1016; *ibid.*, vii.49–50 no. 1086.

¹⁶³ *Le pergamene di S. Nicola di Gallucanta (Sec. IX–XII)*, ed. P. Cherubini (Altavilla Silentina 1991), pp. 193–6 no. 176. By contrast, a few months earlier, in November 1057, the priests holding a church at Felline, outside Salerno, owed only the thrice-yearly symbolic render and a wax candle, *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, viii.25–7 no. 1252.

render might be rather a division of the revenues, especially of the gifts and offerings, accruing to that church. Hence, when the 'archpriest and abbot' of St Maximus, Salerno, invested two men, both described as monks, with one of its subject churches in 1047, he reserved all the offerings given at that church, except for those specifically for its ornamentation, to St Maximus as proprietor, as well as a half share in the wine renders from its land, in addition to the usual more symbolic offerings at Christmas, Easter and the feast day of the church's patron saint. In another similar transaction for a church at Pregiato, outside Salerno, nine years later, the same 'archpriest and abbot' reserved half the offerings made on these three major feast days, a half share in the wine renders, and a fifth of the revenues from the church's confraternity.

The relationship was not wholly exploitative. In these documents, and in other similar investitures of clergy who were actually going to minister in such rural churches, there was specific provision that they should officiate in the church 'day and night, as other rural priests shall officiate in a rural church', and also maintain the fabric (in the first case above especially the church roof, and that of the house next to the church where these clergy lived), as well as cultivating its lands.¹⁶⁴ In another investiture charter, for a church in the city of Salerno in 1050, it was specified that there must be eight priests or other clergy ministering there, that the new incumbent must within ten years build both a house by the church for his residence and a new atrium in front of the church, both of these to be in stone, and that burial should be granted to any persons subject to the proprietors free of charge.¹⁶⁵ Some charters also included a stipulation that the cleric in charge should furnish his church with liturgical books.¹⁶⁶ Such provisions for the conduct of those ministering in local churches were not dissimilar to the admonitions for 'best practice' laid out in the surviving ninth-century synodical legislation.¹⁶⁷ In addition to the regular performance of the office, the duties of the clergy included sometimes baptism, where the church had such rights, and also the annual sprinkling of holy water in the church, receiving and burying the dead, and visiting the sick.¹⁶⁸

However, episcopal supervision remained weak. The Emperor Henry II – a ruler raised in a very different ecclesiastical tradition – might, for

¹⁶⁴ *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, vii.33–4 no. 1077; 275–6 no. 1220 (January 1056).

¹⁶⁵ *Cod. Dip. Cavensis*, vii.126–8 no. 1131.

¹⁶⁶ *Più antiche carte del capitolo della cattedrale di Benevento*, III–14 no. 36 (1030), at 113: the priest in charge had to provide a lectionary for the period from Advent to Easter.

¹⁶⁷ Fonseca, 'Particolarismo istituzionale e organizzazione ecclesiastica', 1178–9.

¹⁶⁸ *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, vi.40–3 no. 898.

example, grant to the archbishop of Salerno authority over all the *forenses* priests and clergy (that is those in churches not directly belonging to him) in his diocese during his expedition to the south in 1022.¹⁶⁹ But given the princes' jealous retention of their authority over the clergy in legal issues, and the archbishops' propensity to issue exemptions from their own authority, such a grant probably remained a dead letter, at least until the impact of the Gregorian reform began to bite, nearly half a century later.

There were a number of other features and practices of the south Italian Church in the late Lombard era that would not be to the taste of later reformers. The financial transactions concerning private churches would, in the eyes of a later generation, undoubtedly have been considered simony. Furthermore, many of the lower clergy, and at least some of the higher, were married, and some churches were run almost as a family concern. Alberic, the Attonid who was bishop of Marsia from 964 to c. 990, was succeeded in that diocese by his son, Guinizo.¹⁷⁰ More typically we see this for the ordinary clergy. So in 1047, a priest entrusted with a church at Vietri, in the principality of Salerno, was the son of a priest, while in 1057, the two priests invested with a church just outside Salerno owned by Theodora, the widow of Pandulf of Capaccio, were father and son, and the former was himself the son of a priest (in other words there were three generations of this clerical dynasty), as was the cleric who acted as Theodora's agent.¹⁷¹ The development of private prebends in collegiate churches like that of St Maximus, Salerno, may also have been linked with the need to provide for the families of married clergy, although it appears that the creation of such prebends was not seen as an excuse for non-residence or the failure to perform liturgical duties.

The creation of prebends may also have made it easier to keep control of and to administer the lands of wealthier churches.¹⁷² But the hereditary ownership of churches had other effects too. Given the system of partible inheritance that prevailed in Lombard law, ownership of a church could, over several generations, become very fragmented. Thus in the case discussed above, in 1047, the church at Vietri had no fewer than six owners, including two sets of brothers. Meanwhile, the two brothers, sons of a Count Ademarius, who in 1058 installed the Greek Theophilus as abbot of St Nicholas *de Gallucanta*, also at Vietri, actually owned only a third share

¹⁶⁹ MGH *Diplomatum Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae*, iii, ed. H. Bresslau et al. (Hanover 1900–3), 601–2 no. 472.

¹⁷⁰ *Chron. Cas.* II.4, p. 174. ¹⁷¹ *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, vii.64–5 no. 1096; *ibid.*, viii.25–7 no. 1252.

¹⁷² Ruggiero, *Principi, nobiltà e Chiesa*, 121–42.

of this church, while another half share was held jointly by a cousin of theirs, the widow of another relative and her son. These various claims went back ultimately to a joint ancestor, Count Adelbert, who had purchased the recently built church from the heavily indebted son of its founder in 996.¹⁷³ Similarly, ownership of St Maximus, Salerno, had passed (quite how is uncertain) from the various members of the descent group of Prince Guaiferius, the ninth-century founder, extinct in the male line in the last quarter of the tenth century, to two separate families, linked by marriage rather than descent. Alferius, the 'archpriest and abbot' who administered the church from 1033 to 1056, was himself a member of one of these families, the sons of a Count Alferius.¹⁷⁴ And in this case, where the abbot was himself one of the proprietors, there was a very real danger to the best interests of the church, for Alferius proceeded to alienate some of its property to his brother, Count Castelmannus, and in one instance to the latter's wife too. This was one of the reasons, perhaps the main one, why St Maximus was in considerable difficulties by the 1050s, short of money and falling into disrepair, although the more general granting of long-term leases on fixed rents, and the depredations of the Normans in the region of Nocera, where the church held much of its land, clearly did not help it either.¹⁷⁵

As in other areas of medieval Europe, the years around about 1000 saw a considerable number of new church foundations, at a time of (relatively speaking) greater stability than what had gone before, and of economic development. In southern Italy the practice whereby groups of people, often but not necessarily related, would band together to found a church, also encouraged this trend.¹⁷⁶ Building a monastery, however, normally required considerable more resources than such local churches as the *ecclesiae villanae* discussed above. Nevertheless, there was an upsurge in monastic foundations, for both men and women, from the later tenth century onwards. At Capua two separate nunneries were both founded in the late 960s: that dedicated to the Virgin was probably an offshoot from the eighth-century foundation of S. Maria, Cingla; while that of St John

¹⁷³ *Pergamene di S. Nicola di Gallucanta*, 197–200 no. 77; 126–9 no. 30. In 1024, the church of St Adiutor at Nocera had eight owners, one of whom had a half share, the other half being held by one individual, a pair of brothers and another group of four brothers, *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, v.82–4 no. 757.

¹⁷⁴ *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, vii.16–17 no. 1066 (October 1046). Ruggiero, *Principi, nobiltà e Chiesa*, 52–4.

¹⁷⁵ Ruggiero, *Principi, nobiltà e Chiesa*, 44–7. For the alienation of a house to Altruda, wife of Castelmannus, *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, vii.200–1 no. 1179 (April 1053).

¹⁷⁶ V. Ramseyer, 'Religious life in eleventh-century Salerno: the church of Santa Lucia in Balnearia', *The Haskins Society Journal* 13 (2002), 44–5.

the Baptist (dating from 967 to 972) was endowed by the family of a local aristocrat, Landulf the Gastald, in conjunction with Abbot Aligern of Montecassino.¹⁷⁷ Some years later (probably in 981/2) Princess Aloara and her son Landulf founded a monastic house for men within the walls of Capua, dedicated to Saint Lawrence, which was then exempted from archiepiscopal jurisdiction in 986, while the counts of Teano also founded a nunnery, outside the walls of that town, in 987.¹⁷⁸

In the principality of Salerno, the rise in monastic foundations came a little later, around the turn of the millennium: for example St Benedict at Avellino before 993, St Sophia in Salerno founded by 1002, two monasteries in Cilento: S. Arcangelo, Perdifumo, and St Magnus on Monti di Stella by 1008, and S. Maria at Elce, near Conza, by 1020.¹⁷⁹ But, apart from in the principality of Capua, only in a relatively few cases do we know how or by whom monasteries were founded. There would seem, however, to have been at least two different models. One was exemplified by the foundation of St Bartholomew of Carpineto, in the Abruzzi, c. 962. In this case the founder was a powerful nobleman, Bernard son of Liutius, who was a major landowner in the county of Penne. According to the, admittedly much later, monastery chronicle, he fell seriously ill, and worried about the prospect of damnation, hesitated as to whether he should, if he recovered, go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem or found a monastery. Eventually, on the advice of Bishop Landulf of Benevento, to whom he was related, he decided on the latter course. While out hunting, he found a suitable spot, well-watered and wooded, and established first a chapel there, and then a monastery following the Rule of Saint Benedict.¹⁸⁰ The tale is one familiar to the point of cliché to any student of the medieval Church, yet its salient points may well have been true for all that. Yet for southern Italy, it was if anything somewhat unusual, not least in the apparently immediate, or speedy, establishment of a conventual house following the Benedictine rule.

For despite the influence of the revived abbeys of Montecassino and St Vincent on Volturno, there was in fact a wide spectrum of monastic observance in tenth- and early eleventh-century southern Italy. A second,

¹⁷⁷ H. Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages* (3 vols., Rome 1986), i.245–7, 502–5.

¹⁷⁸ *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.* iii.204–6 no. 59; *Abbazia di Montecassino: Regesto dell'Archivio*, ed. T. Leccisorti and F. Avagliano (11 vols., Rome 1964–77), vi.751 no. 3.

¹⁷⁹ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, i.59–62 no. 16, at 60; S. Leone, 'La fondazione di S. Sofia in Salerno', *Benedictina* 20 (1973), 55–66; *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, iv.10–11 no. 44, 120–2 no. 605, 122–4 no. 607; R. Volpini, 'Diplomi sconosciuti dei principi longobardi di Salerno e dei re normanni di Sicilia', in *Raccolta di studi in memoria di Giovanni Soranzo* (Milan 1968), 503–6 no. 2.

¹⁸⁰ *Chron. Carpineto*, 13–15.

and very different, model for monastic foundation and development can be seen in the case of what was to become, in the Norman period, one of the most important abbeys in southern Italy, Holy Trinity, Cava. Its founder, Alferius, had been a courtier of Prince Guaimar III of Salerno, who c. 1020 retired to become a hermit in a 'huge and terrifying cave' at Metiliano, in the hills some 8 km to the west of the town of Salerno. His biographer made clear that his intention was 'to occupy himself alone with God alone, desiring to weep by himself alone', but his reputation became such that others joined him, and a monastic community developed. Once again, the story is a familiar one. Yet, what is notable about the early history of Cava is that, even though Alferius had apparently spent a little while as a monk at the great French monastery of Cluny before being summoned back to Salerno by the prince, his new monastery remained an eremitic community for a generation or more, and probably only became a fully-fledged Benedictine monastery under the second abbot, Leo (1050–79). Alferius was determined that his community should remain small, with no more than twelve monks, and they seem to have lived in individual cells rather than in a dormitory.¹⁸¹ This was one of a number of eremitic communities founded in southern Italy at this period. Sometimes, indeed, these might be linked with conventual houses; Saint Benedict himself had seen the solitary life as the ultimate development of monasticism, albeit only possible for the few, and not for the majority of monks. Thus when Abbot John II of Montecassino resigned his office in 998, 'burdened both by illness and age, and unable to bear the burden of so great an office', he retired with five companions to a nearby hermitage, where (despite his alleged age) he lived for the next quarter of a century.¹⁸² But there were also independent communities of hermits, such as the one founded on Monte Majella in the Abruzzi shortly before 1010, when it was headed by 'John, prior, priest and anchorite'.¹⁸³

The fluid and somewhat ambiguous nature of monasticism at this period can be seen from the career of Dominic of Foligno, an ecclesiastical reformer, originally from Umbria, who founded at least eight monastic

¹⁸¹ *Vitae Quatuor Priorum Abbatum Cavensium*, ed. L. Mattei-Cerasoli (RIS, 2nd edn, Bologna 1941), 7 (12 monks only), 8 (Alferius retires to his cell to die), 12 (Leo's cell). Cava was founded between 1016 and 1025, S. Leone, 'La data di fondazione della badia di Cava', *Benedictina* 22 (1975), 335–46.

¹⁸² *Chron. Cas.* II.20, pp. 203–4. He was still alive in 1022, when some of the monks wanted him to return once more as abbot of Montecassino, *ibid.* II.42, pp. 246–7. More generally, see J.-M. Sansterre, 'Recherches sur les ermites de Mont-Cassin et l'eremitisme dans l'hagiographie cassinienne', *Hagiographica* 2 (1995), 57–92.

¹⁸³ 'Dissertatio de antiquitate, ditione, viribus variaque fortuna abbatae S. Salvatoris ad Montem Magellae', in *Collectio Bullarum Basilicae Vaticanae* i (Rome 1747), p. vi.

communities in the mountains of central Italy to the east and south of Rome between the late tenth century and his death in 1032. These included several houses that were within the boundaries of the later kingdom of Sicily, notably the abbey of St Peter Avellana in the Abruzzi, which subsequently, in 1069, became part of the Montecassino congregation, and his last foundation, at Sora in the upper Liri Valley, made in the 1020s, and dedicated to the Virgin. (This house, later dedicated to Dominic himself, was eventually taken over by the Cistercians in the 1220s.) Over the course of his long life – he was nearly 80 when he died – Dominic appears to have alternated periods living in, or heading, cenobitic monasteries, with periods as a hermit. Furthermore, while most of his foundations followed, at least in theory, the Rule of Saint Benedict, in practice their customs and the way in which they were administered differed quite considerably from that rule, honoured almost more in the breach than the observance.¹⁸⁴ Nor did Dominic necessarily see the rule of Benedict as the only guide to the monastic life: it was claimed in one of the several biographies written about him, by a Cassinese monk no less, that at his abbey at Sora he instituted the Rule of the Master.¹⁸⁵

In southern Italy proper another element was also potentially significant: the influence of Greek monasticism spreading northwards from Calabria. Not only did this lead to the monastic colonisation of Lucania during the later tenth century, but Greek monks also spread, in some numbers, into the predominantly 'Lombard' regions. As we noted earlier, Saint Nilos was far from alone in seeking refuge in areas of Latin observance and alien language. And the Greek monasticism of southern Italy itself spanned a widely varied range of monastic practice, from the cenobitic to the lavrotic through to the strictly eremitical.¹⁸⁶ The presence of some of these Greek monks in Latin territory was relatively ephemeral, for example Saint Sabas, originally from Sicily, who spent some time in the 980s as a hermit in a cave on the Amalfitan peninsula, before returning to a Greek-ruled region, in the Lagonegro region of Lucania, where he founded a monastery, and who eventually died in Rome while on a diplomatic mission c. 991.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴ J. Howe, *Church Reform and Social Change in Eleventh-Century Italy. Dominic of Sora and his Patrons* (Philadelphia 1997), especially chapters 2 and 4.

¹⁸⁵ A. Lentini, 'La Vita S. Dominici di Alberico Cassinese', *Benedictina* 5 (1951), 76.

¹⁸⁶ G. Vitolo, 'Les Monastères grecs de l'Italie méridionale', in *Moines et monastères dans les sociétés de rite grec et latin*, ed. J.-L. Lemaître, M. Dmitriev and P. Gonneau (Geneva 1996), 99–113, especially 106–7. For a general survey of Greek monks in Latin territory, see also S. Borsari, *Il monachesimo bizantino nella Sicilia e nell'Italia meridionale prenormanne* (Naples 1963), 60–76.

¹⁸⁷ Costa-Louillet, 'Saints de Sicile et d'Italie méridionale', 136–8.

Other Greek monks who had journeyed northwards, either to escape Muslim raids or in voluntary exile from their native lands, established a more permanent presence. Thus the monastery of St Peter *de Foresta*, near Pontecorvo in the principality of Capua, was founded in 998 by a Lombard count, whose foundation charter stipulated that 'whosoever shall wish to change this rule that is called "the Greek" (*Attica*) into Latin shall be accursed and excommunicate'. This house was still under the rule of Greek abbots in the 1060s, less than a decade before it was given to Montecassino.¹⁸⁸ Similarly, St Nicholas *de Gallucanta* at Vietri, though not originally a Greek foundation and owned by a family of Lombard counts, was entrusted to a Greek 'priest and abbot' called Eupraxis, who ruled over the church from 1016 until at least 1043, and subsequently to another Greek abbot, Theophilus. The latter continued in charge of this house for some years after one of its proprietors gave his one-sixth share to Cava in 1087.¹⁸⁹

If Lombard aristocrats could entrust their churches to Greek monks, and indeed the monks of Montecassino could welcome Saint Nilos to their abbey and allow him to settle on their lands, then clearly whatever religious tension there may have been developing between Rome and Constantinople was not replicated at a more local level. Such attitudes persisted, even during the Norman conquest, for in 1060, a Norman lord gave a church in northern Apulia to the Latin abbey of Tremiti, declaring that those who staffed it could be governed either 'by the rule of the holy father Benedict or by that of Saint Basil, however God shall grant'.¹⁹⁰ On the other hand, we should be cautious in necessarily assuming that there was therefore significant Greek influence on Latin monasticism. It is notable, for example, that whereas the monks of Montecassino played an important role in the contemporary 'Life' of Nilos, the first recension of the Montecassino chronicle of Leo Marsicanus made no mention at all of the Greek saint, even if later revisions of his work did, albeit largely in connection with the career of Saint Adalbert of Prague, another illustrious visitor to the abbey of St Benedict in the late tenth century.¹⁹¹ Yet Leo did

¹⁸⁸ Gattula, *Historia*, 293–4. In May 1065 the abbot was Arsenius, and in February–March 1067 Saba, both *de genere Graecorum*, *Abbazia di Montecassino: Regesto dell'Archivio*, viii.181–3 nos. 11–12, 14. It was given to Montecassino in February 1075, Gattula, *Historia*, 267. See also A. Nicosia, 'La Valle della Quesa e il monastero greco di S. Pietro', *Benedictina* 24 (1977), 115–38.

¹⁸⁹ *Pergamene di S. Nicola di Gallucanta*, 141–5 no. 40, 172–5 no. 63, 193–6 no. 76, 308–9 no. 125 (1100, the last mention of Theophilus).

¹⁹⁰ *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, ii.211–13 no. 69, at 213.

¹⁹¹ *Chron. Cas.* II.17, p. 201. J.-M. Sansterre, 'Saint Nil de Rossano et le monachisme Latin', *Bollettino della badia greca di Grottaferrata* 45 (1991), 372–3.

record one case that does seem to show some influence of eastern monastic practice. During the rule of the worldly and unpopular Abbot Manso (986–96), several monks left Montecassino, and three of them, including two future abbots, went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. One of these, John, then went to Mount Athos (perhaps to the recently established house of St Mary of the Amalfitans there),¹⁹² before eventually returning to become abbot in 998. Another, Liutius, returned to southern Italy and became a hermit, in the same cavern outside Salerno that Alferius was later to use. Eventually he returned to Montecassino and founded his own monastery at Albeneta, about one km north-west of the mother house. According to Leo, he there led a ‘life of humility, great abstinence and austerity’.

He himself was happy to excel all others in demeaning tasks and mortification; so humbly did he conduct himself in office that as a servant would he sift flour in the bakery to make bread, all the while never ceasing to recite the Psalms¹⁹³

Was this (in Leo’s eyes somewhat extravagant) humility in an abbot, and willingness to undertake demeaning tasks, a reflection of the influence of eastern monastic ideas? Similarly, Leo considered that Abbot John III of Montecassino, the former denizen of Mount Athos, erred too much on the side of austerity: ‘he was more than a little severe towards the monks, and tried, contrary to the teaching of Benedict, to be feared rather than loved’, to such an extent that there was a revolt against him and he was forced to abandon the monastery for several months. That by itself might simply suggest defects either in the abbot’s character, or in the standards among the brothers that he was trying to improve. But when combined with John’s attempt to impose his own relative as his successor, a practice that was common in Greek monasticism, one might well consider that his stay in the east had left its mark upon him.¹⁹⁴ Moreover, while the contribution of Montecassino in the transmission of Greek ideas and literature to the Western Church has undoubtedly been exaggerated, its later eleventh-century library did contain Latin translations of the rules of Saints Basil and Pachomius, as well as Basil’s *Admonitions*.¹⁹⁵

What in fact this does suggest is that, even in Saint Benedict’s own monastery, there was a considerable range of influences on monastic observance. Nor, elsewhere in southern Italy, did the model of conventual

¹⁹² For which, A. Pertusi, ‘Monasteri e monaci italiani all’Athos nell’alto medioevo’, in *Le Millénaire de Mont Athos. Études et mélanges* (2 vols., Chevetonge 1963), 217–51, esp. 222–5.

¹⁹³ *Chron. Cas.* II.30, pp. 221–3. ¹⁹⁴ *Chron. Cas.* II.28–9, pp. 217–20.

¹⁹⁵ *Codicum Casinensium Manuscriptorum Catalogus*, ed. M. Ingauanez (3 vols., Montecassino 1915–41), iii.63–8.

monasticism of the Benedictine Rule enjoy a monopoly. Indeed, before 1050 evidence for widespread observance of Benedict's Rule in the region is scanty. It is probable that it was always followed at the larger cenobitic foundations, such as two of the very few monasteries that existed in Apulia before the Norman conquest, St Benedict of Conversano (founded shortly before 957) and Sts Mary and James on the Tremiti islands (founded about 1005). Yet even here, the abundant charters from these two houses do not expressly mention the *regula Benedicti* until 1040 for Tremiti and as late as 1092 for Conversano.¹⁹⁶ The rule was also attested on the borders of the principality of Salerno, at S. Maria Elce, near Conza, in 1054.¹⁹⁷ But the first mention of the Benedictine Rule at a house connected with Cava comes only in 1071, at its subordinate cell of St Nicholas *de Palma* in Salerno, founded by Abbot Leo in 1062. Before the 1060s, we cannot assume that Cava was Benedictine.¹⁹⁸

This indeed raises a wider point about the nature of tenth- and early eleventh-century south Italian monasticism. In the principality of Salerno, in particular, there seems to have been a thin line between monasteries and collegiate churches, some of which might well have had monks attached to them, even if not primarily monastic institutions.¹⁹⁹ There were certainly some churches that were always described as monasteries during the early eleventh century, for example S. Angelo on Monte Corice in Cilento, founded before 1034.²⁰⁰ We must surely assume that here there was some obviously recognisable form of monastic observance. Yet for other houses the usage was not so consistent. St Maximus, Salerno, was almost always described as a 'church', and seems to have been staffed by secular canons, who by the eleventh century were supported by individual prebends. However, on one occasion, in 1041, its own 'archpriest and abbot' referred to it as a monastery.²⁰¹ Of the two superiors of St Nicholas *de Gallucanta*, Eupraxius was described as 'priest and abbot', and only once retrospectively as a monk, while his successor Theophilus was 'monk, priest and abbot', and on one occasion signed himself in Greek as *monachos kai egoumenos*. However, the church over which he presided was described as a monastery

¹⁹⁶ *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, ii.89 no. 28 (and subsequently in a 1053 bull from Leo IX, *ibid.*, ii.156–8 no. 49); *Pergamene di Conversano*, 122–4 no. 53.

¹⁹⁷ Volpini, 'Diplomi sconosciuti', 512–17 no. 6.

¹⁹⁸ *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, ix, 328–32 no. 103 (1071). Cf. also Ramseyer, *Transformation of a Religious Landscape*, 166–7.

¹⁹⁹ Ruggiero, *Principi, nobiltà e Chiesa*, pp. 97–106.

²⁰⁰ E.g. *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, vi.1–2 no. 870 (1034), 125–7 nos. 156–7 (1040), 249–50 no. 1030 (1043); *ibid.*, vii.133–4 no. 1136 (1050).

²⁰¹ *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, vi.170–3 no. 985, at 170.

only from 1069 onwards.²⁰² In this case it is possible that a more obviously monastic life had been installed. Yet the converse was true of St Sophia, Salerno, which was consistently described as a monastery up to the death of its proprietor, Pandulf of Capaccio, in 1052. Thereafter monastic observance was apparently abandoned; by 1066 St Sophia was only a 'church', a little later it fell into ruins and it was virtually derelict when given to Cava in 1100.²⁰³

At the same time, however, there were also 'monks' who ministered at local churches but who were apparently not attached to particular communities, like the two *monachi* who were entrusted with one of the subordinate churches of St Maximus, Salerno, in 1047.²⁰⁴ Indeed, it was a regular provision of exemption charters from archbishops and bishops that local churches might be entrusted to either secular priests or monks (above, p. 48). There were also both 'monks' and 'nuns' who were bound by religious vows, but remained living in their own homes: one such monk eventually decided to enter the community at Cava in 1074.²⁰⁵ One should note that here there was a parallel, if not necessarily a direct influence, for such so-called 'monk proprietors' could also be found in Byzantine Calabria during the eleventh century.²⁰⁶ Furthermore, in the Greek areas of the south, much of the ministry to the laity, including the provision of the sacraments and preaching, was carried out by monks, and monasteries were often the focus of local religious life.²⁰⁷

Monasticism in early medieval southern Italy was therefore as disorganised, unstructured and inchoate as was the secular church. There were, it is true, a small number of well-established houses, above all Montecassino and St Vincent on Volturno, which were by the early eleventh century restored to much, if not all of their former greatness, before their travails at the hands of the Muslims. However, in parts of the south, and especially Apulia, there were very few Latin monasteries; while Calabria and Lucania were the preserve of Greek monks, often in tiny communities with a

²⁰² *Pergamene di S. Nicola di Gallucanta*, introduction, 30; 173–5 no. 63, at 175; 193–6 no. 76, at 194; 238–41 no. 95 and subsequently.

²⁰³ G. A. Loud, 'The monastic economy in the principality of Salerno during the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Papers of the British School of Rome* 71 (2003), 143–4.

²⁰⁴ *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis* vii.33–4 no. 1077.

²⁰⁵ *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, x.140–2 no. 52. For women, G. Vitolo, 'Primo appunti per una storia dei penitenti nel Salernitano', *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane*, Ser. III.17 (1978), 393–405, at 394–5.

²⁰⁶ A. Guillou, 'Le classe dei monaci-proprietari nell'Italia bizantina (sec. X–XI). Economia e diritto canonica', *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il medio evo* 82 (1970), 159–72.

²⁰⁷ Fonseca, 'Particolarismo istituzionale e organizzazione ecclesiastica', 1186–92.

relatively short-lived existence, sometimes little more than the lifetime of the founder. Nor indeed were all the Latin monastic houses that much more securely established, as the case of St Sophia, Salerno, makes clear, while the line between monks and secular clergy might often be blurred. Such an observation might have been commonplace in much of Christendom some centuries earlier: in the south Italian Church it remained true even in the first half of eleventh century, when elsewhere the lines of demarcation had been much more fully established. Furthermore, the arrival of the Normans in southern Italy was to prove a severe trial for even some of the greater monastic houses of the region. But the second half of the eleventh century saw, not just an expansion of Latin monasticism, and of the Latin Church generally, but a wide-ranging and significant reorganisation, that was fundamentally to alter the structures, and the nature, of the Church in the region.

The Church and the Norman conquest

The first Normans arrived in southern Italy round about the year 1000. The exact circumstances of their coming remain obscure, even controversial, for the principal accounts of their first contacts with the region were written long after the events in question. Some modern historians have even gone so far as to argue that what we have preserved about these events is no more than legend. However, the most plausible reconstruction suggests that there is indeed some truth behind the story in the *History* of Amatus of Montecassino, linking the arrival of the Normans with a Muslim attack on Salerno c. 999, and that some of their compatriots had already settled in southern Italy, probably as mercenary soldiers, before a group of, perhaps entirely other, Normans became involved in a major revolt against the Byzantine authorities in Apulia in 1017–18.¹ After the defeat of that insurrection, groups of Normans were employed by a number of local princes and powers, notably Abbot Atenulf of Montecassino, who stationed his new troops at Pignetaro, a township some 6 km south of the abbey, to protect its property against the attacks of the counts of Aquino. This task, we are told, ‘they performed valiantly enough and faithfully as long as the abbot himself was alive’.² Perhaps as early as 1019, a further body of Normans settled in the vicinity of Ariano, to the east of Benevento, from where they were recruited by the Byzantine governor, Basil Boiannes, to defend the frontiers of Apulia.³

Following the expedition of the Emperor Henry II to southern Italy in the first months of 1022, employment of Norman mercenaries appears to have increased. Henry, for example, installed the sons of his former client, the Apulian rebel Melus, with a group of Normans in the Val di Comino

¹ Loud, *Age of Robert Guiscard*, 60–6, which draws especially upon H. Hoffmann, ‘Die Anfänge der Normannen in Süditalien’, *QFIAB* 49 (1969), 95–144.

² *Chron. Cas.* II.38, pp. 240–1.

³ E. Cuozzo, ‘Intorno alla prima contea normanna nell’Italia meridionale’, in *Cavalieri alla conquista del Sud. Studi sull’Italia normanna in memoria di Léon-Robert Ménager* (Bari 1998), 171–93.

on the northern border of the principality of Capua, while other Normans continued in the employ of Montecassino, despite the replacement of Abbot Atenulf by an imperial partisan, Theobald, the former provost of the Cassinese cell in the Abruzzi, the Holy Liberator on Monte Majella. At some point in the mid-1020s they inflicted a serious defeat on another of the abbey's neighbours, Peter the lord of Sora and Arpino in the upper Liri Valley. Perhaps more significantly, still others entered – or more probably continued in – the service of Guaimar III of Salerno, the most powerful of the Lombard princes at this period.⁴ One might indeed suggest that the imperial expedition had contributed to the employment opportunities available to the newcomers, since Henry II's deposition of the prince of Capua, Pandulf IV, whom he replaced by a cousin from the family of the Counts of Teano, had served to destabilise what had, before 1022, been a reasonable equilibrium in the Lombard principalities of the west. Certainly when Henry's successor Conrad II released the exiled prince from imprisonment in Germany and allowed him to return to southern Italy in 1025, this unleashed tensions within the 'Lombard' region that were to continue until they led to renewed imperial intervention in 1038, and were to contribute materially to the establishment of the Normans as a permanent fixture on the south Italian scene.

Yet we should not exaggerate the scale of the Norman presence at this early date. Amatus wrote that only some 25 Normans were established at Comino, and (a repetition that is perhaps suspicious) that Peter of Sora was defeated by another group of 25. But whatever the actual numbers, and those given by medieval chroniclers should always be treated with caution, they are unlikely to have been very large. This would explain the slow, and often halting process of Norman expansion. Early settlements, if such they were, like that at Ariano, proved ephemeral. It was not until 1030 that a long-term base was established, at Aversa a few kilometres to the north of Naples, and not until the early 1040s that the impact of the newcomers spread beyond the Campania region. Even then, while the later pro-Norman chroniclers who described the attack on Apulia in 1041–2 stressed the role of their protagonists, there are enough hints in the sources to suggest that even then the immigrants were, at least at first, acting as auxiliaries or allies, albeit important ones, in a revolt among the indigenous inhabitants against Byzantine rule. Certainly they preferred to have a prominent local figure as their leader, and some of them at least were working in close alliance with Guaimar IV of Salerno. Only in September

⁴ *Amatus*, I.31–4, pp. 41–5.

1042, after their local figureheads, the brother of the prince of Benevento and the Bariot nobleman Argyros, proved unreliable, did the Normans of Apulia proceed to choose a commander from their own ranks, William de Hauteville, known as 'the Iron Arm'.⁵ By this stage there is no doubt that their numbers were considerably greater than twenty years before: William of Apulia suggested, not implausibly, that in 1041 there were some 700 knights and 500 infantry in the army that invaded Apulia, although relatively few of them possessed mail-armour.⁶ Nevertheless, such forces were still not that numerous, and the chroniclers claimed that the Normans were invariably heavily outnumbered in their conflicts with the Byzantine forces. Hence the invaders were anxious to recruit local troops into their ranks: 'they promised to give those who helped them against the Greeks a share in what they acquired in future.'⁷ Furthermore, while the account of Amatus described in detail the share-out of northern Apulia among the Norman leaders in the autumn of 1042, what he was describing was rather a plan for the future than a division of lands and towns already conquered. Only the inland parts of the province were in Norman hands at this stage; the more populous and prosperous coastal region was not.⁸

However, from 1042 onwards the Normans, by now working for themselves rather than others, started to penetrate and to take over increasingly more of the peninsula. By the mid-1040s William 'the Iron Arm' had established a base at Scribla in northern Calabria, while another Norman count, Peter son of Amicus, had taken Bisceglie and Barletta on the Adriatic coast, and effectively blockaded the important city of Trani.⁹ At the same time Norman troops who may nominally have been in the employ of Pandulf IV of Capua but who were for all practical purposes working in their own interests had taken over much of the lands of Montecassino. In the principality of Benevento a Norman count had established himself at Ariano before 1047.¹⁰ Furthermore, when the Emperor Henry III made a brief visit to the south in January and February 1047 and was denied entry to their town by the citizens of Benevento, he responded by giving the Normans *carte blanche* to attack the city and its surrounding lands.¹¹ By the early 1050s much of the region

⁵ Loud, *Age of Robert Guiscard*, 92–7. ⁶ *W. Apulia*, I, lines 255–9, p. 112. ⁷ *Amatus*, II.25, p. 88.

⁸ Loud, *Age of Robert Guiscard*, 97–9.

⁹ Lupus Protospatharius, *Annales*, MGH SS v.58; *W. Apulia*, II, lines 30–1, p. 132.

¹⁰ Cuozzo, 'Intorno alla prima contea normanna', 176–7, on the basis of *Chronicon S. Sophiae*, ii.756–7. One does not, however, have to accept Cuozzo's assumption that there was a continuous Norman settlement at Ariano from 1019 onwards.

¹¹ *Chron. Cas.* II.78, p. 323.

around the city was in Norman hands. By then, too, Robert Guiscard, a younger brother of William 'the Iron Arm', had begun the conquest of northern Calabria. And the Normans' victory over a papal army at the Battle of Civitate in 1053, an army that was recruited from most of the parts of Lombard south Italy not yet under their control, opened the way for the conquest of the rest of the peninsula. The Normans penetrated deeply into the principality of Salerno from 1055 onwards – the death of their erstwhile patron and ally Prince Guaimar IV three years earlier had removed the major constraint on their activities in this region, and while substantial parts remained as yet unconquered, those payments that had hitherto been deemed to be gifts from the prince now became 'tribute'.¹² In 1057–60 Robert Guiscard completed the conquest of Calabria, while in 1058 his brother-in-law, Count Richard II of Aversa, had besieged and captured Capua, and usurped the throne of its Lombard princes. The recognition of the two principal Norman leaders as legitimate rulers of their conquests by Pope Nicholas II in 1059, and his investiture of Robert Guiscard as duke of Apulia at the council of Melfi in August 1059, marked among other things (discussed at greater length below in chapter 3) a realisation that the Normans were in southern Italy to stay, and to rule. While it still took a number of years to complete the conquest of the mainland – Bari, the Byzantine headquarters in the peninsula, only fell in 1071 and Salerno not until December 1076 – the investiture of 1059 ushered in a new era, when the Normans were rulers rather than raiders.

Contemporary writers, especially those not themselves from the ranks of the conquerors or with an interest in praising their deeds, tended to dwell on the horrors and destruction of the conquest, and churches and churchmen were usually cast as its victims. Hence, for example, the account of the Normans in southern Italy by the German chronicler Herman of Reichenau, who died in 1054:

This people had come by chance, little by little, from the mouth of the Gallic ocean to Calabria, Samnium and Campania, from the time of Henry the former emperor¹³ [onwards]; and since they seemed more warlike than the peoples of Italy they were at first welcomed, and frequently assisted the local people by bravely fighting against the incursions of the Greeks and Saracens. But thereafter a great many of them arrived in this fertile land, and as their forces increased, they made war on the native peoples, forced an unjust rule upon them, seizing castles, estates, villages, houses, even a wife if she took their fancy, plundering the property of

¹² *Amatus*, III.45, IV.2, pp. 161–2, 182. ¹³ Henry II, emperor 1002–24.

churches, and eventually everything, whether human or divine, that they were able to take, ignoring any right. Nor could either the Apostolic pontiff or the emperor make them yield, except by force.¹⁴

Very similar sentiments were expressed by the contemporary Lotharingian biographer of Leo IX, writing no later than 1061: 'the princes of the region had formerly welcomed them as helpers against foreign peoples, they now unwillingly suffer them as tyrants and plunderers of their country.'¹⁵

If these views were strictly contemporary ones, they also reflect German hostility to the Normans, who were intruding into what these observers believed to be rightfully imperial territory. But similar opinions were also expressed in southern Italy, particularly by monastic chroniclers complaining about the seizure of their abbey's property. Thus the early twelfth-century chronicler of St Vincent on Volturmo implicitly compared the depredations of the Normans with those of the Muslims two centuries or more earlier. After describing the stability that prevailed once Arab attacks had ceased, he wrote that this lasted 'up to the time the Normans came to Italy'.

The latter, seizing everything for themselves, began to build *castella* in the villages . . . and from those places which they could obtain, even though acting without king and without law, calling themselves patrons of their churches (although rather dominators, and scarcely by just law as lords), they paid census for some years, [or] as much as they felt like, and that unwillingly. This evil continues up to today, and they have taken over, not without great sacrilege, the estates and possessions of churches for themselves and their sons, as if by hereditary right.¹⁶

By far the most detailed account of such activities comes in the Montecassino chronicle of Leo Marsicanus, although he and other Cassinese authors reserved some of their bitterest invective for the Normans' erstwhile employer Pandulf IV, who began the attack on the lands of St Benedict in the early 1030s. 'Through the influence of evil ones he walked the path of sin and sat upon the seat of misfortune. He began by fighting against God and the saints.'¹⁷ 'The Lord had hardened his heart, as he had hardened that of Pharaoh.'¹⁸ Yet what the Cassinese monks were never prepared to admit was that Pandulf's attempt to control the abbey and its extensive lands was a necessary part of his attempt to restore his

¹⁴ *Chronicon*, MGH SS v.132.

¹⁵ *Pontificorum Romanorum Vitae*, ed. J. M. Watterich (2 vols., Leipzig 1862), ii.58. For a slightly different translation, I. S. Robinson, *The Papal Reform of the Eleventh Century. Lives of Pope Leo IX and Pope Gregory VII* (Manchester 2004), 141.

¹⁶ *Chron. Vult.* i.231. ¹⁷ *Amatus*, I.35, p. 46. ¹⁸ *Chron. Cas.* II.63, p. 289 (cf. Exodus 4:22; 7:3).

authority within the principality after his deposition by Henry II in 1022. While his brother had been abbot, Pandulf had indeed been a patron and supporter of the monastery. In 1017, for example, he had given the abbey the *castella* of Vicalvi and S. Urbano, and a church and lands at Comino, effectively therefore a substantial block of territory between the upper Liri Valley and the Monti della Meta, as well as extensive lands and a church at Barrea in the Abruzzi.¹⁹ Leo saw his attempt to make Abbot Theobald live in the Cassinese cell at Capua as the prince 'venting his spleen in devastation of this monastery to satisfy his hatred of the emperor'.²⁰ But by the very fact of being an imperial appointee, Theobald was, in the prince's eyes, politically unreliable. With his control over the aristocracy weakened, especially in the north of his principality, Pandulf needed to control Montecassino and its resources. The installation of his own abbot, Basil, first as Theobald's deputy and subsequently, after the latter's death in 1035/7 as *de iure* abbot, was a perfectly logical step, however distasteful it seemed to later commentators. And, although we have less information on this, he appears to have taken similar steps to gain control of St Vincent on Volturno.²¹

While some Norman soldiers had already been employed by Montecassino, their large-scale introduction into the abbey lands was the work of the Lombard Prince Pandulf IV, and the Normans were his agents in securing his control of the abbey lands, their extensive population, and a substantial source of wealth. 'Pandulf made all the monastery's men swear fealty to him, placing all its *castella* and villages under the rule of the Normans.'²² Where the situation broke down was after Pandulf was driven from his throne, and forced into exile for a second time, in 1038 by the Emperor Conrad II. The emperor granted the principality of Capua to Guaimar IV of Salerno, who forged a close alliance with the various Norman leaders, and took advantage of their support to enforce his rule over the coastal cities of Amalfi and Sorrento. But his control over the principality of Capua was at best fragile, and his ties with the Norman leaders, and reliance upon their support, meant that he was hardly in a

¹⁹ Gattula, *Accessiones*, 106–8; R. Poupardin, *Étude sur les institutions politiques et administratives des principautés lombardes de l'Italie méridionale* (Paris 1907), 164–6 no. 20; A. Gallo, 'La donazione di Barrea a Montecassino in un diploma capuano', in *Convegno storico Abruzzese – Molisano*, 25–29 marzo 1931 (Casalbordino 1933), 323–5.

²⁰ *Chron. Cas.* II.56, p. 276.

²¹ *Amatus*, I.35–8, pp. 46–51; *Chron. Cas.* II.61–2, pp. 285–7; *Chron. Vult.* iii.78–9. Theobald died on 3 June, probably in 1035, but possibly as late as 1037, H. Hoffmann, 'Die älteren Abtslisten von Montecassino', *QFIAB* 47 (1967), 306–11.

²² *Chron. Cas.* II.57, p. 277.

good position to restrain their followers. Furthermore, when Pandulf returned to southern Italy in 1040 he was anxious to recruit Norman warriors and actively encouraging attacks on the lands of Montecassino. He undoubtedly saw the abbey, now ruled by a German abbot appointed by Conrad, as actively hostile to him. By the early 1040s most of the *castella* on the *Terra Sancti Benedicti* had fallen into Norman hands. When Abbot Richer appealed for help to Prince Guaimar, all that the latter could do was to advise him to seek help from the imperial court. On the abbot's eventual return, accompanied by some German soldiers, Guaimar did his best to prevent a battle with the Normans.²³

Yet when assessing this picture of Norman depredations on the lands of Montecassino, one must make certain qualifications. First, the Normans had no monopoly in harassing the abbey. Indeed, a leading role in the troubles of the early 1040s was played by its traditional local rivals, the counts of Aquino, and it was they who were responsible for the detention of Abbot Richer, in retaliation for the capture of one of their number by the abbey's ally Count Landulf of Teano.²⁴ Among the various stories in the Cassinese sources concerning allegedly miraculous protection of the abbey lands, there was one that involved a group of Lombard nobles from Capua, who claimed possession of one of its *castella* and launched a raid on the *Terra Sancti Benedicti*, only to be led astray and made to ride back to where they had started by Saint Benedict.²⁵ Even the normally friendly Counts of Teano were not above trying to seize the *castellum* of Rocca d'Evandro, which bordered their lands.²⁶ Secondly, the number of the Norman invaders may have been relatively few. Thus, according to the chronicler Leo, the interlopers suffered a serious setback that encouraged the local inhabitants to rise up against them, when one of their leaders was captured and some fifteen of his men were massacred while visiting a church in the abbey's town of S. Germano. Within a few days all but two of the *castella* lost by the monks had been recovered. Abbot Richer was then able to summon assistance from friendly Lombard nobles from the Abruzzi, principally the counts of Marsia and the Borrells (a family of Lombardo-Frankish stock, related to the counts of Marsia, who were increasingly dominating the valley of the upper Sangro), and to recover the two fortresses still in Norman hands. After this campaign, in 1045, the lands

²³ *Chron. Cas.* II.69–70, pp. 306–8. ²⁴ *Chron. Cas.* II.68, pp. 304–6.

²⁵ Desiderius, *Dialogi de Miraculis Sancti Benedicti*, I.10 (ed. G. Schwarz and A. Hofmeister, MGH SS xxx(2).1124); *Chron. Cas.* II.80, pp. 326–7.

²⁶ *Chron. Cas.* II.76, pp. 318–19.

of St Benedict were more or less free from Norman incursions. To ensure that they remained so, Abbot Richer fortified the larger settlements and concentrated the peasant population within the walls of his new *castella*. It was the years after 1045 that saw the large-scale *incastellamento* of the abbey lands. By 1059 there were at least 20 fortified villages on the *Terra Sancti Benedicti*.²⁷

Furthermore, even during the period of conquest, the Normans were not invariably hostile to ecclesiastical interests, nor (as we have seen) were Lombard aristocrats necessarily friendly to them. The Borrell family who aided Montecassino were at the same time active in seizing territory from St Vincent on Volturno, and when the monks asked Prince Guaimar for help, c. 1040, he despatched a force of Normans led by his ally Count Rainulf of Aversa to this abbey's assistance.²⁸ Nevertheless, ecclesiastical wealth was inevitably a tempting target during a period of disruption. How widespread such depredations were is, however, difficult to assess. Were Montecassino and St Vincent on Volturno especially affected because their extensive lands made them obvious targets? However, the charter evidence provides some more sober confirmation to the hyperbole of monastic chroniclers. Thus in November 1041, the Abbot of St Maximus, Salerno, stipulated that should the Normans remain in possession of the Nocera region, as they were at that time, then some tenants of his church there should keep the abbey's share of the wine from the land they leased in their houses, safe and sound; if and when the Normans left, then they should build a storehouse on the lands of his church and deposit its wine in its vats. However, three years later this district was still occupied by the Normans, and another lease from the abbot of St Maximus spoke of constructing a cellar for its wine, when they should leave.²⁹ Some years later the lay proprietor of a Greek monastery in Lucania was less resolutely practical, but much more vivid, lamenting that, not long after his father founded this church:

Our whole country was seized and occupied by heathen hordes, and everything came to complete ruin. And moreover they made a complete end of the army of the emperor, and the whole was chaos.³⁰

²⁷ *Chron. Cas.* II.71, 73, pp. 309–12, 315. Loud, 'Liri Valley', 15–19. These *castella* were listed in a papal bull confirming the abbey's property in March 1059, *Regesto di S. Angelo in Formis*, ed. M. Ingauenez (Montecassino 1925), 177–83 no. 63.

²⁸ *Chron. Vult.* iii.84–9.

²⁹ *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, vi.170–3 no. 985, 264–6 no. 1041.

³⁰ G. Robinson, 'The history and chartulary of the Greek monastery of St. Elias and St. Anastasius of Carbone', *Orientalia Christiana* 15 (1929), 171–5 no. 8.

Something of the violence and the human cost also occasionally emerges, whether in the story told by Abbot Desiderius of Montecassino about a Norman throwing one of the abbey's fishermen into the sea when the latter resisted his attempts to steal his catch, or in the donations of two counts from Benevento, in memory of their unmarried nephew who was killed fighting the Normans in the Caudine valley in June 1045 and buried in the abbey of St Sophia.³¹ It was probably about the same time that another Beneventan nobleman, the father of the future Abbot Desiderius, was also killed fighting the Normans. Leo Marsicanus suggested that his father's death allowed him to achieve his long-held desire to enter the religious life, expressing therefore ideas drawn from conventional hagiographical models one might speculate that it was equally possible that his father's violent end encouraged him to look towards the religious life.³² Nor, of course, was it only churchmen or their dependants, or the warrior class who suffered. Some years later, in the spring of 1063, a widow from Salerno lamented that because of 'the wicked people of the Normans who have ravaged within the province', her three children, between seven and fourteen years old, were reduced to 'hunger and nudity', and she had no animals or movable goods to sell to alleviate this.³³

By the end of the 1040s the scale of Norman operations, and of the consequent destruction, was sufficiently serious to engage the attention of the new pope Leo IX, appointed to the see of St Peter in 1048. According to Amatus, 'he begged them to abandon their cruelty and injuries to the poor'.³⁴ Indeed, one of his biographers went so far as to claim that 'the Christian religion seemed almost to have perished in that land', so terrible were the ravages of the Normans.³⁵ Yet Amatus also suggested that one particular reason for the pope's concern was the continued attacks of the Normans on Benevento, and here, from 1050, the pope had a direct political interest. Since their defiance of Henry III in 1047, the inhabitants of Benevento had been in an unenviable position, and the former principality had been reduced to not much more than the environs of Benevento itself. Henry had burned the town's suburbs in 1047, and one wonders whether the 'great famine' recorded by the Benevento annals in 1048 may not have been linked to, or at least exacerbated by, Norman destruction. The inability of Prince Pandulf III to conduct an effective defence led the citizens to expel him, and early in 1051

³¹ *Dialogi de Miraculis*, I.11, p. 1124. Pergamene Aldobrandini, Cartolario I no. 36; Benevento, Museo del Sannio, Fondo S. Sofia, vol. 12 no. 16.

³² *Chron. Cas.* III.2, p. 364. ³³ *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, viii.217–21 no. 1349, at 217.

³⁴ *Amatus*, III.16, p. 130. ³⁵ *Pontificorum Romanorum Vitae*, ii.58; Robinson, *Papal Reform*, 135, 141.

they sent an embassy to the pope offering the city to him. Leo appears to have accepted rule over Benevento as the emperor's representative or co-ruler – he was after all Henry III's cousin – and for the next few years the Benevento annals, and probably local charters, were dated by the regnal years of both pope and emperor. Thus, according to Amatus, the pope begged Guaimar IV and his Norman ally Count Drogo to defend the city, which they promised to do. But Drogo was unable to control his compatriots, by no means all of whom necessarily acknowledged his lordship, and his murder in August 1051 led to a further breakdown in order in southern Italy.³⁶

Thus, the concern about Norman depredations, and inevitably those that affected the church and churchmen in particular, became linked to what was seen as a defence of papal rights over Benevento. Hence Hermann of Reichenau noted that: 'the pope made many complaints [to the emperor] about the violence and harm done by the Normans, who were holding the property of St Peter by force, despite his opposition.'³⁷ In the early 1050s, 'the property of St Peter' can only have referred to Benevento – the Normans were not yet making incursions into the papal lands round Rome. Ultimately the pope decided to 'solve' the Norman problem through a military expedition, which ended with a disastrous defeat at Civitate on 18 June 1053.³⁸

Leo himself recorded, in a bull issued in favour of the archbishopric of Benevento three weeks after the battle of Civitate: 'and since we lament the ruin and near desolation of the whole land and its church, we intend first to restore the condition of the church to canonical order and then through the grace of God that the whole country may be brought help.'³⁹ His wish to restrain the Normans was certainly linked with a wider concern for the welfare and the reform of the south Italian Church, as for example in the council that he held at Siponto just after Easter in 1050, at which he apparently deposed two (unnamed) archbishops for simony.⁴⁰ Leo also began the practice, followed by his immediate successors, of appointing his own nominees to vacant sees, albeit only in exceptional cases. Shortly before the Battle of Civitate, he consecrated a German from Bavaria, Udalric, as archbishop of Benevento.⁴¹ Above all, Leo regularly visited

³⁶ Amatus, III.17–19, 23, pp. 131–3, 138–9; *Annales Beneventani*, 136–9; *Più antiche carte del capitolo della cattedrale di Benevento*, 134–8 no. 42; O. Vehse, 'Benevent als Territorium des Kirchenstaats bis zum Beginn der avignonesischen Epoche', *QFIAB* 22 (1930–1), especially 91–8.

³⁷ *Chronicon*, MGH SS v.132.

³⁸ For a detailed discussion of the Civitate campaign and its ramifications, Loud, *Age of Robert Guiscard*, 110–21.

³⁹ *Più antiche carte del capitolo della cattedrale di Benevento*, 131–2 no. 41.

⁴⁰ *Pontificorum Romanorum Vitae*, ii.58; Robinson, *Papal Reform*, 141.

⁴¹ *Annales Beneventani*, p. 138; *Carmi di Alfano di Salerno*, 169 no. 30.

the south, making journeys there every year from 1050, and spending almost nine months at Benevento after the defeat at Civitate. For all the disastrous outcome of his policy towards the Normans, he established a model for his successors, in this as in so many other ways. From his pontificate onwards, the papacy took a much closer interest in the affairs of the south and of the Church there than had been the case before 1050.

Within six years from their victory at Civitate, the Normans had taken over much of the south Italian mainland, and in 1059 the two principal leaders, Robert Guiscard and Richard of Aversa, secured papal recognition as legitimate rulers, the former as Duke of Apulia and Calabria, and the latter as Prince of Capua, having captured that city after a lengthy siege in June 1058. While a number of towns, especially in central and southern Apulia, remained as yet unconquered, the Norman leaders were now rulers, and their leading men became part of the establishment, and not simply warlords out for immediate booty or profit. This in turn altered the situation of the Church, since control of, and favour to, the Church was one of the ways by which rulers cemented their regimes, and such favour and protection was indeed expected of them, not least as a mark of their own legitimacy. Shrewd ecclesiastics, meanwhile, turned to the newcomers, to seek protection and benefit for their churches.

The paradigm for such behaviour was Desiderius, the monk from a noble family of Benevento, who was chosen as abbot of Montecassino at Easter 1058, and who was to be a key figure within the south Italian Church for almost thirty years, finally being elected pope in 1086. Even though his father had died fighting the Normans, Desiderius clearly saw which way the wind was blowing, and that the Norman takeover was by the late 1050s inevitable. While Richard of Aversa was laying siege to Capua, probably late in 1057, Desiderius, who was then provost of the Cassinese cell at Capua, left the town and joined Richard, obtaining from him a promise of protection for Cassinese property. Leo Marsicanus claimed that 'the two thereafter became firm friends.' Subsequently, after being despatched by Pope Stephen IX on a mission to Constantinople, which was aborted by news of the pope's death in March 1058, Desiderius approached Robert Guiscard for a safe-conduct and horses, to enable him to return to Montecassino and secure his own election as abbot (in succession to the deceased pope, who had retained his former position as abbot after his election as pope in August 1057).⁴² One of

⁴² *Chron. Cas.* III.8–9, pp. 369–71. For the background, H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius. Montecassino, the Papacy and the Normans in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries* (Oxford 1983), 111–17.

Desiderius's first actions as abbot was to welcome the new prince of Capua, Richard, on a formal 'state visit' to Montecassino in November 1058, with the monks chanting the princely *laudes* or ritual acclamations, and the prince granting a diploma confirming and protecting the abbey's property.⁴³ The alliance was one that favoured both parties. The monastery received protection, and subsequently extensive and valuable gifts, from the new ruler. Richard followed the policy of the earlier Lombard princes, above all Pandulf 'Iron Head' almost a century earlier, in using the abbey as his ally in the north of his, as yet by no means fully conquered, principality. But, in addition, this recognition by the wealthiest and most influential religious house in the principality was a significant boost to his credentials as its legitimate ruler, and Desiderius, soon to be made a cardinal, was a valuable intermediary with the pope. The value that Montecassino was to put on its alliance with the Normans was abundantly demonstrated in the conclusion to the *History* of Amatus, written probably in the early 1080s; which was a fulsome encomium to the two great Norman leaders and their generosity to Montecassino.⁴⁴

However, while the evolution of the Normans from conquerors to rulers inevitably changed the nature of their relationship with the churches of southern Italy, this was a gradual process, not least because of the relatively slow pace of the conquest itself. The papal recognition accorded to Robert Guiscard and Prince Richard in 1058/9 did not necessarily lead to an immediate change of attitude among their followers, nor indeed were all the Normans or Frenchmen in southern Italy that keen to accept the rule of these two leaders. Guiscard in particular faced considerable opposition from the Normans of Apulia, some of whom were his own relatives, and had to suppress a series of revolts between 1067 and 1083, while Richard faced serious problems with his son-in-law, William of Montreuil, who remained intermittently in rebellion against him until his death c. 1070. Nor did attacks upon churches cease merely because the new rulers had come to terms with the papacy. Both Robert Guiscard and Prince Richard continued actively to expand their dominions. Richard's troops were encroaching into papal territory by 1066, and also into Marsia in the Abruzzi, a region over which the papacy had claims, even if it hardly ruled over the area.⁴⁵ Even when relations with the rulers were good, there might still be problems. Thus, while Pope Alexander II was making

⁴³ *Amatus*, IV.13, pp. 191–2; Gattula, *Accessiones*, 161–3 (Loud, 'Calendar', no. 2). Loud, *Age of Robert Guiscard*, 126–7.

⁴⁴ *Amatus*, VIII.36, pp. 374–5. ⁴⁵ *Amatus* VI.8–10, pp. 269–72; *Chron. Cas.* III.23, pp. 389–90.

a long pastoral visit to southern Italy during the summer of 1067, during which he held councils at Siponto and Melfi, he excommunicated Guiscard's younger brother, Count William of the Principate, and the latter's ally Guimund of Moulins, for their seizures of the property of the archbishopric of Salerno, as well as a man called Paganus of Biccari for similar outrages against the property of the church of Troia. Admittedly this sanction, and no doubt pressure from Guiscard himself (who almost certainly received renewal of his earlier investiture as duke during this visit), as well as peer pressure from other leaders, had its effect. When the pope reached Salerno, William and Guimund restored their ill-gotten gains. But at the same meeting at which this cession took place, another Norman, Turgisius of Rota, was then excommunicated for similar thefts.⁴⁶

These problems emerged because the conquest of the principality of Salerno was as yet incomplete. William, who was seeking to build up his own lordship in the eastern part of the principality, was an avowed opponent of the Lombard prince Gisulf, and Guiscard had already had to take steps to restrain his brother's aggression at the time of his marriage to Gisulf's sister in the winter of 1058/9. Guimund de Moulins, who came from a family that had been expelled from Normandy by William the Conqueror, was later responsible for the assassination of Gisulf's brother Guido, an ally of Guiscard, with whom he was involved in a land dispute in the valley of S. Severino to the north of Salerno.⁴⁷ Only once the conquest of the principality was completed in 1076/7 could its churchmen fully come to terms with, and profit from, the new regime.

The other region in which the Normans continued for a long time to be seen as a threat to the Church was the Abruzzi, a frontier area, control of which remained in dispute until some years into the early twelfth century. Their incursions into the Abruzzi began only in the 1060s, but under the leadership of Guiscard's nephew, Count Robert of Loritello, they were within a decade posing a serious threat as far north as the Pescara valley, almost 100 km from the little *castellum* of Rotello that had been the *caput* of Robert's lordship. The principal victim, or at least the one about which we are best informed, was the abbey of St Clement at Casauria, founded two centuries earlier by the Carolingian emperor Louis II, and the wealthiest religious institution in the region. The later abbey chronicle, written in the 1170s but here probably using older sources, claimed that the Normans 'were depopulating the whole land'. In 1073 Pope Gregory VII threatened

⁴⁶ *Italia Pontificia*, viii.351–2 nos. 22–5; *Italia Pontificia* ix.204 no. 4.

⁴⁷ *Amatus*, IV.19–22, VIII.12, pp. 196–7, 352–3; *Malaterra*, I.31, p. 22.

the Normans attacking Casauria with excommunication, and subsequently did excommunicate Robert of Loritello at his Lenten synod in 1075. Indeed, the continued Norman pressure on the Abruzzi played a significant part in the dispute between Gregory and Robert Guiscard that lasted up until 1080: the pope clearly felt that the duke was failing to control his nephew and his men, or even encouraging them – which was probably true, given that Guiscard sent Count Robert substantial reinforcements before his attack on Ortona in 1076 or 1077.⁴⁸

As time went on the Counts of Loritello concentrated their attention on their original lordship in the northern Capitanata, and the expansion northwards into the Abruzzi was led by the count's younger brother Drogo, known as 'the Badger', and another man called Hugh Mamouzet. The latter was in particular blamed by the monks of Casauria for the tribulations suffered by their abbey. He was accused of kidnapping Abbot Transmund, destroying the new buildings that the latter had had constructed at the abbey, and even of stealing the household goods of the local inhabitants (many of them abbatial tenants). For a time, it was claimed, the monastery was abandoned, except for a small group of monks who kept watch over the tomb of their patron saint. Later on, first between 1086 and 1093, and then again in 1094, he tried to impose his own agents as administrators of the monastery, while keeping the abbot's throne vacant. The Casauria chronicler repeated a litany of charges.

Mamouzet held the abbey as though it was one of his chapels and he would not permit the monks to choose an abbot, rather he placed over them the man he wanted, for a long as it pleased him.

Mamouzet, striving to get what he wanted rather than to please God, sent a certain chaplain of his, by name of Gilbert, to the monastery of St. Clement . . . ordering him in public to take responsibility for the abbey, so that he might augment it, but telling him in secret to despoil it of its ornaments and its gold and silver vessels, just as fast as he could.⁴⁹

The chronicler recounted his eventual downfall with relish: lured into ambush by his lust for a pretty girl, held in prison, despoiled of his lands, and when he died followed soon afterwards to the grave by most of his numerous sons.⁵⁰ However, the abbey continued to suffer from the aggression of other Normans. William, the son of Drogo 'the Badger', 'began to

⁴⁸ *Amatus*, VII.31, p. 327. *Chron. Casauriense*, 863, 865. Feller, *Abruzzes médiévales*, 728–30; Loud, *Age of Robert Guiscard*, 142–3, 198–200.

⁴⁹ *Chron. Casauriense*, 866–8. ⁵⁰ *Chron. Casauriense*, 869–70.

treat the lands both of St Clement and of St Pelinus [the bishopric of Valva] as his own', and after he left for the Holy Land, Count Richard of Manopello took over his lordship, tried to extort money from the abbot, and when this was not forthcoming stole the animals of the monastery and its tenants. His persecution was only brought to an end when he was miraculously struck down by Saint Clement himself, as he feasted on the meat from the stolen beasts (or, more prosaically, had a fatal stroke).⁵¹

But, vivid and heartfelt though this account is, it was clearly not the whole story. The Normans had been able to penetrate the region in the first place because of the disintegration of the existing political structures, shown by the breakdown in the practice of public court hearings (*placita*) that had been continued from the Carolingian era onwards, and by the collapsing authority of the Attonid counts of Chieti, whose dominance of the region was being challenged by other, rising, families, and no longer had the support of the emperors – who anyway took far less of an interest in Italy than had the Ottonians. It was this growing political vacuum that allowed the Borrells to take over the Sangro valley and expand southwards into Molise, very largely at the expense of the abbey of St Vincent on Volturno.⁵² It was not therefore just the newcomers who sought to expand their power and wealth at the expense of churches. When the Normans first appeared in the Chieti region, Casauria's initial problems came from its own, indigenous, tenants, who took the opportunity to revolt against the abbey's lordship.⁵³ While the bishop of Penne contributed a substantial sum from his church's treasury to ransom some of the prisoners captured by the Normans at Ortona, what he received in return was the lands that those Lombard nobles had previously stolen from the bishopric.⁵⁴

Meanwhile, the abbey of St Bartholomew of Carpineto suffered the persecution of a descendant of its founder (although according to its chronicler he seemed to be descended 'not from that fruitful stock' but from the Devil). Not only did he steal its property, but he sent his chambermaids to wash clothes outside the abbey gate, who then penetrated into its cloister and refectory, stole the bread from the monks' tables, and even made free use of their latrines. But when the elderly abbot, Herimund, was at his wits' end, help arrived, in the shape of none other than the persecutor of Casauria,

⁵¹ *Chron. Casauriense*, 871, 873–4. On the miracles of Saint Clement and their role in the chronicle, see G.A. Loud, 'Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 27. *Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2004* (Woodbridge 2005), 123–4.

⁵² L. Feller, 'The northern frontier of Norman Italy, 1060–1140', in *The Society of Norman Italy*, 51–9.

⁵³ *Chron. Casauriense*, 864.

⁵⁴ *Libellus Querulus de Miseriis Ecclesiae Pennensis*, ed. A. Hofmeister, MGH SS xxx(2).1466–7.

Hugh Mamouzet. The Carpineto chronicle went on to record that some years later, with the abbey still suffering from the attacks of this Lombard noble, Bernard, the brothers sought the advice of Mamouzet in choosing a new abbot. The latter, 'bound to the monastery by an unshakeable devotion and great love' helped them to secure the provost of one of the Cassinese cells in the Abruzzi, a man called John noted for his piety, as their abbot, and he began to restore the prosperity of the abbey. A decade later the monks of Casauria chose him as their abbot. Hugh Mamouzet then advised the monks of Carpineto to elect as their new abbot Sanso, a former brother of theirs who had transferred to the abbey of St John in Venere on the Adriatic coast to escape the persecution of his kinsman Bernard.⁵⁵

What is notable about this account is that Hugh was consistently portrayed as a friend and benefactor of Carpineto, and while he played a part in the choice of abbot, this was not portrayed as interference by an overbearing laymen, but as disinterested help by a friend of the monastery, which the monks welcomed. The Casauria chronicler described the election of John as abbot of St Clement's c. 1092 without mentioning that he was already abbot of Carpineto, or that he was previously connected with Mamouzet, but yet generally thought well of him. He was 'distinguished for his virtuous character and wisdom', and this in turn led to his election as bishop of Valva.⁵⁶ The second abbot whom Mamouzet helped to choose for Carpineto was not only a successful prelate who ruled the house for a quarter of a century, and was much praised by the chronicler on his death, but he was also a member of the founder's family, and not therefore in any sense a newcomer intruded by its Norman patron. The latter was rather celebrated as 'a magnificent and most generous benefactor' for his gifts to that church.⁵⁷ Nor, even for Casauria, can Hugh be seen as simply the tyrant portrayed by the chronicler. Certainly he was described as the 'advocate' of the church in a charter of 1086, and he undoubtedly sought to keep it under his control; yet in that document he was witnessing the restoration of three dependent churches formerly alienated from the abbey by the new Norman bishop of Chieti.⁵⁸

However, for the most part the Normans of the Abruzzi preferred to devote their religious benefactions towards other churches than Casauria. The latter was a victim of its own earlier success, wealthy and powerful enough to be seen as a rival, rather than as an object of devotion. Furthermore, Casauria had also alienated the indigenous nobility of the

⁵⁵ *Chron. Carpineto*, 34–9. ⁵⁶ *Chron. Casauriense*, 868. ⁵⁷ *Chron. Carpineto*, 51, 54–5.

⁵⁸ Paris, BN, MS Lat. 5411, fols. 235v–236r, ed. Loud, 'Monastic chronicles', 130–1.

Pescara region, by its attempts to extend its lordship over them during the first half of the century, and even to usurp judicial rights formerly pertaining to the counts of Chieti. Hence they took advantage of the arrival of the Normans to throw off the abbey's yoke and to become independent once more. One consequence of this was that not only were Casauria's lands under direct attack, but donations to the abbey fell sharply from c. 1060 onwards and virtually dried up in the last two decades of the eleventh century. By contrast, smaller abbeys, less wealthy and politically powerful, such as St Bartholomew of Carpineto and the eremitic house of the Holy Saviour on Monte Majella, could still attract donors, both native and newcomer, and it was these houses that benefited from the pious instincts of the Norman invaders.⁵⁹ The new Norman counts of Manopello patronised the hermits of the Holy Saviour; Hugh Mamouzet and the counts of Loreto (Drogo 'the badger' and his descendants) favoured Carpineto.⁶⁰ The portrayal of the Normans in the Casauria chronicle as little more than conscienceless predators was therefore seriously misleading. Casauria, with its extensive lands, military clients, fortified *castella* and claims to exercise lordship and judicial rights, was a competitor. Other churches, which lacked these resources, could be allies, and their prayers would serve the Normans just as well as those of the monks of St Clement.

If the Abruzzi remained disturbed into the early twelfth century, and therefore complaints about Norman depredations continued, albeit largely stemming from one particular abbey, this was because the Normans did not succeed in taking over the whole region. A degree of stability was achieved, partly because first Hugh Mamouzet's ambitions, and then the emergence of the counts of Manopello, led some of the local nobles eventually to rally to Casauria as their potential defender. Thus in 1111 a number of men whose ancestors had been coerced into accepting the abbey's lordship (not least by the duke of Spoleto, acting on imperial instructions, in 1028) now willingly became its vassals. Furthermore, they did this in the presence, and clearly with the encouragement, of the bishops

⁵⁹ L. Feller, 'Casaux et *castra* dans les Abruzzes: San Salvatore à Maiella et San Clemente à Casauria (XIe–XIIIe siècles)', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: Moyen-Âge, temps modernes* 97 (1985), 145–82, especially 150–61.

⁶⁰ There were donations from the Counts of Manopello to the Holy Saviour in 1098, 1106 and 1122, and from William son of Drogo in 1108, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio di S. Pietro, Pergamene, Caps. LXII.53(1), fols. 27r, 26r, 11r, 13r (one should note that the documents in the abbey's chartulary were not entered in chronological order); Hugh Mamouzet gave a *castellum* and 3,000 *modii* of land to Carpineto in 1091, *Chron. Carpineto*, 253–6; for the Counts of Loreto, *ibid.*, 47–50, and 263–4 (1101).

of Valva and Penne.⁶¹ The local bishops did indeed do a good bit to enforce domestic peace in the Abruzzi, not least by the proclamation of the Truce of God and the collective excommunication of offenders.⁶² But the Abruzzi was to remain a power vacuum, and thus potentially unstable, until the region was eventually taken over by King Roger of Sicily in 1140.

To some extent, this was also true of the rest of southern Italy, in the years after the death of Robert Guiscard in 1085 and of Jordan I of Capua in 1090. Guiscard's son and successor Roger Borsa faced challenges against his authority, not least from his half-brother Bohemond. To secure the help of his uncle, Count Roger of Sicily, against Bohemond and other rebels against his authority, Duke Roger was forced to make territorial concessions to him, notably a half share in the important Calabrian town of Cosenza in 1090. Similarly Bohemond was bought off through the cession of Bari, Taranto and an extensive lordship in southern Apulia. The consequence of this was for ducal rule to become focused upon the western side of the peninsula, that is the former duchy of Salerno – which pertained to Roger Borsa not just through his father's conquest, but also by inheritance from his mother, the daughter of Guaimar IV of Salerno. Even in this region his authority was not entirely secure. Amalfi subsequently revolted against him in 1096, and although the duke's rule was once again recognised there from 1101 onwards the city was thereafter kept under a very loose control. The effect of this refocusing of ducal interests was that some of the most powerful Apulian nobles, notably the counts of Conversano and Loritello, effectively escaped from ducal control. A symptom of the problems affecting ducal government in Apulia was the promulgation of the Truce of God by Pope Urban II at councils held at Melfi in 1089 and Troia in 1093. The succession of Duke William at the age of thirteen or fourteen in 1111, and the long minority of Bohemond II of Taranto caused further complications, and in particular the emergence of an independent principate at Bari from 1118 onwards. The Truce of God was once again proclaimed at papal councils in 1115 and 1120.

Some contemporaries considered that Guiscard's successors were too mild to be effective rulers. Malaterra wrote of Duke Roger that 'his piety made him a little remiss in the rigour of his justice'.⁶³ And yet one should not exaggerate either the extent to which ducal rule collapsed, or

⁶¹ Feller, *Abruzzes médiévales*, 919–20. For the 1028 submissions, *I placiti del Regnum Italiae*, ed. C. Manaresi (3 vols., FSI, Rome 1955–60), iii.15–22 nos. 327–9.

⁶² *Vita Sancti Berardi Episcopi Marsorum, Acta Sanctorum, November*, ii.132–4.

⁶³ *Malaterra*, IV.4, p. 87.

underestimate the tenacity of Roger Borsa in maintaining his authority. The key ducal towns in inland Apulia, Melfi and Troia, which had been the bases from which Guiscard had expanded his control over the region, remained in the hands of his son and grandson. A number of important Apulian nobles remained consistently loyal to Roger, notably his cousin Richard the Seneschal, whose lordship in the Taranto region was an important counterweight to that of Bohemond. The latter was, anyway, largely absent from southern Italy after he joined the First Crusade in 1096. In addition, Duke Roger made significant territorial gains in the Capitanata after 1105, profiting from the death (apparently without direct heir) of Count William of Monte Sant' Angelo. So while ducal government undoubtedly faced problems after 1085, it was by no means completely ineffectual.⁶⁴

If anything, the problems of secular authority were more serious in the principality of Capua after 1090. The city of Capua revolted against Prince Richard II, and although he seems to have recovered it for a time, he only finally and securely regained it in 1098 with the help of an army led by Duke Roger Borsa, and at the price of swearing fealty to the latter. For much of the 1090s the prince resided at Aversa, the original Norman base before the takeover of the principality. Gaeta similarly revolted against its Norman lord in 1092 and remained independent for at least a decade, and the duchy of Gaeta appears to have become a focus for factional dispute in the early years of the twelfth century. Princely control in the north of the principality became increasingly fragile, and indeed princely intervention in this area was no more than intermittent. The counts of Boiano on the north-eastern frontier of the principality, and the prince's uncle Count Robert of Caiazzo, who ruled an extensive seigneurie comprising several former Lombard counties in the upper Volturno valley, became effectively independent. The princes' rule became more or less limited to the plain around Capua itself, and the area to the east of Monte Vesuvio, where the prince's brother Jordan had established a lordship by 1109.⁶⁵

To what extent the Church suffered from this decline of secular authority is a moot point, since even at its most efficient medieval government could never entirely eliminate attempts to win disputes over property through strong-arm methods, sometimes by ecclesiastics as well as laymen,

⁶⁴ For a more extended (and documented) discussion, of which these paragraphs are a summary, Loud, *Age of Robert Guiscard*, 246–60. For Amalfi, P. E. Skinner, 'The Tyrrhenian coastal cities under the Normans', in *The Society of Norman Italy*, 75–96, especially 79–80, 84–7.

⁶⁵ See Loud, *Church and Society in the Norman Principality of Capua*, 86–95, for a detailed discussion.

and random acts of violence. Montecassino, which had profited greatly by its alliance with the first two Norman princes of Capua, undoubtedly suffered from the contraction of their successors' authority, not least in a revival of hostilities with its neighbours, and traditional competitors, the counts of Aquino, which led Abbot Otto (1105–7) to repair the fortifications of the abbey's *castella* and once again to concentrate its dependants within their walls.⁶⁶ This did not, however, prevent further attacks, such as the seizure of the *castellum* of Interamna, which had once belonged to the counts, in 1108, and an attempt by one of the counts to build a new *castellum* on abbey land, high on the slopes of Monte Cairo, in 1115. But the abbey was not without resources and allies. In 1108 Prince Robert of Capua came to its help – princely authority seems to have revived somewhat after his accession in 1106/7 – and forced the counts to surrender. In 1115 the papal chancellor John of Gaeta, a former monk of Cassino, happened to be visiting his old abbey, and threatened the count with papal wrath unless he withdrew, which he duly did.⁶⁷

Yet Montecassino's problems in the early twelfth century seem to have stemmed just as much from internal strife within the monastic community – Abbot Otto's attempts to enforce austerity in diet proved notably unpopular – and from dissatisfaction among the inhabitants of the *Terra Sancti Benedicti*, as from external aggression. When the counts of Aquino seized Interamna, this was with the connivance of the local inhabitants – in the monks' view 'betrayal' (*proditio*). And it was continued 'rebellion' and 'wickedness' among the inhabitants of the abbey's town of S. Germano that led Abbot Gerard to rebuild the fortress of Rocca Janula, half way up the access road to the monastery and overlooking the town, in 1115. That proved extremely unpopular, and the citizens eventually destroyed the fortress once again in 1126.⁶⁸ The abbey's attempts to exploit its lands more efficiently and to centralise its authority within them also led to dissent. In 1123 the inhabitants of two of the largest and most important *castella* refused the customary oath of fealty to the new abbot, unless he lowered the dues they owed and allowed them to have their own courts.⁶⁹

What was notable after 1090 were the measures that ecclesiastics took to defend their churches. A few wealthy and powerful institutions could resort to direct military action, as Montecassino increasingly did, especially

⁶⁶ *Chron. Cas.* IV.29, p. 495. ⁶⁷ *Chron. Cas.* IV.32, 57, pp. 498–9, 521.

⁶⁸ *Chron. Cas.* IV.29, 56, 88, pp. 494, 520, 549.

⁶⁹ *Chron. Cas.* IV.79, pp. 543–4. For the exploitation of the Cassinese lands, Fabiani, *Terra di S. Benedetto*, ii.218–35.

during the abbacy of Abbot Oderisius II (1123–6), a warlike scion of the Borrell counts of Sangro. His response to the protest of the men of S. Angelo in Theodice and S. Vittore after his accession was to raise an army and ravage the lands of these two *castella* until their inhabitants submitted, and then to extort a large fine from them when they did. Similarly, in the same year the abbot of Casauria was alleged to have mustered an army of almost 4,000 men to fight some troublesome local lords.⁷⁰ But few other churches had these resources. More usual was moral rather than physical coercion. During Lent of 1105 Bishop Albert of Gaeta secured oaths from all the various nobles squabbling within the duchy that they would respect the property of its churches, the persons of its clerics, and all the peasants subject to them, under pain of anathema.⁷¹ The abbots of Montecassino also increasingly relied on exacting oaths from neighbouring aristocrats to protect the person of the abbot and the lands of the monastery, and to assist and defend it. Significantly, one of the first people to swear such an oath was Prince Richard II of Capua in 1099; a mark of how the relationship between prince and abbey had changed since the days of the former's grandfather, who 'with his strong hand punished those who persecuted and looted our church'.⁷² The oaths sworn to Montecassino by the later princes show that the abbots were by no means certain of their support, or even their goodwill, and these oaths were no different from those sworn by other nobles, placing the princes on a par with those who were, or ought to have been, their subjects. But Montecassino was not the only monastery to adopt such a policy. Abbot Giso of Casauria forced the son of Hugh Mamouzet to swear such an oath c. 1120, before eventually persuading him to set off on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.⁷³ Even in the relatively peaceable principality of Salerno, the abbey of Cava took similar precautions, receiving oaths to respect the abbey's property from Jordan of Nocera in September 1111, Roger of S. Severino in March 1114, and Count William of the Principate in April 1117.⁷⁴ Such oaths were sworn in meetings attended by many of the great men of the area, although in none of these instances was the duke himself present. The public nature of such

⁷⁰ *Chron. Casauriense*, 883.

⁷¹ *Codex Diplomaticus Caietanensis* (2 vols., Montecassino 1887–92), ii.174–6 no. 280.

⁷² *Amatus*, VIII.36, p. 375. Richard II's oath: G. A. Loud, 'Five unpublished charters of the Norman Princes of Capua', *Benedictina* 27 (1980), 173–4 no. 3. More generally, Loud, *Church and Society*, 92, 133.

⁷³ *Chron. Casauriense*, 880–1: Paris, BN, MS Lat. 5411, fol. 246r.

⁷⁴ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* E.21, E.33, E.34, E.47; the last of these edited by G. A. Loud, 'The abbey of Cava, its property and benefactors in the Norman era', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 9. *Proceedings of the Battle Conference* 1986, ed. R. A. Brown (Woodbridge 1987), 176–7.

commitments and peer pressure were important forces to ensure that men undertook such pledges and then respected them.

Nevertheless, in some parts of southern Italy public order remained a problem, and churches were often drawn into, or suffered from, the quarrels of others. In 1093, for example, Richard II of Capua compensated the monastery of S. Angelo in Formis for the damage that his troops had done to its lands while they besieged his rebellious capital city.⁷⁵ The stability and security of Apulia undoubtedly deteriorated after 1111, with the counts of Conversano at war with Constance, the widow of Bohemond I, and her allies, and Bari seeking to achieve its independence. Archbishop Riso of Bari became the leader of this struggle. In a charter of 1113, 'seeing our city menaced by enemies', he tried to raise money for its fortifications. However, Bari was not without internal problems too, for the archbishop was murdered by one of his fellow citizens in 1117 as he travelled to his 'other cathedral' at Canosa.⁷⁶ Soon afterwards a Bariot patrician, Grimoald Alfaranites, emerged as the city's 'prince'.⁷⁷

The problems that afflicted Apulia, and the impact that these might have upon the Church, can be seen from two legal cases that were heard during the papal council that proclaimed the Truce of God at Troia in November 1120. Such assemblies not only tried to enforce the peace. They provided opportunities for churches to seek redress for particular grievances. At Troia the abbots of St Sophia, Benevento, and St Nicholas of Troia both complained about the actions of a distant relative of the duke, William de Hauteville. The charge made by Abbot John of St Sophia concerned a village belonging to his abbey called Fabrica, which, he said, had been seized and plundered by its neighbours. His predecessor as abbot had then leased it to William, to 'augment and defend', which he had failed to do. The abbey now wanted it back.⁷⁸ The abbot of St Nicholas complained that William had seized lands that his elder brother, Count Robert II of Loritello, had given to his abbey some years earlier. William in turn complained that his brother had taken these lands from him in the first place, a charge that the count eventually more or less admitted, though he denied that he had ever given William permission to recover them after they had been given to the monastery. It was eventually agreed that this property should be returned to St Nicholas. But not only was the abbey the

⁷⁵ *Regesto di S. Angelo in Formis*, 84–6 no. 28.

⁷⁶ *Falco*, p. 34; cf. *Romuald*, 206. *Codice Diplomatico Barese*, v. *Le pergamene di S. Nicola di Bari (1075–1194)*, ed. F. Nitti di Vito (Bari 1902), 105 no. 59.

⁷⁷ A charter of June 1123 was dated in his 5th year as prince, *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, v.121–2 no. 69.

⁷⁸ Benevento, Museo del Sannio, Fondo S. Sofia, vol. 10 no. 26.

victim of an intra-familial dispute, but another feature of this legal case was revealing. William was unable to attend the final hearing that settled this dispute, because he was at war with another noble, Robert son of Richard, who had invaded his lands during the harvest season (presumably therefore in the previous summer).⁷⁹ The society of the Capitanata in 1120 was clearly in disarray, and the property of churches was among the casualties.

As with the oaths sworn to Cava, it was important for churches to use occasions when peer pressure and public opinion (or at least the opinion of those who mattered) might influence laymen. At Troia in 1120 those present at the hearings where William's sins were aired included the duke of Apulia himself, his constable Hoel lord of S. Agata, the counts of Loritello, Ariano and Civitate, a considerable number of lesser barons, as well as the archbishop of Siponto and the bishop of Bovino. The two abbots also took care to support each other's pleas. But it was also necessary for the Abbot of St Sophia to pay William off, for losses he had allegedly suffered. The duke's role seems to have been passive, representing the count of Loritello at one meeting that the latter was unable to attend, and asking that the case might be adjourned until he could come. But for all the problems facing Duke William, and if we are to believe a probably contemporary comment contained within the chronicle attributed to Romuald of Salerno, also his own personal failings, he did at least try to assist churches under his rule. In 1121 a delegation from St Sophia, Benevento, went to Salerno to ask him to help the abbey recover property near Ascoli that had been lost through 'wars and the oppression of enemies', asking 'his prudence and majesty to incline his ears to the petitions and requests of the faithful'. In this part of inland Apulia ducal rule still had some effect, and his local official at Ascoli did indeed restore the land to the abbey. The phraseology of the charter suggests that some churchmen still held the duke in regard.⁸⁰ There were, of course, also other more intangible factors protecting churches, as was illustrated by the corollary to the legal cases of 1120 discussed above. Three years later, at a ducal court held at

⁷⁹ *Les Chartes de Troia (1024-1266)*, ed. J.-M. Martin (*Codice diplomatico pugliese*, xxi (Bari 1976), 168-71 no. 43). Robert son of Richard was one of a Norman family from Oully-le-Tesson (Calvados) who were lords of Trevico and Flumeri, 30 km east of Benevento, and were to acquire comital rank in the later twelfth century, E. Cuozzo, *Normanni, nobiltà e cavalleria* (Salerno 1995), 184-93.

⁸⁰ Benevento, Museo del Sannio, Fondo S. Sofia, vol. 8 no. 34. Cf. *Romuald*, 213: 'Although Duke William was much loved by his barons and men, he was however held to some extent in contempt by them for his kindness and patience.' This section of the chronicle derived from some annals, probably written at Troia, c. 1130; D. J. A. Matthew, 'The Chronicle of Romuald of Salerno', in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages. Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*, ed. R. H. C. Davis and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford 1981), 239-74, especially 251-6.

S. Lorenzo di Carminiano, near Troia, attended by a number of prelates and barons, including two counts, William de Hauteville finally completed his peace with the monastery of St Nicholas, Troia. He gave the abbey a riverbank site to build a mill; in return for which he and three of his knights were received into the abbey's confraternity 'in full society and benefit of prayers', both during their lifetime and on the anniversary of their deaths.⁸¹ There are hints here of the duke's role: there was an impressive turnout for this court, including Count Rainulf of Caiazzo (not, strictly speaking, a ducal vassal), and the duke's notary acted as the abbey's legal representative. But what assisted the church was, above all, the sinner's concern for his soul.

The Norman conquest had not therefore brought peace to southern Italy. In addition to the disruption during the conquest itself, and that was a lengthy process, the generation after the death of Robert Guiscard saw a breakdown of authority, albeit partial and more in some regions than others, that also posed problems for churchmen. When therefore the death of Duke William of Apulia in 1127 ushered in the takeover of the mainland by his cousin, Count Roger of Sicily, and the latter's imposition of firm and effective rule, with a particular stress on keeping the peace, this was to the Church's benefit. Roger's biographer, Abbot Alexander of Telese, claimed:

For what sin was not exercised among these people? Having thrown away all fear [of God], they did not hesitate to slaughter men, to steal, commit sacrilege, adultery, perjury, even the oppression of churches and monasteries.

... If God had not preserved a scion of the Guiscard's lineage, through whom the ducal power might quickly be revived, almost the whole country, burdened with unbelievably horrible crimes, would have rushed headlong to destruction.⁸²

We need not take this rhetoric too literally, in what was, after all, a work of propaganda praising the new ruler. But there can be little doubt that many churchmen welcomed a new regime that promised an era of stability and protection.

However, the era of the conquest must not be portrayed in an entirely negative light, nor (as has already been argued) were the Normans in any sense deliberately hostile to churches and churchmen. There is nothing to suggest, despite the barbed comments of chroniclers whose monasteries had suffered in the conquest, that most of them were other than conventionally pious. Charters, formulaic as they often are, even occasionally

⁸¹ *Les Chartes de Troia*, 175–7 no. 46. ⁸² *Al. Tel.* proem, I, I, pp. 3, 6.

reveal someone visiting a church to pray.⁸³ It is time therefore to examine more positive aspects of the relationship between the newcomers and the Church.

Even before the agreement with the papacy in 1059, and while the conquest of the south Italian mainland was still far from accomplished, Norman leaders were beginning themselves to found and endow churches. At their base at Aversa, the nunnery of St Blaise is attested as early as 1043, even if the later claim that it was founded by a sister of Count Richard is probably only legend.⁸⁴ However, a much earlier and more reliable tradition suggests that the founder of the abbey of Holy Trinity, Venosa, was Robert Guiscard's elder brother Count Drogo, the leader of the Apulian Normans from c. 1045 until his murder in 1051 (even if the one surviving charter for Venosa ascribed to him is an undoubted forgery).⁸⁵ But while only parts of the country were in the hands of the Normans, and the resources available to the leaders were limited, these had perforce to be devoted primarily to extending their military followings. The chroniclers describing the conquest stressed the often straitened circumstances of the conquerors, and their need, however regrettable, to rely on plunder to augment their resources. Even after becoming duke, Robert Guiscard, so Malaterra suggested, 'while generous with money, was stingy in giving out the smallest portion of land'.⁸⁶ This was not necessarily because he was naturally miserly, but because even in the early days of his ducal rule, his landed resources were still relatively meagre. That situation only slowly changed, both as further territories were conquered, and in the 1070s as he confiscated towns and lordships from those who had rebelled against him

⁸³ Robert Guiscard visited a church near Martirano in Calabria to pray and was shocked to discover it in ruins; he ordered it to be rebuilt, Ménager, *Recueil*, 82–5 no. 21. (There are problems with the date of this document, which survives only in later copies, but it is not necessarily forged.) Count Godfrey of Molfetta visited the island monastery of Tremiti to pray while sailing across the Adriatic from Dalmatia in 1093, *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, iii.255–7 no. 86. Robert I of Capua was visiting S. Angelo in Formis to pray in 1107, when the monks asked him to confirm the gifts of his predecessors, *Regesto di S. Angelo in Formis*, 107–11 no. 37. Count Robert II of Loritello visited Montecassino 'to pray during the time of Lent' in 1113, and asked to be enrolled in the abbey's confraternity, Gattula, *Historia*, 344–5.

⁸⁴ *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 389–90 no. 45. A. Gallo, *Aversa normanna* (Naples 1938), 203. The first abbess, Riccarda, and her sister Asa (or Adasa), always mentioned together in the early charters, look very much like the founders. Yet Prince Richard's donation to the nunnery in October 1058 makes no mention of any relationship, *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 384–5 no. 42. And in 1043 he had not yet even come to Italy, even if his elder brother Asclethin may have arrived by then.

⁸⁵ H. Houben, *Die Abtei Venosa und das Mönchtum im normannisch-staufischen Süditalien* (Tübingen 1995), 135–7, 234–5.

⁸⁶ *Malaterra*, II.21, p. 36.

in Apulia.⁸⁷ By the last years of his life Guiscard had extensive resources, and was thus in a better position to be generous to churchmen, which indeed he was. Similarly, other Normans consolidated their lordships, and therefore had the resources to endow churches, make provision for their souls, and to fulfil the ideal of pious generosity that was expected of medieval aristocrats.

The number and distribution of new foundations was also dependent on how far particular areas were already well furnished with monasteries, churches, and indeed bishoprics. Where there were already long-standing and prestigious monastic houses, the newcomers usually patronised them, rather than establishing rival foundations. Furthermore, great abbeys with a long tradition and established prestige, like Montecassino, St Sophia, Benevento and Cava (although this was a more recent foundation than the others), tended to dominate the religious landscape of their regions, not least as they were given other smaller monastic houses and churches within their catchment area. Thus Robert Guiscard and his younger brother Count Roger founded churches in Calabria, and in the case of Roger also in Sicily, but otherwise the duke preferred to make donations to existing establishments. Calabria was more fertile ground for new foundations, both because Latin churches there were few, or as one went further to the south non-existent, and because that was where most of his lands were in the earlier part of his rule.

Guiscard's first foundation, the monastery of St Euphemia, was established near Nicastro in central Calabria in the early 1060s. Its foundation was apparently a matter of chance. Back in Normandy, Robert de Grandmesnil, Abbot of St Evroul, had fallen foul of Duke William, and been forced to flee the duchy, accompanied by a small group of loyal monks. He went to southern Italy where a number of his relatives and connections had already established themselves, and (according to the later St Evroul chronicler Orderic Vitalis) first approached Prince Richard of Capua. Receiving little encouragement from him, Abbot Robert then turned to Robert Guiscard, and the latter provided him with the site of an abandoned Greek monastery for him to settle with his monks. The favourable reception accorded to Abbot Robert was also linked with the marriage of his half-sister, Judith, who had either accompanied him to Italy or had joined him there soon after his arrival, to Count Roger during the winter of 1061/2. Malaterra implied that this was by prior arrangement. The new monastery was endowed with a considerable landholding in the

⁸⁷ Loud, *Age of Robert Guiscard*, 124, 239–46.

plain of Maida to its south, a section of the coastline in this region, and several (probably Greek) monasteries and churches.⁸⁸

Duke Robert subsequently founded two further Benedictine abbeys in Calabria, S. Maria of Matina, in 1065/6, and somewhat later St Maria at Camigliano, probably before 1080, both of them situated in the Val di Crati in northern Calabria, near Robert's original Calabrian base before he became duke, S. Marco Argentano.⁸⁹ In a privilege for Matina, purportedly issued during his visit to southern Italy in the summer of 1067, Pope Alexander II stated not just that Robert Guiscard had been granted power to found Latin monasteries in Apulia and Calabria, but that he should convert Greek monasteries to Latin ones, with the blessing of the Holy See. Unfortunately, the authenticity of this document is by no means certain.⁹⁰ Guiscard's foundation charter mentioned two monasteries, both Greek, that had been given to Matina, but once again the authenticity of this document is doubtful. However, we know that one of them, St Nicholas *de Donnoso*, had no more than five monks.⁹¹ Given such small numbers, and the propensity for Greek monasteries to decline or be abandoned, especially after the death of an abbot or founder (and Clement, the founder and abbot of St Nicholas *de Donnoso*, was elderly and probably dead by 1065/6), we cannot therefore view the foundation of Matina as part of a deliberately anti-Greek policy. Subjecting Greek monasteries to Latin ones might actually help them to survive. The Val di Crati was anyway an area of mixed Greco-Latin population. The alleged foundation charter listed some 27 peasants given to the abbey; there were some names that were undoubtedly Greek (Nicetas, Christopher, Theodore and Basil), a few that were almost certainly Lombard (Manso, Ursus), and others that could have been either.⁹² The foundation of Latin monasteries in this area was therefore perfectly logical. St Euphemia was further south, in an area that was more obviously Greek. But, apart from finding a suitable home for the Norman émigrés, the foundation of a monastery here may also have

⁸⁸ *Orderic*, ii. 98–104; *Malaterra*, II.19, p. 35. The foundation charter, Ménager, *Recueil*, 38–47 no. 11, dated 1062, is a problematic text, known only from two sixteenth-century notarial copies, but the editor considers it genuine.

⁸⁹ For the latter, V. von Falkenhausen, 'Una ignota pergamena greca del monastero calabrese di S. Maria di Camigliano', *Rivista storica calabrese*, n.s. 1 (1980), 253–60; F. Russo, 'L'abbazia di S. Maria di Camigliano presso Tarsia', *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 20 (1951), 55–67.

⁹⁰ *Carte latine di abbazie calabresi provenienti dall'Archivio Aldobrandini*, ed. A. Pratesi (Studi et Testi 197, Vatican City 1958), 13–16 no. 3. Pratesi considered this document to be a forgery; *Italia Pontificia*, x.91 no. 2, suggests that this is a genuine bull with later interpolations.

⁹¹ *Saint-Nicholas de Donnoso (1031–1060/1)*, ed. A. Guillou (Corpus des actes grecs de l'Italie du sud et de Sicile 1, Vatican City 1967), 13.

⁹² *Carte latine*, 3–5 no. 1 (forgery) = Ménager, *Recueil*, 65–8 no. 15 (genuine original charter).

been intended to stimulate the reclamation and cultivation of the malarial plain around the River Lamato.⁹³

The subsequent history of these houses is very poorly documented. However, it appears that they continued to benefit from the devotion of Robert's immediate relatives. The foundation charter of St Euphemia mentioned a donation by his niece Eremburga (daughter of Count Drogo). Guiscard's youngest son, also called Robert, was a benefactor of both Matina and S. Maria di Camigliano. Roger Borsa issued a generous privilege for Matina.⁹⁴ We are, however, considerably better informed about Drogo's earlier foundation at Venosa, which Robert Guiscard appears to have taken in hand and reorganised c. 1068/9, when a new abbot, Berengar, was appointed from St Euphemia. Orderic Vitalis suggested that he was responsible for a thoroughgoing reformation of his house, for when he became abbot, 'the little flock of twenty monks entrusted to his care was entirely given up to worldly vanities and neglectful of Divine worship.'⁹⁵ But, writing in Normandy nearly fifty years later, Orderic may have exaggerated or misunderstood the issue. Venosa had already been a recipient of Guiscard's favour, and of that of other leading Norman nobles, it had previously had a Norman abbot, Ingelbert, and its church had been personally consecrated by Pope Nicholas II in 1059. It was certainly not negligible. But the appointment of Abbot Berengar coincided with Guiscard's decision to have the remains of his elder brothers William and Drogo reinterred at Venosa, where the body of his other brother Humphrey already rested; to make this abbey therefore the mausoleum and the spiritual home of his dynasty (and it was where he himself was to be buried in 1085).⁹⁶

This ushered in a period when Venosa became a favoured church, perhaps *the* favoured church, not only of the duke, but also of other members of his family, notably his younger brother Count William of the Principate, who was buried there in 1080, and of a wide range of other donors, almost all of them Normans. Among Guiscard's donations were, for example, a half share of the town of Venosa in 1074.⁹⁷ The abbey acquired property over most of Apulia, from Taranto and Mottola in the

⁹³ Russo, 'L'abbazia', 59.

⁹⁴ *Carte latine*, 16–21 nos. 4–5. von Falkenhausen, 'Una ignota pergamena', 254.

⁹⁵ *Orderic*, ii.102.

⁹⁶ Houben, *Venosa*, 138–40, 248–50 no. 14 (October 1069), the first reference to the burial of his brothers.

⁹⁷ Ménager, *Recueil*, 85–7 no. 22 = Houben, *Venosa*, 254–6 no. 21. For the burial of Count William, *ibid.*, 267 no. 34. Houben's discussion of Venosa and its benefactors has largely superseded that of L.-R. Ménager, 'Les Fondations monastiques de Robert Guiscard', *QFIAB* 40 (1959), 1–116.

south to Fiorentino and Siponto in the Capitanata, and Vieste on the Gargano peninsula, although the major concentration of its property remained along the southern border of Apulia between Ascoli Satriano and Corleto.⁹⁸ Unfortunately the details are often obscure, since most of the abbey's charters are known only from summaries made by seventeenth-century antiquaries, and full and authentic texts have been preserved only for a very few benefactions. But Orderic's claim that under Berengar as abbot (c. 1069–95) the number of monks increased to 100 was perfectly feasible: the new church, almost certainly begun during his abbacy (and never finished), was 70 metres (227 feet) long by 24 metres (78 feet) wide, about twice the size of the new basilica built by Desiderius at Montecassino.⁹⁹ There were also enough monks for priories to be created, as for example the one for 12 brothers set up by Count Robert of the Principate at Sicignano in the principality of Salerno in 1085.¹⁰⁰

The monastic foundations of Count Roger of Sicily were, as one might expect, somewhat later than those of his elder brother. Roger's attention was very much devoted to military operations in Sicily, and to begin with his lands in Calabria were limited, not least through his brother's reluctance to grant him very much from his own finite resources, which led to a number of disputes between them in the early 1060s.¹⁰¹ However, he eventually established the monastery of St Michael (later the Holy Trinity) at his Calabrian headquarters, Mileto, the church of which was dedicated in 1080, and which was extensively endowed with lands, peasants (almost all Greek), and subordinate monasteries, again nearly all Greek. By 1100 it had fourteen such cells in Calabria, and three more in Sicily.¹⁰² Subsequently Roger founded a house of Canons regular at Bagnara, near the Straits of Messina, c. 1085, although its church was not dedicated until 1116.¹⁰³ In 1091 he established Bruno of Cologne and a small group of companions in the mountains near Stilo, where they created an eremitic community on the model of Bruno's previous foundation of Chartreuse, in Savoy. Here the church was completed quickly, no doubt owing to its modest size and simplicity, and dedicated in 1094 by the archbishop of Palermo, and five other bishops. It should be noted that the original foundation was with the express agreement of the Greek bishop of Squillace, in whose diocese the new foundation lay, and he was present at the dedication ceremony in 1094, although the other five prelates

⁹⁸ Houben, *Venosa*, 203–11, especially 207. ⁹⁹ Houben, *Venosa*, 128–9, 142–3.

¹⁰⁰ Houben, *Venosa*, 277–9 no. 47. ¹⁰¹ *Malaterra*, II.23–8, pp. 36–9.

¹⁰² *Papsturkunden*, II.331–6 nos. 8–9. Ménager, 'La Byzantinisation religieuse (II)' (1959), 34.

¹⁰³ *Italia Pontificia*, x.156–7.

taking part were all Latins.¹⁰⁴ Meanwhile, Roger founded Benedictine houses on Lipari, in the Aeolian islands, but with lands in northern Sicily (1088 or earlier), and in Sicily at Catania (1091, or possibly earlier), and a nunnery dedicated to the Virgin near Messina (probably not long before his death in 1101). The monastery at Catania was colonised from St Euphemia, and was the base for the bishopric established in that city. But on the island of Sicily, where Greek Christians greatly outnumbered Latin, and where it was important to keep the goodwill of the indigenous Christian population, Roger devoted much of his religious patronage to Greek monasticism, being responsible for the foundation of no fewer than 14 Greek houses.¹⁰⁵

Three notable features of these Hauteville foundations can readily be identified. First, all the Benedictine houses on the mainland (Venosa, St Euphemia, Matina, Camigliano and Mileto), and St Bartholomew of Lipari, were made directly subject to the papacy, following the model of Nicholas II's privilege to Venosa in 1059.¹⁰⁶ The abbot-bishop of Catania had the right of receiving consecration from the pope, but was otherwise apparently subject to the archbishop of Palermo. These arrangements, though in theory derived from papal privileges, undoubtedly reflected the wishes of the founders. Whether this was because of a desire to enhance the prestige of their foundations and mark their particular status, or from a devotion to the papal saints, Peter and Paul, who were seen as having forwarded the success of Norman arms, or perhaps from a desire to make these abbeys independent of the local bishops, is unclear.¹⁰⁷

Secondly, there were the close connections between the various foundations. Orderic claimed that both Venosa and Mileto were made subject to Abbot Robert of St Euphemia, a claim for which there is no other evidence, although Abbot Robert may have played some part in the foundation of Mileto. However, the (retrospective) foundation charter, which mentioned him, also emphasised the monks' right freely to elect their abbot.¹⁰⁸ But

¹⁰⁴ Trinchera, *Syllabus*, 69–71 no. 53; Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, ix.425. Cf. L.-R. Ménager, 'Lanfranco, notaio pontificio (1091–3), la diplomazia ducale Italo-normanna e la certosa di S. Stefano del Bosco', *Studi storici meridionali* 3 (1983), 1–37.

¹⁰⁵ *Malaterra*, IV.7, pp. 88–9 (for the foundation of Catania); L. T. White, *Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), 41–4, 77–8, 105–8, 153. The most detailed discussion of the Greek foundations is M. Scaduto, *Il monachesimo basiliano nella Sicilia medievale. Rinascita e decadenza Sec. XI–XV* (Rome 1947), 69–143.

¹⁰⁶ Houben, *Venosa*, 238–41 (the list of possessions has been interpolated, but the bull is otherwise genuine).

¹⁰⁷ von Falkenhausen, 'Una ignota pergamena', 253–4. For Sts Peter and Paul, *Malaterra*, II.33, pp. 44–5; *Amatus*, VII.27, pp. 320–1.

¹⁰⁸ L.-R. Ménager, 'L'Abbaye bénédictine de S. Trinité de Mileto en Calabre à l'époque normande', *Bullettino dell'archivio paleografico italiano* n.s. 4–5 (1958/9), 41–3 no. 13.

Abbots Berengar of Venosa and William of Mileto both came from St Euphemia, and originally from St Evroul, while Ansgar, the first abbot-bishop of Catania, had been prior of St Euphemia. Robert's successor as Abbot of St Euphemia was his nephew, William, who in 1087 was one of the witnesses to a grant of Duke Roger Borsa to Mileto, as was Berengar of Venosa.¹⁰⁹

Thirdly, virtually all the known benefactors of the mainland houses founded by the Hautevilles were Normans. The patronage of Venosa by the ducal dynasty included not just donations and privileges from the dukes themselves, but also benefactions from their relatives in a vast extended kin-group, notably the counts of the Principate (who made some twelve donations between 1080 and 1112), Count Geoffrey of Conversano and Richard the Seneschal, the lord of Mottola. Geoffrey and Richard were both nephews of Robert Guiscard; Richard was the (probably illegitimate) son of Venosa's founder Count Drogo.¹¹⁰ Ralph Maccabeus, lord of Montescaglioso, was married to a daughter of Count Roger of Sicily.¹¹¹ But among other Norman lords who made benefactions to Venosa were members of the 'sons of Amicus' kin-group who were often at loggerheads with Robert Guiscard:¹¹² Count Henry of Monte Sant'Angelo, who was a cousin of the princes of Capua;¹¹³ Rainald Malcovenant, lord of Marsico, and his son William, from a Norman family originally from the Coutances region;¹¹⁴ Hugh de Ollia, lord of Lavello (whose family came from Ouilly-le-Tesson, in Calvados),¹¹⁵ and Hugh of Clermont (Chiaromonte), who was probably the major territorial lord in Lucania, and who may have derived his origin from Clermont-de-l'Oise in Picardy.¹¹⁶ Similarly the benefactors of S. Angelo, Mileto, included, as one

¹⁰⁹ Ménager, *Recueil*, 212–15 no. 60. However, as Chibnall has pointed out, *Orderic*, ii.101n., Ménager was in error to claim that Abbot William of Mileto was a cousin of Robert de Grandmesnil.

¹¹⁰ For the last two, Houben, *Venosa*, 262–3 no. 29 (1078), 269–70 no. 37 (1081), 291–3 nos. 58–9 (1089), as well as two donations by Richard's wife Alberada, *ibid.*, 331–4 nos. 96–7 (1118). For Richard, Loud, *Age of Robert Guiscard*, 243, 258.

¹¹¹ Houben, *Venosa*, 298–9 no. 66 (Nov. 1093), 320–2 nos. 86–7 (1105, 1108), cf. H. Houben, 'Adelaide del Vasto nella storia del regno normanno di Sicilia', in his *Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo. Monasteri e castella, ebrei e musselmani* (Naples 1996), 109.

¹¹² Houben, *Venosa*, 245 no. 12 (1064), 246–8 no. 13 (1066), 263 no. 30 (1078), 264–6 no. 32 (1080). For this family, Loud, *Age of Robert Guiscard*, 234–45, 249–50, 304 (genealogical chart).

¹¹³ Houben, *Venosa*, 291–3 no. 58–9 (1089). He was the son of Robert, younger brother of Richard I of Capua.

¹¹⁴ Houben, *Venosa*, 256–7 no. 22 (1075), 259–60 no. 25 (1077), 260–1 no. 27 (1077/8), 282 no. 52 (1086), 296 no. 63 (1092). Ménager, 'Inventaire', 364–5.

¹¹⁵ Houben, *Venosa*, 266 no. 33 (1080); Ménager, 'Inventaire', 338.

¹¹⁶ Houben, *Venosa*, 295 no. 62 (1092), 298 no. 66 (1093); one of his relatives had the Scandinavian name of Asketil, see Ménager, 'Inventaire', 275–81.

might expect, leading members of Count Roger's entourage such as Robert de Bohun (also one of the witnesses of the foundation charter of Bagnara), whose family came from near St-Lô in western Normandy, Robert Borell (who witnessed no fewer than 17 comital diplomas between 1082 and 1118), and John de Théville (another whose family came from the Cotentin).¹¹⁷

One ought perhaps to qualify this analysis with a mild caution. Of the Calabrian abbeys, only Mileto has left more than a handful of documents – those of St Euphemia were probably lost when that abbey was destroyed by earthquake in 1638 – while for Venosa we are dependent on the selections made by seventeenth-century antiquaries like Prignano, who may perhaps have ignored documents issued by persons of more obscure or less easily identifiable social status. Nevertheless, given that the majority of land-owners in Lucania and Calabria were Frenchmen, and that there was no Lombard/Latin Christian upper class in these regions before the arrival of the Normans, and the majority of the population, in central and southern Calabria the overwhelming majority, were Greek Christians, this picture of the patronage networks of these abbeys is unlikely to be seriously misleading. One may also compare it with another, for once well documented, example of Norman foundations with overwhelmingly Norman or French patrons: the two monastic houses at Aversa, the abbey of St Lawrence and the nunnery of St Blaise. The latter was (as we have seen) already in existence by 1043, the former was probably founded not much later.¹¹⁸ Who the founders of these two houses were is unknown, but they were much favoured by the princes of Capua, and the 'barons' and 'knights' of Aversa (social groups who identify themselves by these terms in their charters), almost all of whom can be identified as Normans, with names derived from identifiable points of origin in the duchy. Many of these same people were also patrons of the cathedral church of St Paul at Aversa, as one might expect.¹¹⁹ Aversa was, certainly in the eleventh century, an almost exclusively Norman town, perhaps the only one of its sort in southern Italy, and one would therefore expect the patrons of its monastic houses to be

¹¹⁷ Ménager, 'L'Abbaye bénédictine de S. Trinité', 27–8 no. 8, 32–4 no. 10, 47–9 no. 16, and 81; Ménager, 'Inventaire', 300–1, 346–7. The dedication to the Trinity was first attested in 1122.

¹¹⁸ The earliest surviving document from St Lawrence, Aversa, *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.* v.8–9 no. 395, dated 1055, may well be a forgery, while the earliest undoubtedly genuine document from this house comes as late as 1079, *ibid.* v.87–8 no. 429. However, this refers to earlier grants by the counts of Aversa (in the plural) to the abbot's predecessors, suggesting therefore that the abbey was founded before 1058, when Richard I became prince of Capua, and probably before he became count of Aversa in 1050. An eighteenth-century inscription that claimed the abbey was founded in 1050 by a noblewoman called Urrifreda cannot be considered reliable, Gallo, *Aversa normanna*, 179.

¹¹⁹ Loud, *Church and Society*, 89, 231; Gallo, *Aversa normanna*, 117–20.

Normans. However, the monastery of St Lawrence was sufficiently important to attract patrons from a wide geographical area, and not just from Aversa itself. Its external benefactors also included Counts Geoffrey of Conversano, Henry of Monte Sant'Angelo and Robert II of Loritello, Richard *de Aquila* (from l'Aigle, in the département of Orne, in central Normandy) who in 1105 became duke of Gaeta, Roger of S. Severino, and Bohemond of Antioch, his widow Constance and his son Bohemond II. These were all Normans, and part of the aristocratic establishment of southern Italy.¹²⁰ The patrons of St Lawrence, Aversa, were therefore overwhelmingly Norman.

But this did not therefore mean that the new Norman lords of Italy looked only to churches founded, endowed, and probably staffed, by their compatriots for their spiritual welfare, liturgical commemoration and enhancement of their social status through conspicuous pious generosity. Henry of Monte Sant'Angelo, for example, gave land near Siponto to Venosa, and a church and *casale* near Lucera to St Lawrence of Aversa.¹²¹ But he also gave a church at Lucera to Montecassino, endowed a hospital for pilgrims on Monte Gargano, which he then made subject to Montecassino, and gave the abbey of Cava two churches in that same region, a monastery near Lucera, and later a dozen *villani* and their families in the *casale* that developed near that monastery, as well as allowing his dependents to make any donations they wished to that abbey.¹²² In addition, he confirmed various donations of his vassals, including his younger brother William, to St Sophia, Benevento, while his father Robert had given a church to S. Maria on the Tremiti islands in 1065.¹²³ Montecassino was of course the greatest monastery of Lombard Italy, St Sophia was the 'house monastery' of the Lombard princes of Benevento, Tremiti (founded c. 1000) and was much favoured by the Lombard nobles of the Capitanata, and Cava had already been in existence more than 50 years before the Normans took Salerno. None of these was in any sense a

¹²⁰ *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.* v.185–6 no. 470 (1093), *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 18–19 no. 12 (1100), *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.* v.310 no. 525 (1107), *Cod. Dip. Caiet.* ii.172–4 no. 279 (1105), *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.* v.295–6 no. 518 (1105), 314 no. 527 (1107), vi.1–3 nos. 559–60 (1115), 85–6 no. 591 (1126). For the l'Aigle family, Ménager, 'Inventaire', 320–1.

¹²¹ Houben, *Venosa*, 292–3 no. 59, *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 18–19 no. 12.

¹²² F. Carabellese, *L'Apulia ed il suo comune nell'alto medio evo* (Bari 1905), 296–7; *Le colonie cassinesi in Capitanata*, ii. *Gargano*, ed. T. Leccisotti (Miscellanea Cassinese 15, 1938), 29–32 no. 1, 35–7 no. 3; *Les Actes de l'abbaye de Cava concernant le Gargano (1086–1370)*, ed. J.-M. Martin (Cod. Dipl. Pugliese 1994), 47–54 nos. 1–3; A. Petrucci, 'Note di diplomazia normanna II Enrico conte di Montesantangelo ed i suoi documenti', *BISIME* 72 (1960), 170–3 no. 1 (1083).

¹²³ *Chron. S. Sophiae*, ii.741–3, 759–62; *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, ii.231–3 no. 77.

'Norman' monastery, although all profited greatly from Norman benefactions. And, in fact, Count Henry's mother was a Lombard, a daughter of Prince Guaimar IV of Salerno, and the abbot he installed at his pilgrim hospice was his maternal uncle John, who 23 years earlier had helped his brother Prince Gisulf II to defend Salerno against Robert Guiscard.¹²⁴ Roger of S. Severino made one donation to St Lawrence, Aversa, in 1105, but he and his son also made donations to the Montecassino dependency of S. Angelo in Formis, and he and his brothers, and several generations of their descendants, were among the most generous among all the benefactors of Cava.¹²⁵

For not only did the Normans patronise their own foundations, they were also generous benefactors to existing monastic houses, none more so than Montecassino and Cava, and foremost among the patrons of these 'indigenous' abbeys were the new Norman rulers of southern Italy. The fortunes of Montecassino were transformed, not just by the protection accorded to the abbey by the Princes of Capua, but through a series of donations by Richard I in the years 1065–6, made largely at the expense of the Lombard nobles who had been in rebellion against him in the immediately preceding years. Among the property donated were three *castella*, Mortola, Fratte and Interamna. These donations not only considerably extended the territory of the *Terra Sancti Benedicti*, but also provided the abbey with a corridor to the sea at the mouth of the River Garigliano. This in turn helped the monks to fund the rebuilding of their abbey church, which commenced (hardly coincidentally) in 1066, and to import stone for the rebuilding and classical spoils from Rome for the decoration of the church.¹²⁶ Richard subsequently, in 1072, gave Montecassino the church of S. Angelo in Formis, outside Capua, where he had founded a monastery, and which soon became a substantial community of forty or more monks.¹²⁷

Richard's son and successor Jordan was less spectacularly generous to Montecassino, although he granted it the *castellum* of Sujo in the duchy of Gaeta in 1078, which like the *castella* given by his father had been confiscated from a rebel.¹²⁸ He also gave a number of lesser donations to both

¹²⁴ *Amatus*, VIII.28, p. 369.

¹²⁵ *Regesto di S. Angelo in Formis*, 152–4 no. 55 (1107), 159–61 no. 59 (1119). G. Portanova, 'I Sanseverino dale origini al 1125' and 'I Sanseverino dal 1125 allo sterminio di 1246', *Benedictina* 22 (1976), 105–49, 319–63; Loud, 'The abbey of Cava', 157–9. A number of the San Severino documents for Cava are later forgeries or have suspicious features: but their role as its benefactors cannot therefore be denied.

¹²⁶ Loud, 'Calendar', nos. 5–6, 10, 12–14. *Chron. Cas.* III.16, 26, pp. 380, 394.

¹²⁷ *Regesto di S. Angelo in Formis*, 43–5 no. 15 (Loud, 'Calendar', no. 15); *Chron. Cas.* III.37, pp. 413–14. Loud, *Church and Society*, 48–55.

¹²⁸ Gattula, *Accessiones*, 187 (= *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.* ii.120–2 no. 251; Loud, 'Calendar', no. 21).

Montecassino and S. Angelo in Formis, including a church at Aversa in 1085.¹²⁹ However, Jordan's ecclesiastical patronage also took on new directions, which reflected an expansion of his activity on the southern and eastern frontiers of his principality. His confirmation of the property of the abbey of the Holy Saviour *in insula maris* at Naples in 1083 was a symptom of what was a virtual Capuan protectorate exercised over that duchy, exercised despite Prince Richard's failure to capture the city in a long siege in 1076–8.¹³⁰ This protectorate was, effectively, the concession made by the Neapolitans to avoid a resumption of Capuan aggression. But Jordan's patronage also extended further south to the abbey of Cava in the principality of Salerno, to which he granted a half share of the property of the church of St Maximus, Salerno, in Nocera and other places along the border between the two principalities in April 1081, and a church at Nocera in January 1086. Both of these donations were made at the request of his wife Gaitelgrima, the daughter of Guimar IV of Salerno, and it was perhaps through her that he had acquired his claim to part of the property of the church of St Maximus.¹³¹ (However, since there is no evidence that Guaimar IV had earlier been an active proprietor, it is equally possible that Jordan had simply appropriated this property.) But there can be no doubt that Gaitelgrima was the main agent of this favour to Cava: as a widow she continued to endow it, and she induced her son Richard II to confirm both her own gifts and those of others.¹³² Cava therefore benefited from the intermarriage of Norman and Lombard: it should be noted that a number of Norman patrons of Cava were descended from females of the old Salernitan princely dynasty, as the counts of the principate, or married to them like Roger of S. Severino.¹³³

The most important of all these Normans married to Lombard princesses was Robert Guiscard himself, who had married, as his second wife, Guaimar IV's daughter Sichelgaita in 1058. She appears to have played an important part in shaping Robert's ecclesiastical patronage, and many of his diplomas in favour of south Italian monasteries, and especially Montecassino and Cava, were issued jointly in the names of both duke

¹²⁹ *Regestodi S. Angeloin Formis*, 62–3 no. 22 (Loud, 'Calendar', no. 31).

¹³⁰ *Le pergamene di Capua*, ed. J. Mazzoleni (2 vols. in 3, Naples 1957–60), ii(2).75–7 no. 52 (Loud, 'Calendar', no. 28). M. Fuiano, *Napoli nel Medioevo (Secoli XI–XIII)* (Naples 1972), 25–30.

¹³¹ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* B.14, B.36 (Loud, 'Calendar', nos. 25, 35).

¹³² Cava, *Arm. Mag.* D.44 (1104), D. 48 (1104), D.42 (undated), D. 49 (undated, with her second husband Hugh de Faïda), E.2 (undated) (Loud, 'Calendar', nos. 73, 86, 73–4, 87).

¹³³ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* F.18 (June 1121), where his wife was identified as Sica, daughter of Landulf, daughter of Prince Guaimar (IV). For the marriage of Count William I of the Principate to a niece of Guaimar IV, *Amatus*, IV.22, p. 197.

and duchess. Cava had already been considerably favoured by her brother Gisulf II, although interestingly not by her father, while we have considerable evidence for her personal predilection for Montecassino, not least in that she chose to be buried there when she died in 1090.¹³⁴ Amatus, indeed, claimed that both duke and duchess were bound to Montecassino and Abbot Desiderius by a deep personal affection, and that she regarded the abbot as her spiritual father.¹³⁵ Be that as it may, and it was very much in keeping with the overall theme of the *History* of Amatus to claim such a link, there were also other more pragmatic reasons why Robert Guiscard favoured and made benefactions both to Montecassino and to Cava, especially in the later years of his rule.

It should be noted that Guiscard had relatively little direct contact with Montecassino until his invasion of the principality of Capua in 1073, during which, according to Amatus, the duke was careful to respect the lands of Montecassino and leave them unharmed.¹³⁶ He may perhaps have made some earlier gifts of cash, precious textiles and vessels, and other commodities, and during the campaign of 1073 he presented the abbey with 500 Byzantine *nomismata*. But while the Montecassino chronicle lists a large number of such gifts, and not all of them can be dated, so it is possible that some may have been relatively early, most of those occasions when such donations can be dated come from the later 1070s or thereafter. Nor did Robert visit Montecassino in person until 1076. He was, for example, campaigning in Sicily when the new abbey church was dedicated in October 1071, a ceremony that was attended by the prince of Capua and many other south Italian notables, clerical and lay, Lombard and Norman.¹³⁷ This lack of ducal patronage for Montecassino, until well into the 1070s, can be explained by a number of factors. Up to the capture of Palermo in 1072 Robert's attention was devoted to affairs in Calabria, where the bulk of his lands were situated, to completing the conquest of Byzantine Apulia, and (when time and resources permitted) to assisting his brother Roger in the conquest of northern and eastern Sicily. Until Prince Richard supported the rebellion against him in Apulia in 1072–3, he had little interest in the Principality of Capua, and little reason for contact with Montecassino. Furthermore, his territorial resources were still finite, and

¹³⁴ *Chron. Cas.* IV.8, pp. 472–3. ¹³⁵ *Amatus*, VIII.36, p. 375. ¹³⁶ *Amatus*, VII.10, pp. 300–2.

¹³⁷ Robert's donations are listed by *Chron. Cas.* III.58, pp. 458–9, and discussed by G. A. Loud, 'Coinage, wealth and plunder in the age of Robert Guiscard', *English Historical Review* 114 (1999), 815–43, especially 821–9, with a translation of the relevant passage from the chronicle on p. 822. For the 1071 ceremony, *Chron. Cas.* III.29, pp. 398–400; Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, 118–21.

his religious patronage was absorbed by his own foundations in Calabria and by Venosa, his family's chosen mausoleum and 'house monastery'.

However, political developments from 1072 onwards, notably his quarrels with Prince Richard, and his increasingly poor relations with the new pope, Gregory VII, meant that Desiderius, abbot of the monastery most favoured by the Prince of Capua, and a cardinal, a Church reformer, and one of Gregory VII's 'friendship network', became an invaluable intermediary, with both the Curia and the Prince of Capua. Thus, in August 1073 it was Desiderius who attempted to arrange a meeting between Robert and Pope Gregory at Benevento, albeit unsuccessfully. Subsequently, about a year later, he tried to mediate between the duke and prince, and finally in 1076 he succeeded in brokering an agreement between them. Gregory meanwhile used Desiderius as an intermediary to attempt to prevent Robert's attack on Salerno, although once again without success.¹³⁸ Desiderius was above all anxious to secure peace within southern Italy, and to protect the interests of his own monastery: he was far from being simply an obedient papal agent. Indeed, his actions in negotiating peace between the two Norman leaders early in 1076 were to prove detrimental to papal interests. But he was the principal intermediary and 'honest broker' between the papacy and the Norman leaders, and it was therefore in Robert's interests to show himself generous towards his monastery. Hence, while he may have made some gifts to Montecassino earlier, the scale and frequency of such donations increased from the mid-1070s. His visit to Montecassino in the summer of 1076 (while he was still subject to excommunication by the pope) saw him pouring his largesse upon the monks with almost prodigal generosity.

The first time that he came here, . . . he deposited 12 pounds of gold and 100 *bizantei* in the chapter house, placed 300 *scifati* on the altar of Saint Benedict, gave three *pallia* and 100 *scifati* for the construction of the dormitory, 100 for the refectory, 40 for the guest-house, 12 pounds of pennies for the infirmary, and 100 *micelati* for the paintings in the chapter house.¹³⁹

¹³⁸ *Amatus*, VII.9, 16–17, 29, pp. 298–9, 307–10, 322; *Chron. Cas.* III.45, pp. 422–3. Cowdrey, *Age of Abbot Desiderius*, 122–31. Cf. also I. S. Robinson, 'The friendship network of Gregory VII', *History* 63 (1978), 1–22.

¹³⁹ *Chron. Cas.* III.58, p. 438. According to *Amatus*, VIII.22, p. 362, he even gave 100 bezants to the brother who brought him salt while he was eating, although this was probably the same hundred *scifati* (*nomismata*) that the chronicle recorded him giving to the refectory. For the various coins involved, Loud, 'Coinage, wealth and plunder', 823–5, and P. Grierson, 'Nummi scyphati. The story of a misunderstanding', *Numismatic Chronicle*, Ser. VII.11 (1971), 253–60.

From 1079 onwards, Robert's donations to Montecassino included not only substantial sums in cash and precious objects, but also real property.

Similarly, from his takeover of Salerno in 1076/7, Robert began to endow churches within the principality. Here, whatever religious motives may have prompted him, it was also incumbent upon him to show himself by his generosity as the friend of churchmen and, by implication, the rightful ruler of the principality that he had taken from his brother-in-law Gisulf. Thus, with some contribution too from his nephew Jordan of Capua, he financed the rebuilding of Salerno cathedral; Archbishop Alfano having gone over to his side during the siege.¹⁴⁰ And, from 1079 onwards Robert commenced a series of gifts and privileges in favour of Cava. By favouring what was already becoming the wealthiest, and probably the most influential, monastic house in the principality, he was of course making a shrewd political move. The fact that both Amatus and the author of the later *Lives of the First Four Abbots of Cava* saw the Norman conquest as Divinely ordained and were extremely hostile to the displaced Prince Gisulf, whom a dispassionate observer might consider as the hapless victim of Norman greed, shows how successful this pious generosity was. According to his biographer, Abbot Leo of Cava (abbot 1050–79) prophesied that Gisulf would forfeit his principality as God's punishment for his cruelty, and his prediction duly came to pass.¹⁴¹

A further relevant factor is that with the suppression of the 1072–3 rebellion in Apulia, and even more so after the suppression of a further rebellion in 1079–80, the subsequent confiscation of the lordships held by various of the rebels meant that Guiscard had far greater resources available with which to endow favoured churches. In addition, this had another significant effect. Some of his benefactions to Cava, for example, concerned property and privileges in the principality of Salerno, as one might expect. So in July 1079, at the request of Sichelgaita, he gave the abbey a church at Roccapiemonte in the north of the principality, and in August 1080, again at her request, he granted it and various of its cells immunity from all financial exactions by his officials, and forbade its 'men' to leave

¹⁴⁰ *Carne di Alfano*, 216 no. 53, lines 7–10, which also forms the inscription set up on the atrium of the building. For other inscriptions, D. Glass, *Romanesque Sculpture in Campania. Patrons, Programs and Styles* (University Park, PA, 1991), 19. Amatus, VIII.17, pp. 357–8.

¹⁴¹ *Vitae Quatuor Priorum Abbatum Cavensium*, ed. L. Mattei-Cerasoli (RIS, Bologna 1941), 13. The probable author of this tract was Peter II, Abbot of Venosa 1141–56, H. Houben, 'L'autore delle "Vitae Quatuor Priorum Abbatum Cavensium"', *Studi medievali*, Ser. III.26 (1985), 871–9 (reprinted in his *Medioevo monastico meridionale* (Naples 1987), 167–75). For Amatus and Gisulf II, see *The History of the Normans by Amatus of Montecassino*, trans. P. Dunbar and G. A. Loud (Woodbridge 2004), 13–14, 29–31.

their land, effectively creating a servile class on the abbey lands.¹⁴² But he also gave both Cava and Montecassino churches and other property in Apulia, a region in which Cava had never possessed property and where Montecassino had long since lost almost all that it had once possessed. Thus in June 1080 Montecassino was given the former 'imperial' monastery of St Peter in Taranto, and a tithe of ducal revenues in kind from that lordship. In October of that year he gave it two monasteries and three other churches in the territory of Troia, and in October 1082 property at Amalfi.¹⁴³ Meanwhile, in May 1081 he had given Cava the monastery of St Benedict of Taranto, to which in 1086 Roger Borsa added the monastery of the Holy Trinity at Bari, and the church of St John outside the walls of that town.¹⁴⁴ Taranto, it should be noted, had been confiscated from a rebel, Count Richard, of the 'sons of Amicus' kin-group, in 1080, while Bari, which had surrendered to Robert in 1071, had also been involved in the 1079–80 rebellion, and probably in that of 1082–3 as well. Amalfi had voluntarily entered Robert's lordship in 1073.¹⁴⁵ It is clear therefore that the duke would simply not have been able to make such donations in the earlier part of his rule, and that some at any rate of his benefactions came from the property of others.

Robert's example was followed by other Normans and Frenchmen, and especially by those who were ducal allies and protégés, who had themselves profited from the redistribution of territories, especially following the 1079–80 rebellion. The duke's nephew Richard 'the Seneschal' had been given Mottola and Castellaneta, confiscated from the former lord of Taranto. Soon after he gained possession of his new lordship, in May 1081, he gave Cava several monasteries and churches there, the first of what was to be a series of donations over more than 30 years, the last of which came in 1115, shortly before his death.¹⁴⁶ Similarly, in October 1086, in a transaction approved and augmented by Duke Roger Borsa, Rainulf 'the Breton', lord of Sant' Agata di Puglia (a lordship previously confiscated from Guiscard's rebellious nephew Abelard) gave Cava the monastery of

¹⁴² Ménager, *Recueil*, 95–7, 105–8 nos. 27 and 33.

¹⁴³ Ménager, *Recueil*, 101–4, 113–20, 133–6 nos. 31, 36–7, 42.

¹⁴⁴ Ménager, *Recueil*, 122–4, 181–4 nos. 39, 52–3.

¹⁴⁵ Loud, *Age of Robert Guiscard*, 242–3. For Amalfi, *Amatus*, VIII.8, pp. 348–9; Schwarz, *Amalfi im frühen Mittelalter*, 58–60, 248–50.

¹⁴⁶ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* B.15, edited G. Guerrieri, *Il conte normanno Riccardo Siniscalco (1081–1115) e i monasteri benedettini cavesi in Terra d'Otranto (sec. xi–xiv)* (Trani 1899), 53–4 no. 3. The 1115 donation, Cava, *Arm. Mag.* E.39, is *ibid.*, 100–2 no. 24. There are problems with a number of Richard's diplomas; these two, however, appear to be genuine.

St Peter *de Olivola* and other lands in his lordship. Rainulf was a ducal loyalist, who was subsequently to become Roger Borsa's constable.¹⁴⁷

The consequence of these and other donations, by such Normans as Count Henry of Monte Sant'Angelo (though as a former rebel in 1079–80 he was less closely linked to the duke), was to extend the influence of these Campanian abbeys into a substantial part of Apulia. The monasteries granted to them became foci for local benefactions, and usually for *casales* (open, unfortified, villages) to develop round them and a build-up of property, in the case of Cava, for its Gargano lands especially, often by purchase. In addition to its Gargano property, centred round the church of St Egidius *de Pantano*, given to Cava by Count Henry in 1086, Cava had a number of other cells that allowed it to develop its property in Apulia: the monastery of St James near Lucera, also given by Count Henry in March 1083, was the principal focus for its lands in the Capitanata.¹⁴⁸ St Peter *de Olivola*, and the churches of Sts Stephen and Maria in *Giuncarico*, a little way to the south, given to Cava in 1085/6, provided further foci in inland central Apulia, near the border with the principality of Salerno.¹⁴⁹ The development of Cava property and dependencies in Apulia continued through the twelfth century, and there were other later acquisitions of churches that also became centres for development, but this process was set under way in the decade after 1080, and was the product of almost exclusively Norman benefactors.

Another long-standing monastic foundation that also profited greatly from Norman patronage was St Sophia, Benevento, even though this house was situated within a town that the Normans never conquered. (When Roger Borsa forced Benevento to surrender in 1101, he was acting on behalf of Pope Paschal II and did not therefore incorporate it into his own dominions.)¹⁵⁰ Unlike Montecassino and Cava, St Sophia gained relatively little from the Dukes of Apulia, who were only intermittently interested in the Benevento region, and made no more than a handful of minor gifts to

¹⁴⁷ Ménager, *Recueil*, 187–9 no. 55. Ménager considered this charter to be a genuine original; others have suggested that, at least in its present form, this is a forgery (G. Vitolo, *Insediamenti cavensi in Puglia* (Galatina 1984), 83–4), or at least suspect (C. Carlone, *Falsificazione e falsari cavensi e verginiani del secolo XIII* (Altavilla Silentina 1984), 10). A number of subsequent Cava charters from this family are also suspicious. However, as Vitolo suggests, there was actually a donation in 1086, whatever the palaeographic and diplomatic problems posed by the surviving charter.

¹⁴⁸ Vitolo, *Insediamenti cavensi in Puglia*, 49–57 (above, note 122 for the donation).

¹⁴⁹ *Documenti cavensi per la storia di Rocchetta S. Antonio*, ed. C. Carlone (Altavilla Silentina 1987); Vitolo, *Insediamenti cavensi in Puglia*, 61–71. There are once again problems with the texts of these donations, but both churches were listed as Cava possessions in a bull of Urban II in 1089, so their substance should be considered genuine.

¹⁵⁰ *Annales beneventani*, 151.

this house – although Roger Borsa did exempt its animals from *herbaticum* dues and its goods from market levies in 1110.¹⁵¹ Its principal benefactors were the counts of Boiano and Ariano, and several other less important baronial families, such as the de Marchia, vassals of the counts of Ariano, who held a lordship at Reino, some 18 km north of Benevento, and who were descended from a certain Rao ‘the Norman’ called Pinella.¹⁵² St Sophia acquired extensive property in Irpinia (the area to the immediate north and east of Benevento), but also in Molise, where its acquisitions included several *castella*, and in the Capitanata, where its benefactors included Count Robert II of Loritello and the ducal constable Richard, the grandson of Rainulf the Breton, whom we have already encountered as a patron of Cava.¹⁵³ Its property included over 40 dependent churches. Most of the extensive endowment that this abbey gained in these regions, almost all once again from Normans, was acquired in the 40 or so years after 1090.¹⁵⁴

Similar benefactions from Norman lords in Apulia were, as has been noted above, also directed towards a further Campanian monastery, St Lawrence of Aversa. In contrast to Montecassino, Cava and St Sophia, this was a Norman foundation, situated in the most ‘Norman’ town in southern Italy. But in the development of its ecclesiastical congregation there were similarities with these other existing, non-Norman foundations. The extension of this abbey’s interests into Apulia was, once again, begun by Robert Guiscard, who in 1082, soon after his return from his first expedition against Byzantium, gave it a church and fishing rights at Taranto.¹⁵⁵ His example was followed by, for example, the ducal constable Rainulf the Breton, also a patron of Cava, who gave it a church and its adjoining *casale* near Sant’ Agata in March 1092.¹⁵⁶ A diploma of Duke Roger Borsa that same year refers to St Lawrence also possessing churches in Bitetto and Monopoli in coastal Apulia.¹⁵⁷ Further churches were given by the Norman lord of Oria in 1087, by Count Geoffrey of Conversano in an exchange in 1093, by the lord of Monopoli in 1099, and by Count Henry of Monte

¹⁵¹ *Chron. S. Sophiae*, ii.713–15.

¹⁵² Pergamene Aldobrandini, *Cartolario I* nos. 51, 56 and 59 (1122, 1126, 1127); for the de Marcia, *Catalogus Baronum*, 59 art. 346.

¹⁵³ *Chron. S. Sophiae*, ii.736–8; Pergamene Aldobrandini, *Cartolario I* no. 41 (1122).

¹⁵⁴ G. A. Loud, ‘A Lombard abbey in a Norman world: St. Sophia, Benevento, 1050–1200’, *Anglo-Norman Studies* xix. *Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1996*, ed. C. Harper-Bill (Woodbridge 1997), 273–306, especially 281–8.

¹⁵⁵ Ménager, *Recueil*, 124–9 no. 40 (a donation that survives in three different versions).

¹⁵⁶ *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 10–11 no. 6.

¹⁵⁷ There are two versions of this, *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.* v.137–9 no. 444 and v.140–3 no. 445, of which the former looks like a shortened version of the latter.

Sant'Angelo in 1100, this last, near Lucera in the Capitanata, with an accompanying *casale*.¹⁵⁸ Count Robert II of Loritello gave a monastery near Fiorentino in the same region in June 1107. In that year too Prince Bohemond exempted the monks of St Lawrence from fiscal dues on buying and selling in the towns under his lordship.¹⁵⁹ This abbey appears, therefore, to have enjoyed both the favour of the ducal dynasty, as well as the patronage of the Princes of Capua nearer home, but in addition it received grants from other Apulian nobles who by c. 1100 were effectively independent from ducal control.

However, with regard to the Apulian possessions of St Lawrence, Aversa, another aspect was significant, for the abbey also acquired a number of churches in different, and widespread, parts of the region from its bishops. Thus Archbishop Arnold of Acerenza gave two churches in December 1083, Archbishop Godinus of Oria/Brindisi witnessed the donation of a church near Oria by its lord in January 1087, and conceded or confirmed three others in 1095.¹⁶⁰ Bishop Gerard of Troia granted the right to build two churches in his diocese in 1092.¹⁶¹ Somewhat later, further gifts of churches followed in northern Apulia, from Bishop William of Troia, probably c. 1102/6, Bishop Bertrannus of Salpi in March 1119 and Archbishop Bisanthus of Trani in October 1126.¹⁶² There were if anything more such episcopal grants to St Lawrence at this period than there were, for example, to Cava, even though overall Cava's range of benefactors and ecclesiastical congregation were on a considerably larger scale.¹⁶³ The Aversan monastery seems in fact to have enjoyed generally good relations with the episcopate, with the conspicuous exception of its own diocesan, with whom its abbots were locked in dispute for almost half a century from the late 1090s onwards (and once again, in the early thirteenth century).¹⁶⁴ With other bishops, the abbots appear to have been more tactful. So in January 1093 Abbot Guarin

¹⁵⁸ *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.* v.112 no. 442, 185–6 no. 470, 255–6 no. 498; *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 18–19 no. 12.

¹⁵⁹ *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.* v.310 no. 525, 314 no. 527.

¹⁶⁰ *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.* v.104–5 no. 438, 112 no. 442 (see above), 218–19 no. 484 (also published *Cod. Dipl. Brindisiano*, 16–17 no. 8).

¹⁶¹ *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.* v.155–6 no. 460.

¹⁶² *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.* v.222 no. 485b; *ibid.*, vi.43 no. 574, 96–7 no. 594. The Troia charter is undated, but the prelate in question was probably Bishop William I, who died on 1 October 1106. Gallo, *Aversa normanna*, 195, suggests a date of 1095, which cannot be correct.

¹⁶³ There were donations of churches to Cava by bishops, apparently acting on their own initiative, by Jaquintus of Lacedonia, Cava, *Arm. Mag.* E.7 (1108), Stephen of Maiori, *Arm. Mag.* F.9 (1118), and Archbishop Robert of Conza, *Arm. Mag.* F. 46 (1129, but this may be a forgery). In three other cases, the bishop was either confirming a donation by a lay lord, as Desiderius of Lacedonia in 1085, *Arm. Mag.* B.35 (ed. Carlone, *Documenti cavensi per la storia di Rocchetta S. Antonio*, 128–9 no. 2), or fulfilling the wishes of a lay lord, as John of Marsico, *Arm. Mag.* D.5 (1095) and Valcausius of Mottola, *Arm. Mag.* E.15 (1110).

¹⁶⁴ Loud, *Church and Society*, 113–16.

approached Bishop William of Nola, and the two amicably negotiated the terms by which the abbey would hold the three churches that it possessed in his diocese.¹⁶⁵ A few months later similar arrangements were made with Bishop Hugh of Bovino, and in 1098 with Bishop Gerald of Acerra, while another Campanian bishop, Peter of Caiazzo, gave the abbey a monastery in his diocese in 1106.¹⁶⁶ Spiritual considerations probably played a part in some of these cases: in 1098 the bishop of Acerra and his canons specified that they should be included in the prayers and spiritual benefits conferred by the monks. But the other relevant factor was almost certainly that, just like the secular benefactors of this monastery, to judge by their names most of the bishops who gave churches to St Lawrence, Aversa, or confirmed the churches that it already held in their dioceses, were Normans. And one of the few possible exceptions, Peter of Caiazzo, whose name gives no guide as to his antecedents, recorded that he was acting at the wishes of Count Robert of Caiazzo, a cousin of the Norman princes of Capua. St Lawrence, Aversa, undoubtedly profited because it was a 'Norman' monastery – nevertheless, like Venosa, in this it was an exceptional case.

That these Campanian abbeys enjoyed such success in Apulia, gained land and churches there, and exerted such an influence among the new Norman nobility in this province was partly due to the lead given by the dukes, but was also because to a considerable extent these abbeys faced limited competition. There *were* a number of existing monasteries in southern Apulia, which did attract the patronage of local Norman lords, for example St Benedict, Conversano, founded before 957, which (hardly surprisingly) benefited considerably from Guiscard's nephew Count Geoffrey of Conversano.¹⁶⁷ At least one of the abbots, Guimund (1114–17) would appear to have been a Frenchman.¹⁶⁸ However, the influence of almost all these houses was purely local – in the case of St Benedict, Conversano, its 'catchment area' extended only as far as Monopoli, on the coast 15 km to the east, and the bulk of its benefactions came from the indigenous local population. At Monopoli it also faced competition from the monastery of St Nicholas, a dependency given to St Lawrence, Aversa, by the count in 1093.¹⁶⁹ In common with other Norman lords, Count

¹⁶⁵ *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.* v.156–7 no. 461.

¹⁶⁶ *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 12–13 no. 8; *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.* v.248–9 no. 496, 306–7 no. 523.

¹⁶⁷ *Pergamene di Conversano*, 94–6 no. 41 (1072), 110–13 no. 48 (1087), 118–19 no. 53 (1089), 135–41 no. 59 (1098), W. Jahn, *Untersuchungen zur normannischer Herrschaft in Süditalien* 1040–1100 (Frankfurt 1989), 391–3 (1099).

¹⁶⁸ *Pergamene di Conversano*, 154–7 nos. 66–7, 159–62 nos. 69–70, 164–6 no. 72.

¹⁶⁹ *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.* v.185–6 no. 420; *Pergamene di Conversano*, 141–4 no. 60.

Geoffrey liked to spread his religious patronage, and he was wealthy enough to make his own foundations as well as to endow existing monasteries, constructing a male house at Nardo and a nunnery at Brindisi, both dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, both of which flourished and acquired a number of subordinate churches.¹⁷⁰ Another new monastery in this region was St Michael of Montescaglioso, founded by Humphrey, a Norman installed by Duke Robert as lord of that town after the rebellion of 1079–80. Its church was dedicated in October 1098. Unfortunately the combination of a predilection for forgery among later monks of the abbey and the loss of what was left of its archive during the Second World War means that its early history remains blurred. Like that of other such houses, its patronage network was probably local, and it appears to have been largely dependent on the founding family. But as with other Norman lords, they did not confine their benefactions to their own creation. Humphrey was also a benefactor of S. Maria of Banzi, a very ancient monastery that had once been subject to Montecassino, and his sons made donations to Venosa, and to the Cassinese dependency of St Peter Imperialis at Taranto in 1096, shortly before one of them departed to find his death on the First Crusade.¹⁷¹

However, by contrast to this southern area, there were very few monasteries in either central or northern Apulia before the Norman conquest – much of the Capitanata, in particular, was thinly populated and underdeveloped before the twelfth century – and hence many lords chose to look outside the region, to the great and prestigious houses on the western side of the peninsula, to satisfy their religious instincts. Only on the northern fringe of the Capitanata were there existing monasteries that seem to have prospered: Torremaggiore (20 km north of Lucera, in the diocese of Civitate), and the abbey of Sts Mary and James on the island of Tremiti, both founded c. 1000. We know relatively little about Torremaggiore before the twelfth century, although its abbot complained to Robert Guiscard in 1067 about the seizure of its property by various unnamed (but presumably Norman) ‘counts and magnates’. Nevertheless, by the

¹⁷⁰ Martin, *Pouille*, 668–9.

¹⁷¹ S. Tansi, *Historia Cronologica Monasterii S. Michaelis Archangeli Montis Caveosi* (Naples 1746), 138–40 no. 7 (1093), 141–3 no. 9 (1098), these are among the few probably genuine documents published by Tansi, whose book should be used with great care. Gattula, *Accessiones*, 213. Jahn, *Untersuchungen zur normannischer Herrschaft*, 288–98, is extremely helpful. On Geoffrey of Montescaglioso, killed at the Battle of Doryleum in July 1097, E. M. Jamison, ‘Some notes on the *Anonymi Gesta Francorum*, with special reference to the Norman contingent on the First Crusade’, in *Studies in French Language and Literature presented to Mildred K. Pope* (Manchester 1939), 200.

later part of the Norman period it seems to have been well endowed, albeit in a fairly restricted region of the northern Capitanata.¹⁷² Tremiti was a major landowner in the coastal region north of the Gargano peninsula, especially in the Biferno and Fortore valleys, and was (as has been noted above) much favoured by the Lombard nobility of the region, including the Attonid Counts of Chieti. By the early 1050s it already possessed twenty churches, and six *castella* as well as shares in two others.¹⁷³ Perhaps because there was no real monastic competition in this region, Tremiti was also favoured by the Norman nobles who were establishing themselves there, especially by Count Peter of Lesina and his relatives from the 'sons of Amicus' kin-group,¹⁷⁴ and also by Guiscard's nephew Count Robert of Loritello. The most important service that Counts Peter and Robert rendered to Tremiti was to help defend its independence against the claims of Montecassino that it rightfully belonged to the abbey of St Benedict, claims that Abbot Desiderius first put forward at the papal council of Melfi in 1059 but eventually abandoned at a court the two counts held at Dragonara in December 1081.¹⁷⁵ Here once again, Norman lords patronised, on a considerable scale, and defended an existing monastery that was in no sense a 'Norman' house. The connection with the Counts of Loritello and Lesina continued into the twelfth century.¹⁷⁶

While therefore there were some Norman foundations, whose circle of benefactors remained almost exclusively Norman, or at least French, these houses, of which there were relatively few, in no senses monopolised the pious generosity of the new rulers and nobles of southern Italy. There were sound political reasons why the dukes of Apulia and princes of Capua patronised Montecassino and Holy Trinity, Cava, in particular, and their example was followed by many others. While the rulers might found their own houses, as did some others among the greater lords, most nobles

¹⁷² Ménager, *Recueil*, 76–9 no. 18. For this abbey, T. Leccisotti, *Il 'Monasterium Terrae Maioris' (Montecassino 1942)*. Its property was listed in a papal bull of 1168, *ibid.* 77. For the Capitanata in general, Martin, *Pouille*, 371–3, 385–92, and also P. Oldfield, 'Rural settlement and economic development in Southern Italy: Troia and its *contado*, c. 1020–c. 1230', *Journal of Medieval History* 31 (2005), 327–45.

¹⁷³ Its property was detailed in a bull from Leo IX in November 1053 and a diploma of the Emperor Henry III in May 1054, *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, ii.156–8 no. 49, 163–5 no. 52. Donations by the Counts of Chieti, *ibid.*, ii.42–5 no. 13 (1032), 128–31 no. 40 (1049), 187–90 no. 60, 203–6 no. 66 (both 1059).

¹⁷⁴ *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, ii.168–70 no. 54 (1056), 178–80 no. 57 (1057), 180–3 no. 58 (1058), 242–4 no. 81 (1069), iii.255–7 no. 86 (1093).

¹⁷⁵ *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, ii.197–8 no. 64, 250–3 no. 84. The basis for this claim is unclear, although Montecassino had once owned property in the Lesina region.

¹⁷⁶ *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, iii.262–4 no. 90 (1111), 267–9 no. 94 (1119), 284–6 nos. 99–100 (c. 1137), 287–91 no. 103 (1141).

preferred to spread their patronage among a number of different churches, and endowed existing institutions just as much as, if not more so than, Norman foundations. Furthermore, Norman patronage caused a massive expansion in the congregations of certain abbeys, both in the numbers of their dependencies and in terms of their geographical spread. Montecassino and Cava, and to a lesser extent also St Sophia, Benevento, and the two Norman foundations of Venosa and St Lawrence, Aversa, gained lands and churches in Apulia, and acquired a dominant position as the 'market leaders' of south Italian monasticism, one that they were to retain until well into the thirteenth century.

While Norman patronage played a large part in the massive expansion of south Italian monasticism in the 70 years between Robert Guiscard receiving the ducal title and his nephew Roger II becoming the first king of Sicily in 1130, it was not the only factor involved. The Norman takeover of southern Italy was never as complete and all-embracing as was their contemporary conquest of England. Neither in the former Lombard principalities nor in the Abruzzi was the indigenous aristocracy completely displaced, and there was also large-scale intermarriage between Normans and Lombards. And if this was usually the marriage of male Normans or Frenchmen to the daughters of Lombards, often entailing the succession of those Normans to the lands of their wives' ancestors, this was not invariably the case, and there were at least a few instances of Lombards marrying women from the ranks of the conquerors, and becoming (or remaining) part of the ruling class of 'Norman' Italy.¹⁷⁷ The continuance of the Lombard nobility was especially marked in the principality of Salerno, where despite the dispossession of Prince Gisulf and of his brothers in 1076–7 other members of the kin-group of the former princes retained their lands and their significance as part of the 'establishment' of the new 'Norman' principality. The significant role played by their relative the Duchess Sichelgaita alongside her husband Robert Guiscard and the fact that her son Duke Roger Borsa was half-Lombard, and as the Norman chronicler Geoffrey Malaterra disapprovingly commented, sympathetic to the Lombards, were obviously important here.¹⁷⁸ Thus the descendants of Prince Guaimar III's younger sons, Guido and Pandulf, remained after 1077 as lords of Giffoni, in the hills to the north-east of Salerno, and

¹⁷⁷ G. A. Loud, 'Continuity and change in Norman Italy: the Campania during the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Journal of Medieval History* 22 (1996), 331–2.

¹⁷⁸ *Malaterra*, IV.24, p. 102.

Capaccio in the south of the principality. The Giffoni branch seems to have died out with the death of Guaimar, the grandson of Guido, in March 1114; he left all his property to various churches, principally the archbishopric of Salerno, Cava and the nunnery of St George at Salerno, with a life interest for his widow, and no mention of any children.¹⁷⁹ However, the descendants of the three sons of Pandulf of Capaccio continued to hold property in the Cilento region right through the twelfth century. An especially interesting branch of this family was that of Pandulf's grandson, also called Pandulf. He married the sister of a Norman called William de Mannia, and his son, called William after his uncle, adopted the surname de Mannia – probably derived originally from Magny (Calvados) or Magny-le-Désert (Orne) – and held his uncle's lordship at Novi Velia in Cilento, which passed on to several generations of his descendants. Gisulf de Mannia was Frederick II's justiciar in the Terra di Lavoro in 1242.¹⁸⁰ What told against the descendants of Pandulf of Capaccio was not expropriation by the Normans, but that they continued for a couple of generations to practise the partible inheritance of Lombards, and thus split up the family's lands. It was only some way into the twelfth century, in the generation of William de Mannia (junior) that these survivors from the Lombard princely dynasty followed the practice of the Normans and adopted primogeniture.

The descendants of the former princely dynasty were also intermarried with the new Norman nobility, and especially the Hauteville family themselves. The counts of the Principate were descended from Maria, the grand-daughter of Guaimar III who had married Robert Guiscard's younger brother William.¹⁸¹ One of Guaimar IV's daughters was the ancestor, through her successive marriages, of both the counts of Monte Sant'Angelo in Apulia and the counts of Sarno, on the border between the principalities of Salerno and Capua. And there were at least some other, unrelated, Lombards who continued to hold lordships in the principality of Salerno. In 1101 the lords of Padula, in the Vallo di Diano in the east of the principality, had the archetypal Lombard names of Gisulf and Landulf.¹⁸² In addition, Lombards played an important role in the administrations both of the dukes of Apulia, which after 1085 became largely centred in the principality of Salerno, and of the princes of Capua. They continued also to dominate the upper ranks of urban society. In the

¹⁷⁹ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* F.28 (a notarised copy of January 1124), *Pergamene del monastero benedettino di S. Giorgio (1038–1698)*, ed. L. Cassese (Salerno 1950), 67–70 no. 9.

¹⁸⁰ *Ryccardi de Sancto Germano Notarii Chronica*, ed. C. A. Garufi (RIS, Bologna 1938), 213. Loud, 'Continuity and change', 324–6.

¹⁸¹ *Amatus*, IV.22, p. 197. ¹⁸² *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, i.381–3 no. 96.

principality of Salerno, indeed, there was a considerable cross-over between the urban patriciate of the city of Salerno and the functionaries of the ducal administration, for example Alferius Guarna, the master chamberlain (that is chief financial officer) of Duke William, who died in 1125. His father was a city judge, his uncle the *strategotus* of Salerno, that is the duke's administrator of the city, and his brother was the cathedral archdeacon.¹⁸³

Other areas where the Lombard aristocracy remained in power included the northern part of the principality of Capua, where despite considerable conflict with the Normans the counts of Aquino and Fondi proved remarkably tenacious in defending their position,¹⁸⁴ and in the Abruzzi. There, for example, the Borell family consolidated their holdings in the Sangro and Trigno valleys and expanded them southwards into Molise, especially at the expense of the monastery of St Vincent on Volturmo. From 1070 onwards Oderisius II Borell adopted the title of Count of Sangro. Like the princely relations in Salerno, the Borells tended to divide their holdings between a widespread kin-group, and by the early twelfth century there were several different branches of this family, some of whom became vassals of the Norman counts of Boiano, but they remained an important presence in the mountainous interior part of the peninsula right through the Norman period.¹⁸⁵ Further north in the Abruzzi, despite the advances of Robert of Loritello and other Normans, the indigenous aristocrats remained strongly entrenched. There was still a Lombard count of Valva in 1097, and a branch of the Attonid counts who had once dominated the region remained at Teramo in the county of Aprutium in the early twelfth century.¹⁸⁶ Other, less powerful families in the Pescara valley regrouped under the leadership of the abbots of Casauria, and with the encouragement of the local bishops in the early twelfth century.¹⁸⁷

Similarly, and indeed to an even greater extent, the coastal duchies that had always remained independent of the Lombards continued to be largely untouched by the Norman conquest. Gaeta was ruled by a Norman duke

¹⁸³ Cava, *Arca* xxix.99 (a later copy of his will). Loud, *Age of Robert Guiscard*, 281–4.

¹⁸⁴ For the latter, *Chron. Cas.* IV.82, 84, pp. 545–7. For the counts of Aquino, see especially F. Scandone, 'Roccasecca. Patria di S. Tommaso di Aquino', *Archivio storico di Terra di Lavoro* 1 (1956), 33–176, especially 56–69.

¹⁸⁵ E. M. Jamison, 'The significance of the early medieval documents from S. Maria della Noce and S. Salvatore di Castiglione', in *Studi in onore di Riccardo Filangieri* (2 vols., Naples 1959), i.51–80, especially 55–60, which modifies and corrects an earlier, but still useful study by C. Rivera, 'Per la storia dei Borelli, Conti di Sangro', *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane* 44 (1919), 48–92.

¹⁸⁶ *Codice diplomatico sulmonese*, ed. N. F. Faraglia (Lanciano 1888), 29 no. 20. *Il Cartolario della chiese teramana*, ed. F. Savini (Rome 1910), 16–9 no. 9 (1108), 72–4 no. 39 (1116). Feller, *Abruzzes médiévales*, 620–1, 747–8.

¹⁸⁷ Feller, *Abruzzes médiévales*, 753–7.

from 1068 and Amalfi submitted to Robert Guiscard in 1073. Yet the administration of these two cities remained in the hands of the indigenous urban elites, and very few Frenchmen ever settled in these cities and their territories. Both cities rebelled against Norman rule in the 1090s, but for the most part their inhabitants were willing to tolerate nominal external government, provided that their daily affairs remained in the hands of their own people. Good relations with the Normans were, however, very much in these duchies' interests, given how much their economy depended on trade and their cities' role as intermediaries between overseas markets and the interior.¹⁸⁸ It also seems that in parts of Calabria, notably in the vicinities of Rossano and Bisignano, and further south, at Stilo, Greek landowners remained important even in the early twelfth century. At Rossano the Maleinos family, who had been important in the tenth century, remained significant in the early twelfth, and Nicholas Maleinos was archbishop of Rossano in 1105. Furthermore, both in Calabria and in Sicily Greeks continued to play a crucial role in the comital administration.¹⁸⁹

The importance of this indigenous political survival for the Church was threefold. First, and most obviously, native aristocrats continued to patronise and benefit favoured churches. This benefited in particular Cava and Montecassino. The kin of the former princes continued to make benefactions to Cava over several generations. Guaimar IV's daughter, the widowed Countess Gaitelgrima of Sarno, for example, gave the abbey land and mills at Sarno in 1081, 1082 and 1091, and a monastery near Lacedonia in 1087.¹⁹⁰ Gregory of Capaccio, a grandson of Guaimar III, gave Cava his proprietary church of St Nicholas, situated just outside Capaccio, in 1092, and in the same year donated to the abbey his shares in, or claims to, some 20 churches in the Cilento region, and also in the wealthy church of St Maximus, Salerno.¹⁹¹ His brother Guaimar gave Cava his one-sixth share of the former princely *Eigenkirche* of S. Maria *de Domno* in Salerno in August 1098.¹⁹² A third brother, John, then gave Cava the church of St Sophia, Salerno, which his mother had earlier rebuilt, in

¹⁸⁸ Skinner, *Family Power*, 197–209; Skinner, 'The Tyrrhenian coastal cities', especially 84–9.

¹⁸⁹ V. von Falkenhausen, 'I ceti dirigenti prenormanni al tempo della costituzione degli stati normanni nell'Italia meridionale e in Sicilia', in *Forme di potere e struttura sociale in Italia nel medioevo*, ed. G. Rossetti (Bologna 1977), especially 352–5. H. Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Leiden 1993), 31–7.

¹⁹⁰ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* B.17, B.24, C.27; *Documenti cavensi per la storia di Rocchetta S. Antonio*, 129–32 no. 3 (also ed. Jahn, *Untersuchungen über die normannischen Herrschaft*, 377–8 no. 7).

¹⁹¹ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* C.33, 34. The former document is, however, diplomatically somewhat dubious.

¹⁹² Cava, *Arca* xvi.86.

August 1100 – a donation that was made in the archiepiscopal palace at Salerno in the presence of Pope Paschal II.¹⁹³ Another brother left a mill to Cava on his deathbed in 1131.¹⁹⁴ Gregory's widow Sichelgaita left houses within Salerno to Cava on her death in 1119, while two of his sons and a nephew gave their share of lands outside Salerno and the *cessiles* living upon this property to Cava in January 1139.¹⁹⁵ The scale of some of these donations may have been smaller than those of some of Cava's major Norman benefactors, but the abbey still benefited considerably over a long period.

These donations by the members of the former princely family were particularly important in Cava's acquisition of churches within the principality, although because of the division of inheritance claims among the descendants of the founder such acquisitions were often made piecemeal, as was the case with S. Maria *in Domno*. Thus in June 1091 Guaimar, lord of Giffoni, another grandson of Guaimar III, gave Cava his one-sixth share in this church to Cava. Subsequently, a little over three years later, a cleric called Gisulf, who was also descended from Prince John, the founder of the family (prince 983–99), gave his one-sixth share of the same church. One of the provisions of his charter was to safeguard their right to the family tomb in the atrium of this church.¹⁹⁶ (As we have already seen, Cava gained another one-sixth in 1098, bringing its share up to a half.) Another charter, of Guaimar II of Giffoni in November 1092, revealed that his father had died by then and was buried in the cloister at Cava, and this was the first of a series of donations that continued until the death of Guaimar II in 1114.¹⁹⁷ And while his death marked the end of this branch of the family, the gifts of the numerous progeny of Gregory of Capaccio and his brothers continued until well after the creation of the kingdom of Sicily. So, for example, in May 1134 William 'de Mannia', the grandson of Gregory's brother Guaimar, confirmed a donation by his father Pandulf of a piece of alluvial land (*yscla*), while in October of the same year Lampus of Fasanella, the husband of John of Capaccio's daughter Emma, gave Cava a church. When Robert of Trentenaria, grandson of Gregory, died in 1156, apparently childless, he left two-thirds of his landed property to Cava, as well as his best horse and arms.¹⁹⁸ The relationship between Cava and the kin of the

¹⁹³ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* D. 28, ed. P. Fedele, 'I conti di Tuscolo ed i principi di Salerno', *Archivio della reale società romana di storia patria*, 28 (1905), 19–21.

¹⁹⁴ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* G.5. ¹⁹⁵ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* F.13, *Arca* xxiv.41. ¹⁹⁶ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* C.29, D.3.

¹⁹⁷ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* C.32, D.13 (March 1097), E.10 (May 1110), F.28 (containing his will, see above).

¹⁹⁸ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* G.12, G.14, H.27 (this last document edited by Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vii.400–1).

Lombard princes was therefore an enduring, and for the monks a very profitable one.

There were, of course, other Lombard benefactors, of less exalted rank but still from the old aristocratic class. In March 1095 Alfanus, son of a Count Alfanus, from Nocera in the north of the principality, gave Cava the lands he had inherited from his parents near one of the abbey's cells not far from Roccapiemonte, about 4 km from Nocera, while in October 1117 Alfanus, son of Count Ademarius, gave St Maximus, Salerno (by now entirely in Cava's hands) his half-share of alluvial land outside Salerno, the other half already being in that church's ownership.¹⁹⁹ Such gifts might often be relatively modest, and one suspects that such donors were declining in status, and perhaps in wealth – the abandonment, or non-continuance, of the title of 'count', in pre-Norman Italy a mark of rank but not of territorial lordship, is interesting, and such nobles were largely town-dwellers, more urban patriciate than outright aristocrats. But their benefactions still played a significant role in making Cava the pre-eminent monastic house and ecclesiastical landowner in the principality of Salerno.

Montecassino similarly benefited from its continued links with the old Lombard nobility, even though Abbot Desiderius had taken the abbey into alliance with the Normans. Despite its continued boundary disputes with the Counts of Aquino, this family still made at least occasional donations as well: a church at Comino in 1074, and houses in the *castellum* of Piedemonte in 1093, for example.²⁰⁰ Lando, one of the Lombard lords of Arpino in the upper Liri valley, left Montecassino his entire property on his deathbed in 1076.²⁰¹ Count Paldo of Venafrò made an exchange with Montecassino in 1086, and then returned the property he had acquired in that transaction, and added the church of St Benedict in Venafrò in 1094. He was subsequently buried in the abbey.²⁰² But in particular the abbey of St Benedict benefited from its close relations with the Lombard nobility of the Abruzzi, who possessed considerably greater resources than their surviving compatriots in the north of the principality of Capua. Thus Count Transmund of Chieti gave Montecassino three *castella* in the neighbouring county of Penne in October 1085, while Count Berard of

¹⁹⁹ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* D.4, F.5.

²⁰⁰ Scandone, 'Roccasecca', 129 no. 32; Archivio di Montecassino, *Aula III Caps.* XIII no. 37.

²⁰¹ Gattula, *Accessiones*, 181–2.

²⁰² Gattula, *Accessiones*, 194, Archivio di Montecassino, Registrum Petri Diaconi (Regesto no. 2), fol. 231v no. 550; *Chron. Cas.* III.59, IV.15, pp. 440, 484. A. Pantoni, 'Un conte longobardo di Venafrò seppellito a Montecassino', *Samnium* 34 (1961), 58–69.

Sangro granted rights of pasture near Comino and lands near Alfadena in Molise, on the other side of the Monti della Meta, in February 1098.²⁰³

The most significant connection of Montecassino with the Abruzzese nobility was undoubtedly with the counts of Marsia. This family had had links with Montecassino for a long time, not least in that its members had been holding Cassinese property in the Abruzzi on long-term, and effectively permanent, leasehold since the later tenth century. The counts had also rendered Abbot Richer military assistance in the 1040s, as had their distant relations the Borells. But, before the time of Abbot Desiderius, there had been very few donations to Montecassino; the counts' benefactions to the Church were concentrated instead on their own ecclesiastical enterprises in the Abruzzi, such as St Peter *in Lago* (near Lago di Scanno, 15 km south of Sulmona) and St Peter Avellana (further south, near Castel di Sangro, on the border with the later province of Molise), both of which were founded by Dominic of Foligno, under the patronage of the comital family in the early years of the eleventh century. From c. 1050, however, the Counts of Marsia became increasingly involved with Montecassino. Count Oderisius II entered one of his sons, also called Oderisius, as a child oblate in the monastery before the death of Abbot Richer in 1055, the first of several members of this family to become monks there, while the count's younger brother Pandulf, bishop of Marsia, visited the abbey in 1057, donated various valuable vestments and ornaments, and was received into its confraternity.²⁰⁴ Thereafter the Counts of Marsia devoted their ecclesiastical patronage to Montecassino. In the 40 years after 1057 members of this kin-group made no fewer than 24 donations to the abbey or to its subordinate cells. In particular, they handed over to Montecassino those hitherto-independent monasteries that they had previously founded, or which had developed under their patronage, notably St Peter *in Lago* in 1067 and S. Maria in Luco, near Lago di Fucina, in November 1070. Similarly their relative Borellus II (from the Sangro branch of the family) gave Montecassino the monastery of St Peter Avellana in 1069. As a result of this substantial 'patronage shift', most of the monasteries founded in the early eleventh century by the family's pet holy man, Dominic of Foligno, ended up as part of the Cassinese congregation. Some of these houses, notably St Peter *in Lago*, had in turn a number of subordinate churches,

²⁰³ Gattula, *Accessiones*, 191, 218. For the latter, *Chron. Cas.* IV.20, p. 488.

²⁰⁴ *Chron. Cas.* II.95, IV.1, pp. 354, 466–7. Howe, *Church Reform and Social Change*, 45–9, 123–36. This is one of the earliest references to the Cassinese confraternity, although it was unlikely to have been a new development, H. Dormeier, *Montecassino und die Laien im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart 1979), 184–5.

further expanding the Cassinese ecclesiastical empire.²⁰⁵ These close connections with the Abruzzese aristocracy continued into the early twelfth century. So at some point before 1105 Count Berard of Sangro swore to respect and protect the lands of Montecassino, was received into its confraternity, and was appointed as the advocate of the abbey's property within his county. A few years later, probably about 1109, his cousin Borellus IV similarly swore to protect St Peter Avellana, and the grants made to it by his father and grandfather.²⁰⁶

Thus while Montecassino benefited from its close ties with the Normans, which led to a substantial enlargement of the *Terra Sancti Benedicti* and to the renewed acquisition of churches and property in Apulia, it also continued to receive benefactions from Lombard lords. Indeed at the same time as Desiderius established his house's alliance with the new Norman rulers, Montecassino also developed new and closer links with the native aristocracy of the Abruzzi. Furthermore, the connection with the Counts of Marsia, in particular, was to have important consequences for the leadership of Montecassino (an issue that will be discussed below).

There was, however, a second, and rather different, aspect of the relationship between the native aristocracy and monasticism, one which in particular affected Montecassino. For a number of the 'donations' that this abbey received from Lombard aristocrats did not actually convey the property designated, because it had already received this from a Norman, generally from the princes of Capua. Thus in September 1070 the two sons of the former count of Teano, who were actually living in Capua, gave Montecassino their shares in the *castellum* of Mortola (near the River Garigliano, about 18 km south of the monastery). Yet in fact Prince Richard had given this *castellum* five and a half years earlier, having confiscated it from the counts as punishment for their involvement in rebellion against him.²⁰⁷ No fewer than 21 years later, in September 1091, a cousin of theirs similarly gave two *castella* within the county of Teano, Mortola and Rocca d'Evandro, and the monastery of the Holy Saviour on Monte Cocuruzzu and its adjoining *castellum*. Rocca d'Evandro had been given to Montecassino by the Emperor Henry II in 1022, and the

²⁰⁵ Gattula, *Accessiones*, 171, 179. Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, 333–4, 338–42, 364; Howe, *Church Reform and Social Change*, 142–8, 185–8 (helpfully listing the donations). The felicitous phrase 'patronage shift' is borrowed from Howe.

²⁰⁶ A. de Francesco, 'Origini e sviluppo del feudalismo nel Molise fino alla caduta della dominazione normanna', *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane* 34 (1909), 669–70.

²⁰⁷ Gattula, *Accessiones*, 164–5 (Loud, 'Calendar', no. 5), 170–1.

monastery on Monte Cocuruzzu by Richard I in July 1066, again after it had been confiscated from a group of Lombard rebels.²⁰⁸ Further charters followed from this same family in 1101, 1108 and 1116, referring to these and to other properties, but none of which it appears was actually under their control. It may be that in this case the dispossessed Lombard aristocrats were making the best of a bad job, surrendering their title to property of which they had been deprived, and hoping at least to benefit from the monks' prayers. On the other hand, there may also have been an element of precaution on behalf of the monks, both to obviate any purely theoretical claims, and to frustrate actual attempts to recover this lost property. For, despite the confiscations, the former comital family of Teano had not been entirely dispossessed. The 'Count Pandulf' who abandoned his claims in 1091 was living at Presenzano, about 15 km north of Teano, and just outside the borders of the *Terra Sancti Benedicti*. The abbey chronicle reveals that he actually received a substantial cash payment in return for his renunciation in 1091, surely a sign that his claims were perceived by the monks as a significant problem. And in about 1115 his sons launched an attack on the abbey lands, which led Abbot Gerard, 'a man of spirit' as the chronicle described him, to gather an army and ravage their lands.²⁰⁹

Similarly mixed motives, on both sides, probably lay behind other such concessions by Lombard nobles, for example the cession by John, son of Count Hugh, of his half share in the *castellum* of Sujo (5 km south of Mortola, on the other bank of the River Garigliano) in May 1079, eight months after Prince Jordan of Capua had given it to Montecassino, once again after he had declared it confiscated from its previous holders for disloyalty.²¹⁰ In the autumn of 1081 Jordan similarly declared the property of the count of Aquino confiscated for rebellion, and granted the Lago Maggiore at Aquino to Montecassino. Eighteen months later the count himself 'donated' this to the monastery.²¹¹ Despite the best efforts of the Norman princes, however, the counts of Aquino retained control of most of their property, and remained a very real threat to the integrity of the Montecassino lands. It was no wonder that Abbot Desiderius sought to have Jordan's grant validated by the victim of the confiscation. But not all native nobles were able to defend themselves as effectively as did the counts

²⁰⁸ Gattula, *Accessiones*, 206–7, *Historia*, 312–13 (Loud, 'Calendar', no. 13), MGH *Diplomatum Henrici II*, 603–4 no. 474. Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, 192–3.

²⁰⁹ Gattula, *Accessiones*, 218–19, 228–9, Archivio di Montecassino, Registrum Petri Diaconi (Regesto no. 2), fol. 154r no. 357; *Chron. Cas. IV.12*, 57, pp. 481, 521.

²¹⁰ *Cod. Dipl. Caiet. ii.120–4* nos. 251–2 (Loud, 'Calendar', no. 21).

²¹¹ Gattula, *Accessiones*, 187–8 (Loud, 'Calendar', no. 26).

of Aquino. Some, such as the counts of Venafrò and the Agnone branch of the Borells, became vassals of Norman lords: in both these cases of the counts of Boiano.²¹² Sometimes, too, grants to churches may have been part of the survival strategy of the indigenous landowning class. Such calculation probably lay behind the grant by Marinus, Count of Traetto, and his nephews of their shares of Traetto and other *castella* in the duchy of Gaeta to Montecassino in October 1059, and indeed the concession to that abbey of a substantial part of the outlying areas of the duchy by various landowners in the early years of the Norman conquest.²¹³ From the abbey's point of view this had one further advantage. The grant by the counts of Traetto included a clause that, while preventing the imposition of any new services by the abbey, said that those who were accustomed to provide military service should continue to do so. In October 1079 Abbot Desiderius granted a privilege to certain named men, clearly the leading inhabitants, of the newly acquired *castellum* of Sujo that, *inter alia*, promised to compensate those who suffered loss (*minuitas*) while serving 'with horse and arms'.²¹⁴ It was from this upper strata of inhabitants in its *castella* that the abbots were able to raise the troops that defended the *Terra Sancti Benedicti* and chastised the abbey's enemies, as Abbot Gerard punished the counts of Presenzano in 1115. Those who surrendered their lands to the abbey probably became part of this military elite themselves, although we generally cannot thereafter trace their fortunes.

Other monasteries lacked the territorial and military power of Montecassino, and its capacity, with its historic immunity, to organise its own affairs as a quasi-independent power. But on a smaller scale, and at a lower social level, something of the same process may have taken place. As the Normans started seriously to encroach upon the territory of the principality of Salerno, instances multiplied of people surrendering themselves and their property to a monastic house, while continuing to hold it and retaining a life interest in its income. There were other possible motives – a hope that the monastery might make provision for them in old age (which was important for the childless), even simple piety – but a desire for monastic protection probably explains at least some of these grants.²¹⁵ In the case of those where people submitted themselves *sub dominio et defensione* of the

²¹² de Francesco, 'Origini e sviluppo del feudalismo nel Molise', 644–6.

²¹³ *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.* ii.29–31 no. 209, cf. *Chron. Cas.* III.59, p. 440. Skinner, *Family Power*, 185–91.

²¹⁴ *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.* ii.124–6 no. 253 = Fabiani, *Terra di S. Benedetto*, 1.422–4 no. 2, discussed *ibid.*, 90–1, 389–90.

²¹⁵ E.g. *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, ix.191–5 no. 59 (1068), 354–6 no. 119, 375–6 no. 128 (both 1072), x.72–4 no. 20 (1073, from Lucera in Apulia), 167–9 no. 68 (1076), 275–7 no. 115 (1079). Cava, *Arca* xiii.119 (1082).

church of St Nicholas of Capaccio, it may well have been not so much the church but its still-powerful Lombard proprietor from the princely kin, Gregory, lord of Capaccio, to whom they looked for protection.²¹⁶

The third aspect of the continued importance of the indigenous Lombard inhabitants to the monasteries of southern Italy was with regard to recruitment. While those monastic houses of Norman foundation and situated in centres of Norman settlement like Aversa and Venosa may have been exceptions, most south Italian monasteries continued to derive the majority of their monks from the Lombard majority. This was particularly the case with the larger and more important houses, even though these profited from the benefactions of the new Norman aristocracy. Montecassino was the most obvious example; here the sources allow us to substantiate what elsewhere is little more than a plausible hypothesis. The mid-twelfth-century necrology of the abbey, *Codice Cassinese* 47, lists not only benefactors who belonged to the abbey's confraternity but also monks who received liturgical commemoration, and study of some of the names therein yields interesting results. There were at least a few monks with French names: fifteen monks called Robert were recorded, and six called Tancred (although one of these is definitely a thirteenth-century addition), but there was only one William, for example. But by contrast there were 61 entries for monks called Landulf (two of whom were also bishops), and 27 for those called Pandulf. Such onomastic evidence must be treated with caution: we have no further indications of date, there are some later insertions in this manuscript, and names are not infallible guides to ethnic provenance. But it is still indicative, and given the circumstances of the conquest it was far more likely that Lombards would be given French names than vice versa.²¹⁷ There was a similar predominance of 'native' names and absence of Frenchmen in the hagiographical works of Peter the Deacon (written in the 1130s) celebrating notable monks of Montecassino.

Furthermore, the direction of the abbey lay firmly in the hands of scions of the Lombard aristocracy. Abbot Desiderius was a relative of the princes of Benevento. Three of his successors, Oderisius I (abbot 1087–1105), Gerard (1112–23) and Rainald II (1137–66) came from the family of the counts of Marsia; Otto (1105–7) from the counts of Fondi, and Oderisius II (1123–6) was the son of Count Oderisius II of Sangro. Rainald I (abbot for five months in 1137) was also a Lombard from the Abruzzi.²¹⁸ Of the other

²¹⁶ E.g. *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, x.85–8 no. 26, 94–7 no. 30, 132–4 no. 48, 137–40 no. 51 (all 1074).

²¹⁷ *Il necrologio del Cod. Cassinese* 47, ed. M. Inguanez (FSI, Rome 1941).

²¹⁸ *Chron. Cas.* III.1, IV.1, 26, 43, 78, 128, pp. 364, 466–7, 492, 512, 542, 604.

abbots, Bruno (1107–12) was a north Italian from Liguria, and Nicholas (1126–7) from the Roman Campagna. The Montecassino chronicle is silent as to the origins of Seniorectus (1127–37), but this is more likely to have been because of the low social status of an abbot, whose election had been controversial, than because of his ethnic origins.²¹⁹ None of the abbots was therefore a Frenchman. One can also note that five of these abbots (Oderisius I, Otto, Gerald, Seniorectus and Rainald II) had entered the monastery as child oblates, either ‘in infancy’, or in the case of Rainald in his very early teens. The importance of the native nobility of the Abruzzi did not stop there. Other prominent monks from this region included John, subsequently bishop of Sora, and his nephew Leo Marsicanus, the abbey’s librarian and archivist, chronicler, and subsequently cardinal bishop of Ostia (died 1115). Leo’s brother John was also a monk.²²⁰ Transmund, the brother of Abbot Oderisius, also entered Montecassino as a child oblate before becoming successively Abbot of Tremiti and St Clement, Casauria, and Bishop of Valva,²²¹ while another monk in the time of Desiderius was a member of the Borell family, who was severely hampered by ill-health, but made a suitably holy deathbed.²²²

Although we lack similar chronicle and obituary notices for Cava and St Sophia, Benevento, and are mainly dependent on the names of monks noted in charters, the impression certainly is that the personnel of these two monasteries was also still largely Lombard. Of the abbots of Cava, the founder Alferius and his nephew Peter (the latter abbot 1079–1123) were Lombards from Salerno, Leo (abbot 1050–79) was an immigrant from Tuscany, while Constable (abbot 1123–4, but very prominent for a decade before that, given Peter’s age and ill-health) was a native of the southern part of the principality of Salerno, and another child oblate.²²³ The monks and officials who represented the abbey in legal transactions, therefore the most senior and trusted members of the community, and the heads of its dependent cells, were also (insofar as names are a guide) primarily Lombards.²²⁴ However, it is fair to say that there were a few apparently French monks as well. The *Lives of the First Four Abbots* had a tale of a

²¹⁹ *Chron. Cas.* IV.31, 89, 94, pp. 496, 550, 554.

²²⁰ For John, *Chron. Cas.* II.16, III.34, pp. 199, 410. Cf. R. Hüls, *Kardinäle, Klerus und Kirchen Roms 1049–1130* (Tübingen 1977), 105.

²²¹ *Chron. Cas.* III.25, p. 392; *Chron. Casauriense*, 864–6.

²²² *Petri Diaconi: Ortus et Vita Iustorum Cenobii Casinensis*, ed. R. H. Rodgers (Berkeley 1972), 95 c.66.

²²³ *Vitae Quatuor Priorum Abbatum Cavensium*, II, 28. For Constable as the abbey’s representative, Cava, *Arca* xix.80, *Arm. Mag.* E.25 (both 1113), E.37 (1114), E.46 (1116), *Arca* xx.97 (1119).

²²⁴ Thus Leo, *vestiarius* of the monastery 1103, Cava, *Arca* xvii.84; Lando *vestiarius* 1109–12, *Arca* xviii.106, xix.47; Jaquintus, *custos* of St Michael, Lucera, 1103, *Arca* xvii.80; Maio *prepositus* of

knight, *gallus genere*, who became a monk, then abandoned the monastery to take up arms once again, but eventually repented and was received back as a monk by Abbot Peter.²²⁵ The charters of Cava also occasionally mention monks with French names in responsible positions, for example a monk Berengar, who in April 1104 received a bequest on behalf of the abbey; William *prepositus* of the dependent church of St Michael, Nocera, in that same year; and Roger, prior of the Apulian dependency of St James at Lucera in 1110.²²⁶ But these seem to have been very much in the minority. Similarly the Montecassino chronicle told of 'a certain knight from across the Alps' (*transalpinus*), called Hugh, who was badly injured in a fall from his horse after visiting the monastery at Easter 1112, was cured after a vigil at the tomb of Saint Benedict, and many years later became a monk.²²⁷ There was also a Norman lord from Calabria who lost his lands for rebellion against Duke Roger Borsa and became a monk at Benevento (although at which of several monasteries there is not made clear).²²⁸ But for such monasteries, in a town that had never been ruled by the Normans, the first and most obvious source of recruits must have been the local Lombard citizens.

Finally, as with the hapless rebel from Calabria, the monastic life could provide a refuge for those who had lost their rank or stake in life, and it is probable that, at least during the conquest itself, most of such refugees would have been natives rather than newcomers. Thus the former duchess of Amalfi was abbess of the nunnery of St George in Salerno in 1087, and in 1136 one of the nuns in this same house was a daughter of Landulf, younger brother of Prince Gisulf II, who had been deprived of his lordship at Policastro by Robert Guiscard in 1077.²²⁹ There might well have been other reasons for these ladies entering the religious life, especially for the widowed Abbess Purpura, but both came from families that had lost their position in secular society. The nunnery they entered was, like most houses for women, one that was local in both its recruitment and patronage, and had little or no contact with the Normans. But even some of the greatest

St Peter Brahallia, 1114, *Trinchera*, *Syllabus*, 99–100 no. 76; Alfano, *prepositus* of St Nicholas *de Palma*, Salerno, 1117–18, Cava, *Arm. Mag.* F.3, *Arca* xx.63, xxi.1; Leo, *prepositus* of St Sophia, Salerno, 1117, *Arca* xx.93; Ursus, *prepositus* of St Barbara, Salerno, 1119, *Arm. Mag.* F.13; Maraldus, prior of S. Archangelo, Cilento, 1127, *Arca* xxii.35. Almost the only exception was Robert *Francigenus*, *prepositus* of St Peter Olivola in 1143, *Arm. Mag.* G.41.

²²⁵ *Vitae Quatuor Priorum Abbatum Cavensium*, 25. ²²⁶ Cava, *Arca* xvii.101, 113, xix.8.

²²⁷ *Chron. Cas.* IV.44, pp. 512–13. ²²⁸ *Malaterra*, IV.11, pp. 91–2.

²²⁹ *Pergamene del monastero benedettino di S. Giorgio*, 60–2 no. 7 (she was the widow of Sergius IV, whose death in 1073 had led to Guiscard's takeover of Amalfi); *Nuove pergamene del monastero femminile di S. Giorgio di Salerno I (993–1256)*, ed. M. Galante (Altavilla Silentina 1984), 24–5 no. 11. *Amatus*, VIII.30, p. 371.

monastic houses in 'Norman' Italy, however much they might be favoured by the new Norman nobility, remained fundamentally native, Lombard institutions, with only a small admixture of Norman/French monks.

When Robert Guiscard heard the complaints of the abbot of Torremaggiore at Troia in 1067, he was, according to the resulting charter, surrounded by 'my magnates, Norman and Lombard, archbishops, bishops and abbots'.²³⁰ If the Normans devoted much of their gift-giving to the monasteries of southern Italy, the secular Church was equally important to them, and was also affected by the Norman takeover, although as with the monastic Church we need to examine how much. Admittedly, the political and social significance of bishops in southern Italy was somewhat different from that in northern Europe. While there were some extensive dioceses in the pre-Norman period, that of Salerno being the most obvious example, most comprised a relatively small hill or coastal town and its immediate hinterland. As new bishoprics were founded, from the later tenth century onwards, the tendency was therefore for the large and inchoate sees of the Lombard era to be broken up, as happened for example when the province of Benevento was created in, or more properly after, 969. This was, as has been noted, a slow and evolutionary process. Papal bulls sanctioning archiepiscopal provinces, as those to Benevento in 969 and Bari in 1025, were no more than blueprints for the future, and the creation of new bishoprics continued after the Norman conquest; indeed, in coastal Apulia and, especially, the principality of Salerno (remarkably ill-provided with bishops before the Normans' arrival), the scale and pace of this increased in the later eleventh century. But what this meant was that by c. 1100 south Italian sees were numerous, but usually small, and the resources available to bishops and their cathedrals were limited. Bishops therefore lacked the landed wealth, dependants and considerable military power that most north European bishops possessed. (The bishops of the Abruzzi might be seen as something of an exception, in that their dioceses were large, and bishops did have some politico-military role, but this was not a wealthy region, and the scale of their resources was probably still limited.)

Nor, given the tradition of lay literacy among the notarial class, were churchmen as necessary to secular administrative structures as they were in northern Europe. Bishoprics were not therefore needed as rewards for administrators in the way that they were in Germany, England and northern France. However, by contrast, whereas the bishops in these kingdoms

²³⁰ Ménager, *Recueil*, 77.

were for the most part remote figures, usually imposed from above, often absent from their sees on royal business, and rarely seen in the more outlying parts of their dioceses even when present, the south Italian bishop was a more local figure, and more central to the spiritual life of his parishioners and as a focus of local loyalty. Within episcopal towns the cathedral might well be the principal, or indeed the only, focus for the conferral of some or most of the sacraments, depending on how many other churches possessed baptismal rights. Thus the loyalty of bishops was still an important consideration for the new Norman rulers, and during the conquest a bishop could potentially be a leader of opposition to the Normans. The bishops of Troia and Acerenza (both Lombards) were killed fighting on the Byzantine side against the Normans in 1041 – which suggests that some bishops may have had a military following, even if not necessarily very large.²³¹ The bishop of Cassano led the Calabrian rebellion against Robert Guiscard in 1059, while Archbishop Hildebrand of Capua played a prominent part in the defence of that city against the second siege by Prince Richard in 1062, and attempted, albeit without success, to seek military aid for the Capuans from the imperial court in Germany.²³² Thus it was very much in the interests of the new Norman rulers and territorial lords to ensure that the bishops within their lands were ones on whom they could rely.

On the other hand, given the number of sees in southern Italy, the slow and decentralised nature of the Norman takeover, the limited numbers of the invaders, the lack of suitable churchmen in their ranks, and the active interest taken by the Gregorian Reform popes in the region, there was never going to be such a wholesale takeover of the episcopate by Normans/Frenchmen as followed Duke William's conquest of England. Furthermore, even to identify such bishops is fraught with difficulties. For many sees, there is little or no evidence for their bishops until some way into the twelfth century, and sometimes not even then. Even when a list of bishops can be constructed, we rarely have anything other than their names as a guide to their provenance. In some cases, they might have obviously new, apparently French, names, not hitherto found in south Italian sources (Rainulf, Robert, Roger or William), while in others there might be characteristically Lombard (Amatus, Grimoald, Landulf or Urso), or otherwise 'indigenous' names (Manso and Sergius, for example, both common at Naples and Amalfi). Yet even here we must be cautious. Thus Robert, the first bishop of Troina, and subsequently of Messina (1081–1106) was,

²³¹ *Annales Barenenses*, MGH SS v.54. ²³² *Malaterra*, I.32, p. 22; *Amatus*, IV.28, p. 203.

despite his name, from northern Italy, not France.²³³ Other names might be neutral, in that while often used in France, they might also be used in Lombard Italy, albeit less commonly than some of those cited above. One might well suspect, for example, that Bernard was a primarily French name; it was certainly rarely used in southern Italy before the arrival of the Normans. But the founder of St Bartholomew of Carpineto, in the Abruzzi, in 962, was called Bernard, and as was so often the case this name was regularly employed in subsequent generations of his family. Another Bernard was Abbot of St Sophia, Benevento, from 1107 to 1120, and while we know nothing directly about his background, an abbot of this house is most unlikely to have been other than a Lombard.²³⁴ We cannot therefore be certain that this name always denoted a Frenchman. One must also ask for how long names can be used as a reliable guide to provenance, given the tendency, well-attested in England, and to a lesser extent among south Italian laymen, for members of the native establishment seeking to adapt to the conquest to adopt names derived from the conquerors for their children, and especially male ones. However, since bishops had canonically to be at least 30 on election, and in practice might well be older when appointed, one can suggest that until at least the first decade of the twelfth century names are a reasonable indication of identity, if not necessarily thereafter.

Something of a guide to the situation at the moment when the Normans finally gained possession of most of the mainland, after the capture of Bari in 1071, is given by Leo Marsicanus, who furnished a list of the prelates who attended the dedication of the new abbey church of Montecassino on 1 October 1071, 36 of whom came from southern Italy. Of these nine archbishops and 27 bishops, no more than ten had Norman or French names. Of these two came from the principality of Capua (Godfrey of Aversa and William of Teano), four from the Capitanata (William of Larino, Roger of Civitate, Robert of Fiorentino and Stephen of Troia – whom we know from another source to have undoubtedly been a Norman). Two more were from inland southern Apulia (Baldwin of Melfi and Arnold of Acerenza), William of Ruvo's see was in coastal Apulia, and there was one from the Salento peninsula in southern Apulia (Hugh of Otranto).²³⁵ One or two other cases may be possible. Constans of Venosa, for example,

²³³ *Malaterra*, IV.23, p. 101. ²³⁴ Bernard's election and death are recorded by *Falco*, 4, 54.

²³⁵ T. Leccisotti, 'Narratio de consecratione et dedicatione ecclesiae casinensis', in A. Pantoni, *Le vicende della basilica di Montecassino attraverso la documentazione archeologica* (Miscellanea Cassinese 36, 1973), 215–25. Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, i.118–21.

came from one of the most 'Norman' towns of Italy, and his immediate predecessor, attested in 1069, had the undoubtedly French name of Roger.²³⁶ But even so, fewer than a third of the south Italian prelates who attended this ceremony were seemingly Norman or French.

There were a few sees where there would appear to have been a succession of Norman or French bishops, most obviously in those of towns that were Norman colonisations, notably Aversa and Mileto. At Aversa, Godfrey (attested 1071–5) was followed by Guimund (1088–91), whom we know to have been formerly a monk of Le-Croix-Saint-Leufroi in Normandy.²³⁷ His successor, John (1094–1101), had a 'neutral' name that could denote a Frenchman or a native, but the next bishop, Robert (1104–8) once again had a French name. Mileto was the Calabrian headquarters of Count Roger, who founded the bishopric in 1081, and its bishops, Arnulf (1081–6), Godfrey (1090–1), Geroldus (1091–4), Geoffrey (1094–7) and Everard (1101), were probably all Frenchmen. Geoffrey undoubtedly was, since he was a relative of the one of Roger I's leading barons, Josbert de Luci, whose family originated from near Dieppe.²³⁸ At Venosa, although there are considerable gaps in our knowledge of this see, the first bishop attested after Constans was Berengar, the Norman abbot of the monastery of the Holy Trinity, who was elected as bishop in 1094, and died two years later. He was the son of a man called Arnold fitz Heugon, and a former monk of St Evroul in Normandy.²³⁹ The next bishop who can be attested there, in 1113, also had a Norman/French name, Fulco (*Foulques*).²⁴⁰ Similarly at Melfi, another of the original Norman bases in inland Apulia, the two bishops attested at this period also have French names, Baldwin (1067–76) and William (1097–1102). And in addition to these four bishoprics in quintessentially 'Norman' towns, one other see had a succession of identifiable 'foreign' prelates. Troia was another town that like Venosa and Melfi was a centre of ducal rule from its surrender to Robert Guiscard c. 1059, and for once the survival of a fragmentary local

²³⁶ Houben, *Venosa*, 250. ²³⁷ *Orderic*, ii.270–80.

²³⁸ For the foundation of the see, Gregory, *Reg.* IX.25 (Cowdrey, 424). Cf. V. von Falkenhausen, 'Mileto tra Greci e Normanni', in *Chiesa e società nel Mezzogiorno. Studie in onore di Maria Mariotti* (Rubettino 1999), 109–33, especially 115–16. Where specific references have not been indicated, the names and dates of bishops in the pages that follow have been derived from *Italia Pontificia* and/or H. W. Klewitz, 'Zur Geschichte der Bistumsorganisation Campaniens und Apuliens', 343–403. It should be noted that *Italia Pontificia*, viii, covering the principalities of Capua and Salerno, does not list bishops comprehensively, thus fuller references have been given for these regions.

²³⁹ *Orderic*, ii.100–2.

²⁴⁰ He was one of the witnesses to a legal dispute between the abbeys of Montecassino and Torremaggiore, settled by Paschal II at Benevento in February 1113, T. Leccisotti, 'Antiche prepositure Cassinesi nei pressi del Fortore e del Saccione', *Benedictina* 1 (1947), 98–100.

chronicle grants us a little more information than just the names of its bishops. Stephen *normannus*, attested from April 1059 until 1080, was probably appointed immediately after Robert's takeover of the town. His successors were Walter *francigenus* (1080–6), Gerald, a north Italian from Piacenza (1090–7), Hubert from Maine (1097–1101), William I *Bigottus* (1102–6) – might he have been related to the Anglo-Norman family of Bigod, or (more probably) was he from the Bigorre region of Gascony? – and William II (1106–41). All of these men except for Gerald were Frenchmen, although at least two were from regions other than Normandy.²⁴¹ The north Italian Gerald was a ducal appointee, and was closely linked with the Norman rulers, for example witnessing a privilege of Duke Roger to the bishopric of Melfi in November 1093, visiting Count Roger in Sicily in 1095 and then spending Christmas at the court of the duke in Reggio.²⁴² This succession of outsiders in the see of Troia was surely linked with the importance of this town as a centre for ducal government in the region.

Elsewhere, there were particular areas where apparently French bishops can be found in the immediately post-conquest period. In the southern and eastern parts of the principality of Capua, in addition to the succession of Norman/French bishops at Aversa, there were also Hervé, archbishop of Capua (1078–82), and his successors Robert (1088), and Sennes (1097–1116);²⁴³ as well as William, bishop of Teano (1071–5), Gilbert, bishop of Telese (1075),²⁴⁴ Falco, bishop of Calvi (1094),²⁴⁵ Robert, bishop of Alife (1098–1100),²⁴⁶ and Rainulf, bishop of Caserta (1113–26).²⁴⁷ Bernard, bishop of Carinola (1087–1109) and Bernard, bishop of Teano (1094) may well also have been Frenchmen, although, as indicated above, with this name we cannot be entirely certain; the former was, however, a chaplain of the prince of Capua before his appointment as bishop.²⁴⁸ Bishops William of Nola (1093–1123) and Gerald of Acerra (1098–1114) were both incumbents of sees that had been incorporated into the

²⁴¹ *Italia Pontificia*, ix.203–9.

²⁴² Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, i.923; *Les Chartes de Troia*, 141–2 no. 31.

²⁴³ The two known charters of Sennes, 1113 and 15 June 1116, were dated in the seventeenth and nineteenth years of his pontificate respectively, Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, 486, *Pergamene di Capua*, i.33–5 no. 13. He must therefore have become archbishop in the autumn of 1097. Robert is known from an inscription recorded by Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vi.325, and from some regulations regarding baptism, discussed by Michele Monaco, *Sanctuarium Capuanum* (Naples 1630), 236.

²⁴⁴ *Chronicon S. Sophiae*, ii.686, 689. ²⁴⁵ *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.* v.187–8 no. 471.

²⁴⁶ Gattula, *Historia*, 44, 49. ²⁴⁷ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vi.478–9, 486, 488.

²⁴⁸ For the *Vita* of Bernard of Carinola, Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vi.462–6; Bernard of Teano, *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.* v.212 no. 481.

principality by the early twelfth century. As we have already seen, there were a number of seemingly French bishops in the Capitanata in the 1070s, some of whom remained in office for a considerable period; however, many of the bishoprics of this area are poorly documented, and we have little information thereafter.²⁴⁹ Inland southern Apulia and the Salento peninsula were other areas where there were clusters of probable French bishops. In the former region, apart from the Norman centres of Venosa and Melfi, there was the long-lived Arnold of Acerenza (1068–1101), and Robert of Tricarico (1083), and both Archbishop Drogo of Taranto (1071) and his successor but one Rainald (1108–13). In the latter area, at Brindisi there were Godinus (1087–1100), the benefactor of St Lawrence, Aversa, Baldwin, archbishop-elect in August 1100²⁵⁰ and William, archbishop 1104–18. Archbishops Hugh (1067–71), William (1080) and Berard (1090–1101) of Otranto and Baldric, bishop of Gallipoli (1115) are other probable Frenchmen.²⁵¹ In northern Calabria, there were apparent Frenchmen at Cosenza for a considerable period,²⁵² at Malvito (Walter, 1087–95) and at Martirano, where Rodulf (consecrated in 1090) was succeeded by Arnulf, who played a prominent part on the First Crusade before being captured by the Muslims near Jerusalem in 1099.²⁵³ However, in the south of Calabria most sees remained Greek, and even where converted to the Latin rite the new bishops were not necessarily Frenchmen. Only at Mileto and at Reggio were French prelates installed; at Reggio William (1082–6) was succeeded by Rangerius, a cardinal appointed by Urban II in 1091, who had originally been a monk of Marmoutier, and also of St Aubin, Angers, and hence was presumably a native of the Loire region, and then by Roger (1099–1116).²⁵⁴

Furthermore, a number of reservations must be noted. First and most obviously, most of these identifications, on grounds of name alone, can be classed as no more than probable. Furthermore, on the rare occasions where the origin of 'foreign' bishops was recorded, by no means all of

²⁴⁹ Bishop Robert of Fiorentino is attested 1071–87, William of Larino 1070–89, Joscelin of Termoli, attested 1095, may well have been a Frenchman, and the *Vita* of Albert of Montecorvino, attested 1081, said that he was a Norman nobleman, *Acta Sanctorum, April*, i (Paris 1866), 433.

²⁵⁰ *Cod. Dipl. Brindisiano*, 18–20 no. 10.

²⁵¹ N. Kamp, 'Vescovi e diocesi dell'Italia meridionale nel passaggio dalla dominazione bizantina allo stato normanno', in *Forma di potere e struttura sociale in Italia nel Medioevo*, ed. G. Rossetti (Bologna 1977), 391.

²⁵² Arnulf (1059–80), Arnulf II (1113–14) and Rodulf (1123).

²⁵³ *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierolimitanorum*, ed. R. Hill (London 1962), 93.

²⁵⁴ For Rangerius, K. Ganzer, *Die Entwicklung des auswärtigen Kardinalats im hohen Mittelalter* (Tübingen 1963), 45–9; also *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de St. Aubin d'Angers*, ed. B. de Broussillon (2 vols., Angers 1903), i.123, where *Rangerius* 'who was afterwards an archbishop in Apulia' is noted.

the Frenchmen were actually Normans. This was clear, in particular, from the first incumbents of the new bishoprics founded by Roger I on the island of Sicily. Stephen, first bishop of Mazara did indeed come from Rouen, but Ansger of Catania, though previously a monk of St Euphemia, was actually a Breton, Gerland of Agrigento from Burgundy and Roger of Syracuse from Provence.²⁵⁵ Robert of Troina was, as has already been noted, from northern Italy. One of the later bishops of Agrigento, Walter (attested 1128) was described as *francigenus*, hence probably from the Ile de France.²⁵⁶

Robert of Troina was by no means the only bishop of foreign origin not to come from France. A number of others came from northern Italy. When during his journey to southern Italy in 1059 Pope Nicholas II dismissed the bishop of Aquino for lack of experience and squandering the property of his see, the replacement he appointed, Martin, a monk from Montecassino, was originally from Florence, while at the same time another Cassinese, Peter of Ravenna, was consecrated as Bishop of Isernia. Subsequently, in 1064 Alexander II appointed two more monks of Montecassino, Ambrose and Gerard, as bishop of Terracina and Archbishop of Siponto respectively. The former came from Milan, the latter was a German.²⁵⁷ One of Gerard's successors at Siponto, Albert (1100–16), another former cardinal appointed by Paschal II at his synod at Melfi in October 1100, came from Piacenza, as did Bishop Gerard of Troia (1090–7) and Gerard of Potenza, who died c. 1119 and was subsequently canonised.²⁵⁸ The papal role in the appointment of most of these outsiders is notable, although Gerard of Troia was apparently chosen by Duke Roger Borsa, with the assent of the people of Troia and in the presence of a papal legate (the see of Troia being directly subject to the pope).²⁵⁹

While there were some sees and regions where apparently French prelates were chosen, there were others where such influence appears to have been negligible. In the northern part of the principality of Capua and the duchy of Gaeta, the major source of recruitment for the episcopate was the abbey of Montecassino, where the overwhelming majority of the monks were Lombards, and to judge by the names of the known bishops in the sees of Aquino, Sora, Fondi and Gaeta, none of them were Frenchmen.²⁶⁰ Further south, at Teano, where there had been two probable French bishops, their

²⁵⁵ *Malaterra*, IV.7, p. 89. ²⁵⁶ *Più antiche carte dell'archivio capitulare di Agrigento*, 33–5 no. 11, 307.

²⁵⁷ *Chron. Cas.* III.14, 24, pp. 376–7, 391.

²⁵⁸ Ganzer, *Entwicklung*, 55–7; *Acta Sanctorum*, October, xiii (Paris 1883), 467–9.

²⁵⁹ *Les Chartes de Troia*, 134–5 no. 27 (March 1092) ²⁶⁰ Loud, *Church and Society*, 46–7.

successor was a Cassinese monk who to judge by his name was a Lombard, Pandulf (bishop c. 1117–37).²⁶¹ Other Cassinese monks included Alfano I, archbishop of Salerno 1058–85, and Peter, archbishop of Naples 1094–1100, although both of these were natives of these cities, and quite possibly owed their elevation as much to this and their social connections – Alfano certainly came from the Salernitan nobility, Leo the Montecassino chronicler indeed called him *nobilissimus* – as to the time they had spent at Montecassino (which in the case of Alfano was quite brief).²⁶² And while Salerno became more and more the ducal capital after 1085, the next two archbishops were Lombards as well, Alfano II (1087–1121) and Romuald I (1121–36).

There were hardly any identifiable French or Norman bishops in the principality of Salerno, even in the new sees created in the late eleventh century. Arnold, bishop of Policastro in 1111, and his successor Godfrey, who died in July 1139, and Mauger and Robert, archbishops of Conza in 1102 and 1128–9 respectively, are the only possible candidates, and by the second quarter of the twelfth century names are probably less reliable as a guide to ancestry than earlier.²⁶³ Similarly there was little or no ‘Norman’ presence in the episcopate in the coastal region of Apulia, from the Gargano peninsula south to Ostuni. Bishops Roger of Canne (1102–17) and William (1102) and Bertrannus (1119) of Salpi were virtually the only exceptions.²⁶⁴ This reflected both the lack of Norman colonisation in the coastal towns of Apulia, and the reluctance of these towns to submit to the rule of the Norman dukes. Even in the Capitanata there was certainly no Norman monopoly; thus the successor to Bishop Roger of Civitate had the archetypal Lombard name of Landulf (attested 1082–9).²⁶⁵ Meanwhile Rainulf of Chieti (1086–1105) was probably the only Norman bishop in the Abruzzi dioceses.²⁶⁶ And neither in Amalfi nor in Naples was there any recognisable Norman presence in the church, although Roger Borsa was apparently responsible for the creation of the see of Ravello, in the hills above Amalfi, in 1087.²⁶⁷

²⁶¹ *Chron. Cas.* IV.75, 108 pp. 540–1, 570.

²⁶² *Chron. Cas.* III.7–8, pp. 368–9. N. Kamp, ‘The bishops of southern Italy in the Norman and Staufien periods’, in *The Society of Norman Italy*, 191–2.

²⁶³ *Necrologio di S. Matteo*, 100; *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, ii. 211–12 no. 1 (the dedication of St Sabinus of Canosa 1102); Cava, *Arm. Mag.* F.44, F.46 (the latter diplomatically somewhat suspect).

²⁶⁴ For Roger, *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.72 no. 38; *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, viii. *Le pergamene di Barletta. Archivio Capitolare 897–1285*, ed. F. Nitti di Vito (Bari 1914), 53–4 no. 31, 56 no. 33. Both Roger and William attended the dedication of the church of Canosa in 1102.

²⁶⁵ Klewitz, ‘Zur Geschichte der Bistumsorganisation’, 389. ²⁶⁶ Feller, *Abruzzes médiévales*, 740–2.

²⁶⁷ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, i.1182–3.

If the lack of possible Norman or French bishops suggests that some regions and towns were less 'Norman' or slipped away from the control of the Norman rulers, there are also other factors to consider. (And the principality of Salerno, it should be noted, was the region most securely under the control of Robert Guiscard's immediate successors, although the Lombard aristocracy was never eliminated there.) However, when the Normans took over a particular town, one assumes that the incumbent prelate was usually left in office until he died. Thus, although Hildebrand of Capua was a member of the displaced Lombard princely family and had opposed Prince Richard during the siege of 1062, he came to terms with the new prince and remained as archbishop for at least another ten years.²⁶⁸ Archbishop Alfano joined Robert Guiscard during the siege of Salerno in 1076, and his see profited thereafter from the duke's patronage.²⁶⁹ Furthermore, the Norman rulers did not automatically choose to appoint only their compatriots or fellow Frenchmen. Gregory VII authorised the translation of Bishop Ursus of Rapolla (from his name undoubtedly a Lombard) to the archbishopric of Bari in 1080 at the request of Robert Guiscard, and his close links with the ducal house were shown by a succession of diplomas from both Robert and Roger Borsa. His archdeacon, John, recorded that he was so assiduous in the service of the duke that he was often exhausted.²⁷⁰ Duke Roger also insisted upon the appointment of another Lombard cleric, Alfano (II), previously *custos* of the church of St Maximus, as archbishop of Salerno in 1087.²⁷¹ And, as we have seen, it was also Roger Borsa who selected the north Italian Gerard as bishop of Troia in 1090, albeit with the consent of the inhabitants. One suspects that it was often prudent for the ruler to respect local wishes, as with Duke Roger's agreement to the election of Elias, abbot of St Nicholas, as archbishop of Bari in 1089. 'All the clergy and people of the city of Bari elected me unanimously and with one voice,' or so the archbishop claimed.²⁷² Certainly Roger's attempt to install a Latin archbishop on the overwhelmingly Greek population at Rossano in 1093 was a complete failure. His nominee waited a year without receiving consecration, seemingly because of local opposition, and then, needing the support of the

²⁶⁸ *Reg. di S. Angelo in Formis*, 32–7 no. 11, 43–5 no. 15.

²⁶⁹ Ménager, *Recueil*, 108–13 nos. 34–5, and the funds for rebuilding the cathedral.

²⁷⁰ F. Babudri, 'Le note autobiografiche di Giovanni arcidiacono Barese e la cronologia dell'arcivescovato di Ursone a Bari', *Archivio storico pugliese* ii (1949), 134–46, especially 144.

²⁷¹ His appointment was denounced by Archbishop Hugh of Lyons, in a letter included in the Chronicle of Hugh of Flavigny, MGH SS viii.467–8. Cf. Ruggiero, *Principi, nobiltà, chiesa*, 89.

²⁷² *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.64–5 no. 34.

inhabitants against a rebellious Norman baron, the duke backed down and allowed the election of a Greek archbishop.²⁷³

If for most sees at this period we know very little about who the bishops were, we generally have even less information as to how they were chosen. The handful of brief and sketchy episcopal *vitae* that survive are of little assistance, since the authors invariably claim that their subjects, who by definition were being celebrated for their sanctity, were freely and canonically elected by the clergy and people of the see. Only the (in its present form) very late 'life' of Albert of Montecorvino mentions the role of 'the count who held the province at that time', alongside the clerics and other laity.²⁷⁴ One might suspect that the choice of the local *seigneur* was often decisive – proof, however, is lacking.

To what extent Norman or French influence permeated more widely within the Church is also unclear. Only at Aversa, and to a lesser extent at Salerno, does the available documentation allow us to go some way towards identifying the composition of the cathedral chapter in the early twelfth century. At Aversa, as one might expect, even though not all the names were clearly of French origin, quite a few of them were, and obviously Lombard ones were conspicuous by their absence. In 1104, for example, the canons who witnessed an agreement settling a legal dispute were led by the dean Fulk, and included the priests Godfrey, Peter, William, Walter and Herbert, the deacons Robert, John and Erchenbald, and the sub-deacons Arnold, Rainald and Hugh.²⁷⁵ But, as has often been said, Aversa was an exceptional case, and just as the majority of Latin bishops appear to have been Lombards, it is probable that most cathedral canons were as well. While only a handful of cathedral clergy can be identified at Salerno, they had exclusively Lombard names.²⁷⁶ So too did the vast majority of the clergy listed in the eleventh- and twelfth-century entries in the necrology of Salerno cathedral. Once again, this is what one would expect for a church ruled by Lombard archbishops.

²⁷³ *Malaterra*, IV.22, p. 100.

²⁷⁴ *Vita Alberti Episcopi Montiscorvini, Acta Sanctorum, April*, i.433. Although rewritten c. 1500, the first version of this biography was by Albert's immediate successor, Richard.

²⁷⁵ *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 22–3 no. 15.

²⁷⁶ Ursus the cleric leased cathedral land in March/May 1081, *Pergamene salernitane (1008–1784)*, ed. L. E. Pennacchini (Salerno 1941), 48–50 no. 9; Alfano, archdeacon of the cathedral and Ursus the cleric testified to the will of another cathedral cleric, Peter son of Madenolfus, Cava, in May 1094, *Arca* xv.120; Guaimar the cleric represented the cathedral in a division of land in March 1127, and Guaimar the cleric son of Jaquintus received a donation on its behalf in September 1140, Salerno, Archivio diocesano, Mensa archiepiscopalis, *Arca* I nos. 40 and 49.

If the Norman or French element among even the higher ranks of the personnel of the south Italian Church was therefore limited, there was one other aspect of that Church to which the conquerors made a considerable contribution. This was to its physical fabric. New monastic foundations of course required new buildings, even if relatively few of these now survive, especially from earthquake-prone Calabria. At Venosa, the Norman abbey replaced an early Christian basilica that had been functioning as the cathedral, therefore necessitating a new cathedral also to be built, while a generation later, probably during the rule of Abbot Berengar (1068–94), a huge new abbey church was begun, to the east of the existing one, although the very rapid decline of Venosa during the first half of the twelfth century led to it being left incomplete. The abbey's guesthouse, commenced at this period, again on a considerable scale, also survives.²⁷⁷ At St Lawrence, Aversa, there was a similar rebuilding at the end of the eleventh century, with the construction of a new abbey church commenced under Abbot Guarin (1091–1106) and completed under Abbot Matthew (1113–26).²⁷⁸ Another abbey church rebuilt and extended at the same period was that of the Holy Saviour, Telesse, an abbey almost certainly founded by the Norman counts of Caiazzo, before 1075. Here it is possible that the rebuilding followed earthquake damage in 1094.²⁷⁹ In all three of these cases, therefore, a new abbey church was begun within little more than a generation from the original foundation.

Similarly, the foundation of new bishoprics required the construction of churches to serve as their cathedrals. Albert of Montecorvino was allegedly reluctant to accept episcopal consecration because his cathedral, 'a little and incomplete Temple of the Lord', was unfinished, although he was not the first incumbent of this see (which was probably founded in the 1030s).²⁸⁰ Even in the principality of Capua, where there were fewer changes to the diocesan structure than in other regions, new cathedrals were needed at Aversa (completed during the reign of Prince Jordan I, 1078–90), and also at Carinola, to which the seat of the diocese was moved, from its previous location at Foroclaudio, by Bishop Bernard in 1094. The building of this new cathedral was marked by the translation there of relics of Saint Martin, a sixth-century local holy man, from his tomb on nearby Monte Massico. This was done, so we are told, on the advice of Bishop

²⁷⁷ Houben, *Venosa*, 127–9.

²⁷⁸ M. D'Onofrio, 'L'abbaziale normanna di S. Lorenzo ad Aversa', in *Roberto il Guiscardo tra Europa, Oriente e Mezzogiorno*, ed. C. D. Fonseca (Galatina 1990), 311–22.

²⁷⁹ L. R. Cielo, *L'abbaziale normanna di S. Salvatore de Telesia* (Naples 1995).

²⁸⁰ *Acta Sanctorum*, April, i.433.

Guimund of Aversa, and with the assistance of Bishops Falco of Calvi and Bernard of Teano – a ceremony therefore that involved a group of Norman, or presumed Norman, bishops. Carinola cathedral was probably completed by Bernard's death in 1109.²⁸¹ But the Norman/French prelates of the principality did not confine their building activity to where cathedrals were needed *de novo*. Rebuilding also took place at Capua, begun c. 1080 and completed in the time of Archbishop Otto (1119–26), at Suessa Aurunca, where the new cathedral was consecrated in 1113, and at Caserta, where work began under Bishop Rainulf (1113–26), although not completed until the mid-twelfth century.²⁸²

However, while southern Italy saw an extraordinary efflorescence of major church building during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, this cannot simply be ascribed to the Normans alone. The first and greatest prestige building project was the reconstruction of the abbey church of Montecassino by Desiderius, begun in 1066 and sufficiently far advanced to be dedicated in October 1071. The benefactions of Richard of Capua may have made financing this possible, but this was in no sense a 'Norman' building. The monks of Montecassino were overwhelmingly Lombard, as was their abbot. The inspiration that lay behind this new church was rather a return to the early Christian basilica. Late Roman styles and techniques were copied, not least in the use of mosaic, *spolia* were imported from Rome to be reused, and the inscriptions prominently displayed were copied from those in the Lateran and St Peter's.²⁸³ The new basilica at Montecassino was immensely influential, serving as the inspiration not just for new churches at Cassinese dependencies such as S. Angelo in Formis, St Benedict, Capua, and the Holy Liberator, Majella, in the Abruzzi (all of which were rebuilt under Desiderius), but for many others as well. These included Salerno cathedral, where the former Cassinese monk Alfano was archbishop, and the abbey of St Mennas, at Sant' Agata dei Goti, founded by Count Robert of Caiazzo, and dedicated by Paschal II in 1110. Both of these churches had Norman patrons. Robert Guiscard financed the rebuilding of Salerno cathedral, which may have begun after the rediscovery of the relics of Saint Matthew there in 1080.²⁸⁴

²⁸¹ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vi.466. Glass, *Romanesque Sculpture in Campania*, 40–3. The church of St Martin on Monte Massico (about 6 km from Carinola) had been a cell of St Vincent on Volturno in the tenth century, *Chron. Vult.* ii.233. It may well have been abandoned by the time of the translation.

²⁸² M. D'Onofrio, *La cattedrale di Caserta Vecchia* (Rome 1974).

²⁸³ R. Krautheimer, *Rome. Profile of a City, 312–1308* (Princeton 1980), 178–80, provides a convenient summary.

²⁸⁴ Gregory, *Reg.* VIII.8, pp. 526–7 (Cowdrey, 373–4).

The cathedral of Salerno closely resembled Montecassino. Both were basilicas with three aisles, no external transepts, no triforium level in the internal arcading, apses at the east end of each aisle, and mosaics in the apses, with an enclosed atrium outside the west front. The rebuilding of Salerno cathedral, like that of Montecassino, saw the extensive reuse of classical *spolia*, some of which came from the ruined Roman city of Pozzuoli, near Naples.²⁸⁵

Like Salerno cathedral, the abbey of St Mennas was also closely connected with Montecassino. Count Robert, a cousin of the princes of Capua, was a benefactor of the abbey of St Benedict, and when he had first had the relics translated, some years earlier, to Caiazzo, the Cassinese librarian and historian Leo Marsicanus had at his request composed a *Life* of the saint, and an account of the first translation.²⁸⁶ Among other features of Montecassino that the builders of the church of St Mennas copied was its decorative mosaic pavement, albeit in a somewhat simplified form.²⁸⁷ However, the influence of the basilica of Montecassino spread a great deal more widely than just to churches that had a direct connection with that abbey. The new cathedrals at Capua, Suessa and Caserta, and (even more surprisingly) the abbey church of St Lawrence, Aversa, all followed, to a greater or lesser extent, the architectural model of the rebuilt church of St Benedict. Capua cathedral, for example, was a three-aisled basilica with an atrium outside its west front. Thus while Norman/French prelates and patrons in the Campania commissioned new churches, they chose as their model an abbey that was essentially indigenous, and looked for inspiration to the early Christian era.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁵ Glass, *Romanesque Sculpture in Campania*, 21. A. Pantoni, 'La basilica di Montecassino e quella di Salerno', in his *Montecassino, scritti di archeologia e arte*, ed. F. Avagliano (Montecassino 1998), 195–221 (first published 1956); E. Kitzinger, 'The Gregorian Reform and the visual arts', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Ser. V.22 (1972), 87–101.

²⁸⁶ *Italia Pontificia*, ix.123. G. Orlandi, 'Vita Sancti Mennatis: opera inedita di Leone Marsicano', *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo, accademia di scienze e lettere* 97 (1963), 467–90; B. de Gaiffier, 'Translations et miracles de S. Mennas par Léon d'Ostie et Pierre du Mont Cassin', *Analecta Bollandiana* 62 (1944), 5–32. In 1093 Robert advised Richard II of Capua to make a donation to S. Angelo in Formis, and in January 1105 he gave the town of Pontecorvo to Montecassino, *Regesto di S. Angelo in Formis*, 84–6 no. 28, Gattula, *Accessiones*, 222–3.

²⁸⁷ Bloch, *Monte Casino in the Middle Ages*, 49–51.

²⁸⁸ For this, and much of what follows, there is a useful short guide by M. D'Onofrio, 'Il Panorama della architettura religiosa', in the exhibition catalogue *I Normanni, Popolo d'Europa 1030–1200*, ed. M. D'Onofrio (Venice 1994), 199–207. See also M. D'Onofrio, 'Comparaisons entre quelques édifices de style normand de l'Italie méridionale et du royaume de France aux XIe et XIIe siècles', in *Les Normands en Méditerranée dans le sillage de Tancrede*, ed. P. Bouet and F. Neveux (Caen 1994), 179–201, and G. Coppola, *L'architettura dell'Italia meridionale in età normanna (secoli XI–XII)* (Naples 2005), which has excellent plans and illustrations.

There were other new churches in southern Italy that did look to French models. Aversa cathedral, with its eastern ambulatory and radiating chapels, was one, although the closest direct French parallels were not necessarily Norman. If anything the architecture here resembles churches in Poitou, although the rib vaulting in the ambulatory has some Norman parallels. A more obviously 'Norman' church was the abbey of the Holy Saviour, Telesse (although built for the same patron as the abbey of St Mennas, and at about the same time, the style was totally different). In southern Apulia, both the abbey church at Venosa and Acerenza cathedral, probably commenced after 1090, but still in the time of the (presumed) Frenchman Archbishop Arnold, were also 'French' churches architecturally. Like many contemporary churches in Normandy, notably Jumièges and William the Conqueror's abbeys at Caen, Acerenza cathedral had a monumental westwork, although the actual design does not resemble any of these churches very closely. However, the cushion capitals at Acerenza and the rib vault in its choir do have considerable affinities with Norman work. At Anglona cathedral, another church with a westwork, built soon after 1100, the sculpture on the exterior arcade of the entrance porch has close stylistic links with a number of twelfth-century churches in the Calvados region of central Normandy.²⁸⁹ Some of the Norman foundations in Calabria also reflect direct influence from the duchy: S. Maria Rocella, near Catanzaro, appears very similar to Bernay, and this Norman abbey may also have influenced the design of Roger I's abbey at Mileto (although here later earthquake damage has left only a few remains of the original church).

The principal architectural model in coastal Apulia was the church of St Nicholas at Bari, built to house the relics of the saint transported from Myra in Asia Minor by Bariot sailors in 1087. Work was sufficiently far advanced for the relics to be interred in the crypt of the new church and dedicated by Pope Urban II in October 1089, even if completion of the whole complex was to take most of the twelfth century.²⁹⁰ The early stages of the construction were certainly favoured by Duke Roger Borsa and Bohemond, both of whom made gifts to the new church, and indeed Urban II recorded that he came to Bari for the ceremony in 1089 at their request. But Bari was not in any sense a 'Norman' town, and after the deaths of Roger and Bohemond in 1111, it escaped entirely from Norman

²⁸⁹ D'Onofrio, 'Comparaisons entre quelques édifices', 197–200.

²⁹⁰ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.61–3 no. 33. G. Cioffari, *Storia della basilica di S. Nicola di Bari*, i. *Epoca normanna sveva* (Bari 1984), especially 71–6.

rule. However, the architecture of St Nicholas showed significant resemblances to Norman churches. The use of alternating columns and pillars in the nave was reminiscent of Norman churches, and in particular the nave arcade with its triforium has similarities to the abbey church at Jumièges. St Nicholas, Bari, was probably the work of local Lombard craftsmen, yet they sought to imitate a Norman style.²⁹¹ In turn the design of St Nicholas was widely imitated up and down the Adriatic coast of Apulia over the next half-century or more.

Therefore, while there were instances of Norman or French prelates and Norman patrons building Norman/French Romanesque churches, the boost that the ecclesiastical changes of the Norman conquest gave to church building did not follow a clear pattern. In the principality of Capua, the cultural influence of Montecassino was more important, even for churches with Norman bishops, than any French tradition. Aversa cathedral was the exception, not the rule. In the principality of Salerno the key figure behind the foundation of new bishoprics was the Lombard Archbishop Alfano, the friend and collaborator of Desiderius of Montecassino. But in coastal Apulia, even though French bishops were rare, Norman architecture had considerable influence, at least at second hand, mediated through St Nicholas, Bari. In fact, the architectural influences on southern Italy were eclectic, and may quite possibly reflect the availability of skilled craftsmen, as well as the wishes of patrons and prelates. It is difficult otherwise to explain why, for example, the early twelfth-century sculptures at Alife cathedral should resemble those of S. Pietro Ciel d'Oro at Pavia, in Lombardy.²⁹² There were also other possible external influences. Thus Troia cathedral, completed c. 1125 for a see whose bishops from 1059 onwards were all but one French, and the cathedral of Siponto closely resemble the contemporary cathedral at Pisa (consecrated 1118), for example in the use of external blind arcading, engaged pillars and capitals, and polychromatic decoration. This style was in turn copied in a number of other churches, notably Benevento cathedral. It has been plausibly suggested that the most likely means of transmission for such a style came from the papal court, for papal councils were held at Troia in 1093, 1115 and 1120, and the archbishop of Siponto from 1100 to c. 1116 was the former cardinal Albert of Piacenza.²⁹³ But, as

²⁹¹ E. Bertaux, *L'Art dans l'Italie méridionale* (Paris 1903), 336–8.

²⁹² Bertaux, *L'Art*, 352–6. Glass, *Romanesque Sculpture in Campania*, 54–60.

²⁹³ E. M. Jamison, "Pisan" churches of the Via Traiana', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, n.s. 35 (1930), 163–88.

Paul Oldfield has recently and perceptively pointed out, building a cathedral in a crowded urban centre was more than just a matter of episcopal initiative and cultural influence; it required also the co-operation of the community, in providing labour, and especially selling or exchanging properties to clear the site. It was a civic as well as clerical enterprise.²⁹⁴ Thus, even in the relatively immediate aftermath of the conquest, and before the era of the great royal religious foundations in Sicily, where Greek and Muslim influence played so significant a part, the churches of mainland Norman Italy reveal quite how varied an environment had developed there. And the very act of building new churches was a symptom of how townsmen and higher clergy (some of whom might indeed be of foreign origin) were blending together to create a sense of community and common destiny.

The foregoing discussion has been an attempt to assess what the impact of the Normans was on the south Italian Church, both at the time of the conquest and subsequently up to the creation of the Sicilian monarchy in 1130. Yet although some scholars have argued that a sense of ethnic distinction between Lombard and Norman continued, and remained a significant factor in south Italian society until probably the late twelfth century,²⁹⁵ this view is fundamentally misleading. The contemporary evidence, and particularly that drawn from the principality of Salerno, around which much of the debate has been concerned, suggests that the distinction between Normans and natives was becoming much less important, and even blurred, by the 1120s and 1130s. Intermarriage was the most obvious agent of such a change. Many 'Normans' in the early twelfth century had Lombard mothers, and the surviving Lombard nobles were often fathers-in-law or brothers-in-law of Normans/Frenchmen. When, for example, in 1103 Gregory of Capaccio, made a formal division of some property held in common between him and the abbey of Cava, he recorded that he had been given it by his sister's husband Tancred de Hauteville, son of Geoffrey, a member of the ducal kin.²⁹⁶ His nephew Pandulf was married to the sister of the Norman William de Mannia, and Gregory

²⁹⁴ Oldfield, 'Rural settlement and economic development', 332.

²⁹⁵ E. Cuzzo, 'À propos de la coexistence entre Normands et Lombards dans le royaume de Sicile. La révolte féodale de 1160–1162', in *Peuples du Moyen Âge. Problèmes d'identification*, ed. C. Carozzi and H. Taviani-Carozzi (Aix-en-Provence 1996), 45–56; J. Drell, 'Cultural syncretism and ethnic identity: the Norman "conquest" of Southern Italy and Sicily', *Journal of Medieval History* 25 (1999), 187–202; J. Drell, *Kinship and Conquest. Family Strategies in the Principality of Salerno during the Norman Period, 1077–1194* (Ithaca (NY) 2002), especially 125–46.

²⁹⁶ Cava, *Arca* xvii.84.

himself was married to the daughter of a prominent Norman vassal of the S. Severino family.²⁹⁷

Norman lords also used Lombard officials, such as Pandulf the *strategotus*, who witnessed a charter of Count William the Principate in 1107,²⁹⁸ and Normans and Lombards interacted on both political and personal occasions. Lampus of Fasanella, an undoubted Lombard, son of a Count Guaiferius and married to a woman from the former princely kin, was one of those who witnessed the pledge by Count Nicholas of the principate to fulfil the terms of his father's will in 1128. Similarly, in February 1109 in Salerno two Lombards, both sons of 'counts', but from the urban patriciate rather than the landed aristocracy, formally testified to the terms of the will of Adelmus *normannus*, who had been the brother-in-law to one of them.²⁹⁹ Adelmus was still calling himself 'the Norman'. But, as time went on, such identification became less common. For a while we find people described as 'son of so-and-so the Norman', but not as 'the Norman' themselves, then even this usage died out. Given the propensity for intermarriage, inevitable since most of the newcomers were men, and that such immigration became much less frequent after 1100, and probably ceased entirely within one or two decades thereafter, any sense of *normannitas* soon became diluted. By the 1140s, at the latest, the distinction had ceased to matter.³⁰⁰ By then the conquest was only a distant memory. Furthermore, the creation of the new kingdom of Sicily had created new tensions, to which a sense of ethnic identity was irrelevant. So, if much of this chapter has been about Normans/Frenchmen and Lombards, relatively little of what follows will be, at least with regard to southern Italy in the twelfth century. For, in a very real sense, the 'Norman kingdom of Sicily' was not 'Norman' at all.

²⁹⁷ Loud, 'Continuity and change', 325, 331. ²⁹⁸ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* E.5.

²⁹⁹ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* F.45, *Arca* xviii.71. ³⁰⁰ Loud, *Age of Robert Guiscard*, 284–9.

The papacy and the rulers of southern Italy

While there had always been some contact between the papacy and south Italian rulers, until the pontificate of Leo IX this had been intermittent and infrequent.¹ In the years before 915 the popes had made some efforts to persuade the local rulers of the south to combine together against the Muslims, but thereafter there was little direct contact, with the exception of John XIII's visit to Capua in 966. In the wake of this visit there was, however, slightly more communication with south Italian churchmen than there had been hitherto. The creation of the new archbishoprics at Capua, Benevento and Salerno from 966 onwards led to some granting of privileges, confirming the rights and claims of these sees, and south Italian ecclesiastics were occasionally to be found at Rome. Thus the archbishop of Capua and one of his subordinate bishops had attended a Roman synod in 999, and the abbots of both Montecassino and St Vincent on Volturno, and probably also the archbishop of Benevento, attended the imperial coronation of the Emperor Henry II in 1014.² However, such contacts were still exceptional, not routine, and were anyway limited to the higher clergy of the Lombard principalities of Campania. There was virtually no communication between the popes and the rest of the region. The early medieval papacy was an essentially passive institution that reigned over the Church as its titular leader rather than ruled it in any meaningful governmental sense. There was no regular involvement by the popes in the affairs of the south Italian Church, and above all popes hardly ever visited southern Italy. Benedict VIII accompanied Henry II's expedition in 1022, but this was the first visit of a pontiff to the south for more than half a century. It was not repeated until Clement II came with the Emperor Henry III at

¹ This chapter draws upon G. A. Loud, 'The papacy and the rulers of southern Italy, 1058–1198', in *The Society of Norman Italy*, 151–84, although the two studies are by no means identical.

² Above, p. 35. 1014: *Chron. Cas.* II.31, p. 223; *Chron. Vulg.* iii.10; *Più antiche carte di Benevento*, 93–6 no. 31.

the beginning of 1047, and since this expedition remained in the south for little more than a month, the pope's presence cannot have had much impact.

This situation changed abruptly with the accession of Leo IX to the Apostolic See in 1048. Leo had a much more dynamic concept of the responsibilities of his office than his predecessors, and furthermore was particularly concerned with the situation in southern Italy. He was, as his biographer stated, anxious 'to restore the Christian religion, which seemed almost to have perished in that land', and 'to establish harmony between the natives of that region and the Normans'.³ He was also, as we have seen, concerned especially with Benevento, whose citizens had recognised him as their ruler in the early months of 1051. Leo visited the south for the first time in April 1050, going to Benevento and the shrine of St Michael on Monte Gargano, and holding synods at both Salerno and Siponto. He returned in each of the three following years. Before Leo's pontificate the activities of the Normans had been of little concern to the papacy. It is possible, as some scholars have suggested, largely on the basis of the *Chronicle* of Radulf Glaber, that Benedict VIII may have been a party to the Apulian rebellion of 1017, no doubt in the hope that the expulsion of the Byzantines from that region would lead to its churches once again becoming subject to direct papal jurisdiction, as had been the case in the dim and distant past before the Iconoclast schism.⁴ But the recognition of papal authority over the archbishopric and province of Bari in 1025 (assuming that this bull is genuine), surely with the sanction, or at least the knowledge, of the Byzantine administration, removed much of the grievance,⁵ and there is no evidence of further contact between the Normans and subsequent popes until Leo's arrival in the south.

Leo's attempts at pacification, 'attempting by all possible means to check the extreme savagery and fury of the Normans', proved unsuccessful, and ultimately led him to mount his military expedition against them in 1053, which was disastrously defeated at Civitate. According to Amatus, the Norman leaders had tried to avert a battle by requesting that the pope grant them the lands that they possessed to be held as papal vassals, for which they would pay tribute, but this offer was spurned. Malaterra went

³ *Pontificum Romanorum Vitae*, ii.58.

⁴ Radulfus Glaber, *Opera*, ed. J. France, N. Bulst and P. Reynolds (Oxford 1989), 96–9. E. Joranson, 'The inception of the career of the Normans in Italy – legend and history', *Speculum* 23 (1948), esp. 373–4; J. France, 'The occasion of the coming of the Normans to Italy', *Journal of Medieval History* 17 (1991), 198–201.

⁵ Above, p. 38.

further, and alleged that in the aftermath of the battle Leo did indeed grant their lands to them, along with whatever conquests they might make in future, to be held as a hereditary fief (*haereditalis feudum*) from St Peter.⁶ However, no other source confirms this, and it is probable that the Catania chronicler, writing in the late 1090s, was confusing what happened in 1053 with the later investiture by Nicholas II some six years later. Whether Amatus was also influenced by hindsight in his discussion of these events cannot be determined. But while both his account and that of Leo's biographer stressed that after the battle the Normans treated Leo with respect, and escorted him to Benevento, where he remained for almost a year, there is nothing in these or other sources to suggest that as a consequence of the defeat Leo did sanction the Norman conquests. After his death, there was a considerable vacancy, and then two German popes, who had little reason to love the Normans. Amatus, indeed, suggested that Frederick of Lorraine (Stephen IX) was bitterly hostile to them, both as papal chancellor under Leo and during his brief pontificate (August 1057–March 1058).⁷ And yet the election of Bishop Gerard of Florence as Pope Nicholas II in January 1059 led to what was nothing short of a revolution in papal attitudes towards southern Italy, and to the alliance with the south Italian Norman leaders that was to be a keystone of papal policy for more than sixty years. In the spring of 1059 the Roman arch-deacon Hildebrand (the future Gregory VII) visited Capua, either recognised Richard of Aversa as its *de facto* ruler or formally invested him as prince, and received an oath of fealty from him to the Roman Church and to Nicholas as pope. Subsequently, during the summer of 1059, the pope travelled to southern Italy, and during his synod at Melfi (Robert Guiscard's principal base in inland Apulia) in August he invested him as 'by the grace of God and Saint Peter Duke of Apulia, Calabria, and in future with the help of both of Sicily'.⁸

There were several reasons for such a change of policy, but all were essentially pragmatic. In part, it was a recognition of reality, that the Norman conquerors were in southern Italy to stay, and it was therefore in the interests of Christendom for the popes to work with their leaders, and enlist them on the side of Church rather than against it. This would facilitate the reform of the south Italian Church – according to William of Apulia, Nicholas used the council at Melfi to preach the virtues of clerical

⁶ Amatus, III.39, p. 153; Malaterra, I.14, p. 15. ⁷ Amatus, III.39, 50, pp. 154, 166–7.

⁸ *Annales Romani*, in *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne (2 vols., Paris 1886–92), ii.335. *Le Liber Censuum de l'Église Romaine*, ed. P. Fabre and L. Duchesne (Paris 1889–1952), i.422.

celibacy and to threaten the unchaste with excommunication.⁹ It also enabled the papacy to vindicate its jurisdictional claims over those churches in the former Byzantine lands: Duke Robert promised that 'all churches which lie under my lordship, with their possessions, I transfer into your power'. And it is clear from the title that Robert adopted in this oath that the invasion of Sicily was already contemplated, and hence the return of the island to Christian rule. Furthermore the *census* or annual rent that Robert agreed to pay was a small but useful contribution to papal finances, which had been seriously disrupted by the problems that had faced the popes of the reform party in controlling the lands around Rome in the years since 1046.

Above all, the alliance with the Norman leaders answered the immediate need of the reformers at Rome for military assistance. For Nicholas II had faced a rival pontiff, indeed one who had been installed as pope some months before he was, who had been chosen by the Roman nobility. These last resented their loss of control over the papacy to the benefit of the reform party, supported by the German court. With the influence of the imperial court much diminished through the death of the Emperor Henry III and the minority of his son, the Roman nobles now took the opportunity once again to appoint their own pope, Benedict X. The reformers had first looked to the support of Godfrey of Lorraine, margrave of Tuscany, the brother of the previous pope Stephen IX, but while he had helped to install Nicholas in Rome, he had then retired to the north with the job half done and the rival pope still at large and his supporters undefeated. Hence, when archdeacon Hildebrand approached Richard of Capua, the *quid pro quo* for the papal recognition that he had offered to the new prince was a force of 300 Norman troops, with whose help the Roman nobles were coerced and the 'anti-pope' arrested. Nicholas and his advisers consolidated this victory with two further measures: first the so-called 'papal election decree' of April 1059, that placed the election of future popes in the hands of the cardinals (and especially in those of the seven cardinal bishops), to the exclusion of lay participation, and secondly the agreement with Robert Guiscard in August of that year. For the key clause in that agreement was that Robert pledged himself to assist 'the better cardinals, Roman clergy and laymen' (in other words the reformers) in future papal elections. While in fact when Nicholas died in 1061 Duke Robert was busy with the invasion of Sicily and played no part in the enthronement of his successor, Richard of Capua did – indeed without his

⁹ *W. Apulia*, II lines 388–99, pp. 152–4.

troops the ceremony would not have been possible – and on that occasion swore an identical oath to the new ‘reform’ pope, Alexander II.¹⁰

For the Norman rulers, this papal recognition provided them with legitimisation for their regimes, and thus had obvious utility, although neither Robert nor Richard was in any sense dependent on papal approval. Both were already in power, even if neither was as yet fully in control of all the dominions that they theoretically claimed. Indeed, of our main near-contemporary sources, neither Amatus of Montecassino nor Malaterra even mentioned Robert’s investiture by the pope at Melfi, instead associating his adoption of the ducal title with the acclamation by his army after the capture of Reggio, which probably took place only in the spring of 1060.¹¹ Meanwhile, it is probable that the Norman princes of Capua adopted the inauguration rituals and public ceremonial of their Lombard predecessors. When Richard I took Capua in 1058 the citizens ‘consecrated him as prince’ (*sacrant in principem*).¹² Soon afterwards, probably in November 1058, he visited Montecassino and was greeted with the princely *laudes* – the ceremonial chants of acclamation.¹³ All this took place before Archdeacon Hildebrand’s visit to Capua initiated contact with the papacy. Nor was it ever made explicit by what right the papacy could invest the Norman rulers with their lands. While the popes were, for example, aware of the theoretical justification of the ‘Donation of Constantine’, this was never expressly cited with regard to southern Italy, nor is it clear that, at first, imperial claims to overlordship over the region (which had after all been put into practice as recently as 1047) were thereby disregarded. Benevento had, after all, been treated as, effectively, an imperial-papal condominium between 1051 and the death of Leo IX. Guiscard’s oath in 1059 envisaged the possibility of him swearing fealty to an (unnamed) third party, albeit ‘saving [my] fealty to the Holy Roman Church’. The only such third party who could have been envisaged was surely the emperor; and in 1073, when Richard of Capua swore a fresh oath of fealty to Gregory VII the possibility that he might also at some future time swear fealty to Henry IV was expressly mentioned.¹⁴ Obviously

¹⁰ *Liber Censusum*, ii.93–4. See Loud, *Age of Robert Guiscard*, 186–94, with a translation of Robert’s oath at 188–9. For the 1059 papal election decree, and the problems associated with it, see especially D. Jasper, *Das Papstwahldekret von 1059. Überlieferung und Textgestalt* (Sigmaringen 1986).

¹¹ *Amatus*, IV.3, p. 184; *Malaterra*, I.35, pp. 23–4.

¹² *Chron. Cas.* III.15, p. 379.

¹³ *Amatus*, IV.13, p. 191. See more generally, H. Hoffmann, ‘Langobarden, Normannen, Päpste. Zum Legitimationsproblem in Unteritalien’, *QFIAB* 58 (1978), 144–7, although as Hoffmann points out, the exact nature of Lombard inauguration ceremonies is difficult to determine.

¹⁴ Gregory, *Reg.* I.21a, pp. 35–6. See P. F. Kehr, *Die Belehnungen der süditalienischen Normannfürsten durch die Päpste, 1059–1192* (Berlin 1934), 15–19; D. R. Clementi, ‘The relations between the papacy,

such a possibility was no longer envisaged once relations had broken down between Pope Gregory and Henry IV, as they did with the former's excommunication of the German ruler at the papal Lenten synod of 1076, but this does not necessarily mean that it had never been considered feasible. Gregory had, after all, as recently as December 1074, contemplated entrusting King Henry with guardianship over the whole Church while he led an expedition to the east to assist the embattled Byzantine empire against the Turks.¹⁵

Two further aspects of this issue need to be considered. First, it was also possible for direct papal overlordship to come about through the deliberate action of a ruler voluntarily submitting to a pope, without there necessarily being any overt precedent, although once such a submission had taken place it was itself a precedent for the future. This was, for example, the case with the kingdom of Hungary, where papal claims of overlordship were based on the submission of King Stephen to the Roman see c. 1000.¹⁶ Similarly, while there was a precedent for papal rule over Benevento in the citizens' submission to Pope Leo in 1051, as well as in Charlemagne's grant of authority over the duchy to Pope Adrian I in 774, the direct ownership of that town by the Apostolic see was to stem from the voluntary submission and fealty of its last prince, Landulf VI, to Gregory VII when the latter visited Benevento in August 1073.¹⁷ One could therefore suggest that what was important about the fealty and investiture of Robert Guiscard and Richard of Capua was that they *chose* to become papal vassals, rather than any possible theoretical basis the papacy might have had for a claim to overlordship. It was in these terms that, according to Amatus of Montecassino (who, it should be noted, was writing very soon after the event), Robert Guiscard rejected the German ruler's offer to invest him with southern Italy in 1076:

Because I have had the help of God, and Saints Peter and Paul, to whom all the world is subject, have prayed to God on my behalf, I willingly submit myself to their vicar, the pope, with all the land that I have conquered. I wish to receive this

the Western Roman Empire and the emergent kingdom of Sicily and south Italy (1050–1156)', *BISIME* 80 (1968), 191–2; J. Deér, *Papsttum und Normannen. Untersuchungen zu ihren lehnsrechtlichen und kirchenpolitischen Beziehungen* (Cologne–Vienna, 1972), 87–90; I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073–1198. Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge 1990), 309–10, 376–7; and especially Loud, 'The papacy and the rulers of southern Italy', 153–7.

¹⁵ Gregory, *Reg.* II.31, p. 167 (Cowdrey, 123).

¹⁶ H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073–85* (Oxford 1998), 645, cf. Gregory, *Reg.* II.13, pp. 144–6 (Cowdrey, 108).

¹⁷ Gregory, *Reg.* I.18a, p. 30. For the background to this, O. Vehse 'Benevent als Territorium des Kirchenstaats bis zum Beginn der avignonischen Epoche, (Part I) Bis zum Ausgang der normannischen Dynastie', *QFIAB* 22 (1930–1), 99–107. Deér, *Papsttum und Normannen*, 59–60.

from the pope so that the power of God can guard me from the malice of the Saracens and overcome the pride of foreigners.¹⁸

Secondly, although cast in the form of vassalic oaths, the agreements between the south Italian rulers and the papacy were in fact treaties, mutually advantageous to both sides. The Normans were not dependent on papal approval for the possession of their lands, nor was papal investiture necessary for the succession of a new ruler. Indeed, until at least the early years of the twelfth century, the popes needed the support of the south Italian rulers more than the latter needed papal approbation. Capuan troops aided the reformers at Rome in 1059 and 1061, in the latter instance under the personal command of Prince Richard. Although Gregory VII excommunicated Robert Guiscard in 1074, after a breakdown in relations caused primarily by the latter's territorial ambitions, and the duke remained under excommunication for some six years, he never sought to invalidate Robert's right to rule, or to encourage his subjects to find an alternative ruler – in direct contrast to his policy towards the similarly excommunicated Henry IV of Germany. Instead Gregory continued to seek a settlement with the duke of Apulia, not least because of the growing crisis in his relations with the king of Germany. Soon after his first excommunication of King Henry, in March 1076, Gregory sent a message via the archbishop of Acerenza: 'if therefore Duke Robert is ready to behave as a son should to the Roman Church, then I am ready to receive him with paternal love.'¹⁹ In 1080, after his second and final excommunication of Henry IV had precipitated a schism and open war within Christendom, he was prepared to make significant concessions, tacitly, if reluctantly, accepting Guiscard's territorial gains at the expense of the papacy and its allies, in order to secure a settlement and the political and military aid he needed.²⁰ The reasons why are clear. Soon after he had made peace with Duke Robert in June 1080, Gregory wrote to encourage those faithful to St Peter and to announce an expedition against Ravenna, the base of the anti-pope Guibert. The first item in his announcement was that the Norman leaders had promised their support. While in the event this did not immediately materialise, Gregory still looked southwards for military support. Writing to congratulate Robert Guiscard on his victory over the Byzantine emperor outside Durazzo in October 1081, he reminded the duke

¹⁸ *Amatus*, VII.27, pp. 320–1. Deér, *Papsttum und Normannen*, 117–19, suggests that this passage shows that Guiscard believed he held his lands from God alone, although as Hoffmann, 'Langobarden, Normannen, Päpste', 140, notes, such an interpretation is not convincing. Its significance is surely rather that the relationship with the papacy was one freely entered into.

¹⁹ Gregory, *Reg.* III.11, pp. 271–2 (Cowdrey, 193–4), my translation.

²⁰ Loud, *Age of Robert Guiscard*, 205–7.

of his promise to aid and defend the Roman Church, and urged him not to delay further in coming to its assistance.²¹ Tardy as Robert's help was, he did eventually rescue the pope from the Castel Sant'Angelo, where he had taken refuge from his enemies after Henry IV secured entry to Rome in 1084, even if the resulting fighting and the behaviour of his troops was such that it made Gregory's continued residence in the city impossible.²² The pope then took refuge in southern Italy, where he died in May 1085.

The subsequent, very belated, election of Abbot Desiderius of Montecassino as Gregory's successor was carried out under the protection, and with the encouragement of, Duke Roger Borsa and Jordan I of Capua, and the eventual coronation of Pope Victor (as he became) in Rome was only possible because of the military protection of Capuan troops, who seized St Peter's from the forces of the anti-pope Guibert (Clement III).²³ Admittedly Victor's successor, Urban II, elected at Terracina in March 1088, was reluctant to rely on south Italian help to regain Rome, but this would seem to have been because he was conscious of how much the Romans hated the Normans after the sack of 1084.²⁴ However, this was by no means the end of Norman assistance to the papacy. Count Roger of Sicily sent a substantial sum of money to Paschal II on the latter's accession in 1099 (as a gift pure and simple, not from any obligation).²⁵ Roger Borsa besieged Benevento in 1101, not as his father had done (in 1077) to try to seize the town for himself, but to force the citizens once again to accept papal rule, while in 1108–9 Prince Robert I of Capua assisted Paschal II in his attempts to enforce his authority in the southern part of the papal Campagna, where the pope was facing a serious revolt.²⁶ In 1110 Paschal

²¹ Gregory, *Reg.* VIII.7, IX.17, pp. 524–5, 597–8 (Cowdrey, 372–3, 417).

²² 'But the indiscipline of the Normans had caused a great deal of harm and given the captured city over to plunder. The daughters of noble Romans had been dishonoured, and they had caused equal harm to others, both those just as innocent and those guilty alike – as is the custom of victors the Normans were busy with every sort of rape, cruelty and plunder. As a result the pope was afraid that once the duke withdrew the Romans would once more be faithless, indeed to a much greater extent. Since those whom he had earlier trusted as faithful friends had turned out not to be trustworthy, he decided to leave for a time and took himself to Salerno.' Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, MGH SS viii.462. Even if one accepts the arguments of Louis I. Hamilton, 'Memory, symbol and arson. Was Rome "sacked" in 1084?', *Speculum* 78 (2003), 378–99, that the fires set by Robert's troops caused less widespread damage than some commentators then and later claimed, such behaviour still did little to commend Gregory to the Romans.

²³ See especially Cowdrey, *Age of Abbot Desiderius*, 177–213, and *Chron. Cas.* III.68–9, pp. 450–2.

²⁴ P. F. Kehr, 'Due documenti pontifici illustranti la storia di Roma negli ultimi anni del secolo xi', *Archivio della reale società romana di storia patria* 23 (1900), 277–80.

²⁵ *Liber Pontificalis*, ii.297.

²⁶ For which, P. Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter* (London 1972), 142–4; C. Servatius, *Paschalis II. (1099–1118). Studien zur seiner Personen und seiner Politik* (Stuttgart 1979), 76–7.

secured pledges from both the prince and the duke to provide military assistance against the forthcoming expedition to Rome of the German king Henry V, and while the death of Roger Borsa prevented any help coming from Apulia, Prince Robert did send some 300 knights to help the pope, even if this force was too small to have any effect against a massive imperial army.²⁷ The provisions for military assistance in the agreement of 1059 thus remained an important consideration for the papacy for the next half-century.

Furthermore, southern Italy provided help for the reform papacy in other ways too. Not only did Gregory VII take refuge there in 1084, and Victor III retire back to Montecassino immediately after his coronation as pope, but both Urban II and Paschal II spent substantial parts of their pontificates in the south. Early on in his pontificate (probably in the last months of 1089) Urban travelled as far as Sicily for a meeting with Count Roger I.²⁸ In all he spent a third of his pontificate in southern Italy, and his presence there was especially marked in the five and three-quarter years, up to the end of 1093, during which he spent almost exactly half his time (33 months) in the south. For much of this period the anti-pope Clement III was in Rome, and his supporters still retained control of parts of the City until the late 1090s. Even the Lateran palace, the traditional home for the papal administration, remained in the hands of Clement's partisans until 1094. During his travels in the south Urban held councils at Melfi in September 1089, Benevento in February 1091, Troia in February 1093, and Bari in October 1098. By contrast, he was unable to hold a council in Rome until 1097.²⁹ If the situation in Rome was somewhat more satisfactory under Paschal II, parts of the Roman Campagna, including the seats of several of the cardinal bishops, were still held by erstwhile supporters of Clement and of the anti-popes who succeeded him until the early 1100s.³⁰ Consequently Paschal also spent considerable time in the south, especially at Benevento, which he visited eight times during the course of his long pontificate. Seven of his fifteen known councils were held in southern Italy (four of them in Benevento), and as late as 1117 he took

²⁷ *Chronicon Ignoti Monachi Cisterciensis Sanctae Mariae de Ferraria*, ed. A. Gaudenzi (Naples 1888), 15 (based upon a now-lost section of the *Chronicle* of Falco of Benevento); *Liber Pontificalis*, ii.299–300; *Chron. Cas.* IV.35, 39, pp. 500, 507; *Annales Ceccanenses*, MGH SS xix.282.

²⁸ *Malaterra*, IV.13, pp. 92–3. For the date, A. Becker, *Papst Urban II. (1088–1099)* (2 vols., Stuttgart 1964–88), ii.66–7.

²⁹ H. Houben, 'Urban II e i normanni', in his *Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo. Monasteri e castelli, ebrei e musulmani* (Naples 1996), 115–43, especially 134–43, with maps and detailed itineraries. For Rome at this period, Becker, *Papst Urban II.*, i.98–103; Partner, *Lands of St. Peter*, 138–40.

³⁰ Servatius, *Paschalis II.*, 42–3.

refuge in the south when the Emperor Henry V approached Rome with an army.³¹ Gelasius II, the former papal chancellor John of Gaeta, who had once been a monk at Montecassino, was elected pope at a council held in his home town in January 1118, attended by (among others) nine south Italian archbishops. His subsequent excommunication of the emperor was issued from Capua on 7 April 1118.³²

Given that the reforming popes after Gregory VII all faced opposition from within the Church and from imperially sponsored anti-popes, not the least importance of southern Italy to their cause was the swelling of ranks at their councils by the numerous prelates from the south, whose attendance was undoubtedly facilitated by the alliance with the local rulers. Such numbers helped to give the appearance of success, and even of legitimacy, to the 'Gregorian' popes. There were, for example, some 70 bishops and 12 abbots present at the Council of Melfi in 1089, where Urban II promulgated wide-ranging reforming legislation about such issues as penance, the canonical age for ordinations and clerical dress, as well as conducting important negotiations concerning the Greek clergy now under Norman rule.³³ One record of the synod at Benevento in 1091 claimed rhetorically that there were so many bishops and abbots there that they were difficult to count.³⁴ The English writer William of Malmesbury noted the significant south Italian attendance at Paschall II's Roman council of 1112.³⁵ Furthermore south Italians played a significant role at the Papal court. Not only were there the two popes from the region, Victor III and Gelasius II, but they had before their elections been among a number of south Italian cardinals, especially but not exclusively from Montecassino. While the pontificate of Gelasius may admittedly have been brief and troubled, as papal chancellor from 1089 onwards he had been a key figure at the Curia for almost 30 years before his election. And from 1102/7 until his death in 1115 another former monk of Montecassino, the abbey chronicler Leo Marsicanus, was Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, the senior among the seven cardinal bishops.³⁶

³¹ Vehse, 'Benevent als Territorium des Kirchenstaats', 116–22; Robinson, *Papacy 1073–1198*, 127 (who suggests four out of twelve councils), but cf. Servatius, *Paschalis II.*, 99; Partner, *Lands of St. Peter*, 153–4.

³² *Liber Pontificalis*, ii.314–15; *Chron. Cas.* IV.64, p. 526; Ekkehard, *Chronicon Universale*, MGH SS vi.254.

³³ R. Somerville, *Pope Urban II, the Collectio Britannica and the Council of Melfi (1089)* (Oxford 1996), especially 169, 178 for the numbers.

³⁴ Mansi, *Concilia*, xx.738.

³⁵ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom (Oxford 1998), i. 772–3.

³⁶ R. Hüls, *Kardinäle, Klerus und Kirchen Roms 1049–1130* (Tübingen 1977), 105–6, 231–2.

Suppositions that papal policy towards the new Norman rulers of southern Italy was founded upon an intention to 'divide and rule' them, or that the popes regarded the investiture of these rulers as a conditional and revocable grant, that might or might not be renewed to successive Norman leaders as they saw fit, are not supported by the evidence, although both these viewpoints have been suggested by modern historians.³⁷ Even when relations were poor, as in 1074 when Gregory VII proposed to lead an expedition to the south against the recently excommunicated Robert Guiscard, his intention, so he himself stated, was not 'to bring this force of fighting men together for the sacrifice of Christian blood, but in order that our enemies . . . may fear to join battle and be more easily won over to the right side', and that the south Italian Normans might then be enlisted in his eventual aim of bringing aid to the Byzantine empire in its struggle against Turkish attacks.³⁸ Gregory and his successors needed the united support of their south Italian allies, and after 1089 the popes did their best to prop up the increasingly problematic regime of the dukes of Apulia by the proclamation of the Truce of God. This was not an attempt to undermine their rule, far from it, and Dukes Roger and William were present at each of the four councils where the Truce was proclaimed (at Melfi in 1089, and Troia in 1093, 1115 and 1120). Duke Roger was also present at the council that Urban II held at Bari in the first week of October 1098. The discussion of Latin-Greek relations there was, given the nature of his dominions, a matter of considerable concern to him. And earlier in that year Urban had been among the duke's army when he besieged Capua, to restore Prince Richard II to his titular capital.³⁹

It did indeed become customary for each new Norman ruler to renew his oath of fealty to each successive pope and to receive investiture of his lands from him. But such a ceremony was not a prerequisite for him to be a legitimate ruler, and might be delayed for some years before it took place. Robert Guiscard apparently received investiture from Alexander II, although we know of such a ceremony only from retrospective mentions, but this cannot have taken place before the summer of 1067, the only time when these two met face-to-face, by which time Alexander had already been pope for six years.⁴⁰ Similarly, Urban II invested

³⁷ The former by Cowdrey, *Age of Abbot Desiderius*, 121–5, the latter view by Deér, *Papsttum und Normannen*, followed by a number of historians, notably Robinson, *Papacy 1073–1198*, 367–74.

³⁸ Gregory, *Reg.* I.46, pp. 70–1 (Cowdrey, 50–1).

³⁹ For the siege of Capua and the Council of Bari, *Malaterra*, IV.27–8, p. 106; *The Life of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, by Eadmer*, ed. R. W. Southern (London 1962), 109–13. For the council, also Becker, *Papst Urb II.*, ii.190–7.

⁴⁰ Loud, *Age of Robert Guiscard*, 196, 208, 238–9.

Guiscard's son Roger Borsa as duke at the council of Melfi in September 1089, 18 months after his own election,⁴¹ while Paschal II only invested Duke Roger's son William with the duchy of Apulia in October 1114, although by then William had already been duke for three and a half years, and Paschal had visited southern Italy eighteen months previously.⁴² Both of these latter investitures took place at papal councils, and there was clearly a desire to stage such ceremonies at meetings where there might be significant attendance and publicity, but there seems often to have been no great haste for these investitures to be carried out. Furthermore, even though Gregory VII excommunicated Duke Robert at his Lenten synod of 1074 and did not free him from this sentence until June 1080, and it was not until then that Robert received investiture from him, still Gregory referred to him as 'Duke Robert'. In part, of course, this was a reflection of the wider context of papal policy, for with relations with the most powerful western European ruler, the German king Henry IV, collapsing, it was not in the papacy's interests to provoke the duke of Apulia by questioning his title, and hence Gregory's anxiety during this dispute to come to a settlement with Robert.⁴³ But it is clear that the pope himself did not consider that the continued use of the ducal title, or Robert's right to rule his lands, was dependent on the renewal of his fealty and investiture. We cannot therefore see the relations between the popes and the rulers of southern Italy as characterised by a conflict of opposing concepts of hereditary and conditional succession. What was important to the popes of the Gregorian reform period was rather to ensure the continued loyalty, and hence the military and political assistance, of the south Italian Normans.⁴⁴

Admittedly, the relationship changed from the pontificate of Calixtus II onwards. Partly this was a consequence of the growing weakness of the duke of Apulia and prince of Capua. Hence in 1118 Gelasius II received the fealty, not just of Duke William and Prince Robert but also from 'Richard of Aquila and many other barons', and in 1120 Calixtus received (according to his biographer) both fealty and homage from Duke William, Prince Jordan II of Capua, three named counts (Rainulf of Caiazzo, Jordan of Ariano and Robert of Loritello) and 'innumerable

⁴¹ Becker, *Papst Urban II.*, i.117–18. ⁴² Falco, 24; *Chron. Cas.* IV.49, p. 516; *Romuald*, 207.

⁴³ Notably, as expressed in his letter to Archbishop Arnold of Acerenza in March 1076, Gregory, *Reg.* III.11, pp. 271–2 (Cowdrey, 193–4).

⁴⁴ These views have been expressed at greater length in Loud, *Church and Society*, 55–65, *Age of Robert Guiscard*, 186–209, and 'Papacy and rulers', 161–2.

others'.⁴⁵ The introduction of homage, not securely attested in these ceremonies before 1120, reflects the fact that Calixtus was a Frenchman, to whom such a ritual would have been familiar, whereas it appears not to have been employed before the early twelfth century among the south Italian nobility, and perhaps not even then.⁴⁶ The counts who were named in 1120 were probably the most powerful in the region, all three of whom were by this stage effectively independent of their nominal overlords. Counts Rainulf and Jordan had in the immediately preceding years fought each other in a private war in and around Benevento, contending as to who would be the dominant power in that region, with no attempt to interfere or to restrain them being made by either prince or duke, their respective nominal overlords. The growing pretensions of the counts of Caiazzo in the early years of the twelfth century were made clear by their documents, in which the regnal years of their cousins the princes of Capua were omitted, but the phraseology, the style of the handwriting and the use of the authenticating monogram imitated the princely *scriptorium*.⁴⁷

But equally if not more significant was the increasing strength and security of the papacy. After 1120 Calixtus was much more securely in control over Rome and the papal lands around Rome than his predecessors had been, while the concordat of Worms in 1122 put an end to the conflict with the German empire and to the threat of imperially sponsored anti-popes. (The last of these, Maurice, former archbishop of Braga in Portugal, was sent to be imprisoned first at Montecassino, and then eventually at Cava.)⁴⁸ Furthermore, from 1122 onwards there were significant changes in the composition of the College of Cardinals. These were triggered by the deaths of a number of cardinals during a journey by Calixtus to Calabria in the autumn of 1121, the principal purpose of which was to mediate in a dispute between Duke William and his cousin Count Roger II of Sicily. The scale and scope of the changes that resulted with the unusually large number of new appointments over the next few years has been disputed, but it is now generally agreed that there was a geographical shift within the

⁴⁵ *Liber Pontificalis*, ii.315, 322. That homage was rendered was also recorded in letters of Calixtus to Bishops Diego of Compostella and Guido of Chur, *Bullaire du Pape Calixte II 1119–24*, ed. U. Robert (2 vols., Paris 1891), i.296–7, 319, nos. 201, 217.

⁴⁶ C. Cahen, *Le Régime féodal de l'Italie normande* (Paris 1940), 42–3; however, the earliest examples he adduced were from Teramo in the Abruzzi, which the Normans had never (quite) reached.

⁴⁷ G. A. Loud, 'The Norman counts of Caiazzo and the abbey of Montecassino', in *Monastica i. Scritti raccolti in memoria del xv centenario della nascita di S. Benedetto 480–1980* (Miscellanea Cassinese 44, 1981), 201–3. Falco, 42–6, 52–4.

⁴⁸ *Cron. Cas.* IV.68, p. 352; *Orderic*, vi.306–8.

college, with a significant number of the new cardinals stemming from northern Italy, and to a lesser extent from France. By contrast, whereas up to 1121 southern Italy had been strongly represented, only one of the post-1122 appointments came from the south, John Dauferius, from Salerno, who was made cardinal deacon of S. Nicolo in Carcere in the early months of 1123.⁴⁹ These new appointments precipitated tensions among the cardinals which came close to causing a schism on the death of Calixtus in December 1124, and on the death of his successor, Honorius II, in February 1130 there was a disputed election and a schism in earnest.

The schism was to have momentous consequences for southern Italy. But in the first instance the changes at Rome manifested themselves in the 1120s in a more active and aggressive policy, both towards the government of papal territory, including Benevento, and towards the Church in the different regions of Italy, and especially those that bordered on papal territory.⁵⁰ Contacts between south Italian churchmen and the papacy became more frequent, and even routine, and papal control over them stricter. One of the victims of this policy was Montecassino, whose abbot, Oderisius II, fell out spectacularly with Pope Honorius and was deposed from his office in March 1126. His successor, Nicholas, was subsequently deposed a year later, and the monks browbeaten by two cardinals despatched from Rome into electing a new, pro-papal, abbot.⁵¹ Meanwhile in Benevento, papal attempts to strengthen control over the city led to an uprising, the murder of the papal rector and the creation of a 'commune' in September 1128.⁵² But where this much more aggressive papal policy became really significant for southern Italy was after the death of the childless Duke William of Apulia, at the early age of thirty, on 28 July 1127.

His heir, both by blood and probably also by prior designation, was his cousin, Count Roger II of Sicily, who had already, through a series of deals with William, and in return for military aid, become the ruler of the whole of Calabria, and not merely the southern part that his father had held. But while Roger took immediate steps to claim the duchy, arriving with a naval squadron at Salerno and being anointed there as ruler within a few weeks of the former duke's death, Pope Honorius refused to recognise his succession, despite (according to Falco of Benevento) his offering substantial

⁴⁹ Hüls, *Kardinäle, Klerus und Kirchen Roms*, 240–1. For the changes in the Curia more generally, M. Stroll, *The Jewish Pope. Ideology and Politics in the 1130 Papal Schism* (Leiden 1987), 102–10; Robinson, *Papacy 1073–1198*, 48–9, summarising and discussing extensive earlier literature.

⁵⁰ Partner, *Lands of St. Peter*, 158–68. ⁵¹ This will be discussed in more detail below in chapter 4.

⁵² *Falco*, 102–4. Cf. Vehse, 'Benevent als Territorium des Kirchenstaats', 128–37, and for papal policy in the 1120s more generally, Partner, *Lands of St. Peter*, 159–68.

financial inducements and also promising some territorial concessions.⁵³ Why the pope was so unwilling to recognise Roger as duke is a good question. Was this the moment when a papal concept of overlordship, with a constitutive power of investiture, came into conflict with a 'Norman', or at least a lay, concept of dynastic inheritance?⁵⁴ The fact that Roger was also a collateral rather than a direct heir might also have informed curial thinking during the confrontation: certainly some papal grants of fiefs in Lazio at this period were confined to the direct descendants of the grantee.⁵⁵

However, such a supposition is unlikely with regard to the duchy of Apulia, and the limited significance of papal investiture in the years before 1120 has already been demonstrated. Furthermore, in 1098 Urban II had made a significant concession of authority over the Church in Sicily both to Count Roger I and to his eldest son, 'or to another person who stands as your legitimate heir' (without further specification), seemingly therefore accepting the hereditary principle, and not just on a strict father-son basis.⁵⁶ Thus it is far more probable that there were other reasons why Honorius II was reluctant to accept Roger II's succession as duke of Apulia. And there were indeed good reasons for this, but essentially pragmatic and political ones. First and foremost, this would have meant that the greater part of southern Italy would have been subject to one ruler, and the remaining part, the principality of Capua, clearly overshadowed and vulnerable. Honorius was undoubtedly anxious to vindicate the independence of Capua, for even when he was forced to come to terms with Roger in the summer of 1128 one condition of this agreement was that the new duke promised not to take over the principality.⁵⁷ A policy of 'divide and rule' was more feasible in the 1120s than in the time of Robert Guiscard, because the papacy was much less dependent on its alliance with the south Italian Normans than hitherto (and also much less influenced by south Italian cardinals, who might be sympathetic to the interests of the local rulers).

Such a policy was not pursued for its own sake, but rather because there had already been clear indications that Roger II would be an uncomfortable neighbour for the papacy. When Pope Calixtus had travelled to the

⁵³ *Falco*, 86–8. H. Houben, *Roger II of Sicily. A Ruler between East and West* (Cambridge 2002), 41–5. Houben doubts whether William had formally designated Roger as his heir, as the Chronicle of Romuald of Salerno claimed. He suggests that the duke had made a number of different promises regarding the succession.

⁵⁴ As argued by Deér, *Papsttum und Normannen*, 164–202, especially 197, 'two diametrically opposed concepts of feudal relations'.

⁵⁵ E.g. *Liber Censuum*, i.388. ⁵⁶ *Malaterra*, IV.29, p. 108. ⁵⁷ *Falco*, 102.

south in 1121, his attempts to control Count Roger's attacks upon his cousin Duke William had been notably unsuccessful. The pope and many of the cardinals fell ill, and his contemporary biographer recorded, 'with the pope half-dead, Count Roger did as he liked.'⁵⁸ The fears that Roger would indeed do as he liked were reflected in the address by Honorius to the south Italian nobles and prelates assembled for the inauguration of Prince Robert II of Capua in January 1128, whom the pope encouraged to resist Roger's attempts to take over the duchy. The speech was recorded by the contemporary chronicler Falco of Benevento, who although not present in person claimed to have received his information from eyewitnesses. While the exact words were presumably those of the chronicler rather than of the pope himself, the general thrust of the speech may therefore accurately reflect papal thinking. There was nothing in this version of the speech (the only one we possess) about papal overlordship; rather the pope concentrated on the dangers to his audience inherent in Roger becoming duke, stressing the threat that he posed both to the papal city of Benevento (this was of course the aspect that most closely concerned the chronicler) and to the independence of the south Italian nobles: 'he menaces all of you who have lordship over towns and power over *castra*.'⁵⁹ Obviously, what was reported here was a recruiting speech, tailored to the probable concerns of the audience, but it may well reflect the pope's concerns as to what sort of policy the new duke might pursue. Furthermore, Roger had already shown his high-handedness with regard to the Church. In 1114, at a council held at Ceperano, on the border between the principality of Capua and the papal lands, the archbishop of Cosenza had complained to Paschal II that the count had forcibly ejected him from his see and made him enter a monastery.⁶⁰ Three years later, Paschal had sent a stiff rebuke to the count for exceeding the special authority over the Church in his dominions that Urban II had previously granted to his father.

We have never read that judgement over the persons and dignities of churchmen has been granted to laymen . . . Learn from those around you the example set by good rulers, that you try not to harm churches but to help them, not to judge or oppress bishops but to venerate them as vicars of God. What was given to the Church by your father of noble memory, Count Roger, should not be diminished by you, but rather increased.⁶¹

Hence, after the death of Duke William in 1127, the papacy was already taking a more forceful line towards southern Italy than before, and the

⁵⁸ *Liber Pontificalis*, ii.323.

⁵⁹ *Falco*, 92–4.

⁶⁰ *Chron. Cas.* IV.49, p. 514.

⁶¹ *Liber Censuum*, ii.125–6.

Curia was much less subject to south Italian influence than hitherto. But, in addition, the pope had very little reason to welcome the unification of much of southern Italy under Roger II's rule. Roger had already shown himself to take a strong line towards the Church, and to pay little attention to papal instructions. There were thus eminently practical reasons why Honorius tried to prevent him becoming duke. This need not have had anything to do with a clash of theoretical concepts, nor was Roger unwilling to receive papal investiture, rather he was trying to persuade the pope to grant him this. By contrast, Honorius appears to have intended to continue the precedent established in 1118–20, and to receive oaths of fealty both from the new prince of Capua and from a number of other nobles as well.⁶² He also, at the request of the citizens, took over the direct lordship of Troia. His privilege of December 1127, confirming the rights and privileges of what had always been a ducal town, and specifying that it should from thenceforth be under the *patrocinium* of St Peter, may suggest that he saw himself as directly taking over the role of the deceased duke, albeit ruling with a very light rein, although it is also possible that he envisaged Troia as becoming a papal enclave, on the model of Benevento, within a duchy of Apulia that comprised a loose federation of towns and nobles.⁶³

Whether such arrangements would have formed a viable basis for the future government and stability of southern Italy is open to question, but in the event the issue never came to the test. Papal efforts to create a coalition against Roger in southern Italy collapsed, his supporters melted away, and on 23 August 1128, outside the walls of Benevento, the pope invested Roger as duke of Apulia and received his homage.⁶⁴ Eighteen months later Pope Honorius died, and the cardinals elected two rival popes, Cardinals Peter Pierleone (Anacletus II) and Gregory of S. Angelo (Innocent II). Subsequently, in September 1130, Anacletus granted a bull to Roger, creating him the first king of the new 'kingdom of Sicily', of which Roger was crowned king at Palermo on Christmas Day 1130, and granting the kingdom to him and his successors by hereditary right (*iure perpetuo*). The kingdom was to comprise both the lands that Roger and his predecessors had been granted by the papacy, as well as overlordship over the

⁶² Falco, 96.

⁶³ *Al. Tel.* I.10, p. 11; *Chartes de Troia*, 182–5 no. 50. The terms of this privilege included that no rector should be appointed to govern the town without the consent of the citizens, that no citadel should be erected there, that the citizens should not be liable to military service unless the 'wiser part' had agreed, and that no financial levies should be made upon them.

⁶⁴ Falco, 102; *Al. Tel.* I.15, pp. 14–15; *Romuald*, 216–17. Boso's later biography of Honorius in the *Liber Pontificalis*, ii.379, complained bitterly that the pope's erstwhile supporters 'acted fraudulently'.

principality of Capua and the duchy of Naples, and 'the aid of the men of Benevento against your enemies'.

The rationale behind such an elevation was, according to this bull, in return for the loyalty and zealous service of Roger's parents to the Roman Church, and as a reward for Roger himself 'to whom Divine providence has granted greater wisdom and power than the rest of the Italian princes, [and who] has tried splendidly to honour our predecessors and serve them generously'.⁶⁵ Yet however much the bull tried to justify the creation of the new kingdom, the real reason for this papal sanction was as a *quid pro quo* for Roger's support of Anacletus as pope. Certainly some of the historical justification was decidedly thin, not least in that while relations between Roger I of Sicily and the papacy had often been cordial, as when Urban II had travelled to Sicily in 1089 to discuss his plans for closer relations with the Greek Church, and Roger enjoyed the prestige as the man who had restored Christian rule to Sicily, the counts of Sicily (unlike the dukes of Apulia) had never been direct papal vassals.⁶⁶

By contrast, the account of the creation of the kingdom in the contemporary biography of King Roger by Abbot Alexander of Telese, which made no reference to the papal role whatsoever, concentrated on the material resources that were held to justify this new status.

Those close to Duke Roger, and particularly his uncle Count Henry,⁶⁷ by whom he was loved more than anyone, began very frequently to suggest to him the plan that he who, with the help of God, ruled so many provinces, Sicily, Calabria, Apulia and other regions stretching almost to Rome, ought not to have just the ducal title but ought also to be distinguished by the honour of kingship.

Alexander then introduced the anachronistic idea that Sicily had once 'in ancient times' been a kingdom, and ought now therefore to be so again – presumably referring thereby to the Greek kings of the pre-Roman era (none of whom had ever ruled the island as a whole). This potential kingship was then, so Alexander claimed, examined by an assembly of churchmen and nobles near Salerno, and unanimously agreed, which led in turn to Roger's coronation.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Text in Deér, *Das Papsttum und die süditalienischen Normannenstaaten 1053–1212*, 62–3, and Hoffmann, 'Langobarden, Normannen, Päpste', 173–5.

⁶⁶ Becker, *Papst Urban II.*, i.118; Deér, *Papsttum und Normannen*, 167. Alexander II had sent a papal banner to Roger I after his victory over the Muslims at Cerami in 1063, *Malaterra*, II.33, p. 45, but there is no suggestion that this entailed any form of direct vassalage.

⁶⁷ Count Henry of Butera (died 1136/41), the brother of Roger's mother Adelaide of Savona.

⁶⁸ *Al. Tel.* II.1–2, pp. 23–5.

Alexander's account has often been seen as a reflection of official attitudes within the kingdom: a wish not to make the royal status of its rulers seem dependent on papal approbation, as well as revealing, albeit briefly, some of the campaign to secure 'hearts and minds', especially within the mainland dominions, in support of the new rank.⁶⁹ But this may be going too far. By the time Alexander's account was written c. 1136, it was already clear that Innocent II was emerging as the victor in the papal schism, and hence the wisdom of omitting any reference to the role of Anacletus in the creation of the kingdom, in what after all was a work of pro-Rogerian propaganda as much as 'dispassionate' history. Alexander's *libellus* therefore concentrated on what the author saw as the direct Divine approbation for Roger's kingship, as manifested especially in the various dreams and prophecies with which the work concluded.⁷⁰ Yet while the stress on the extent of his dominions may well reflect the real reason why Roger desired, or thought that he merited, kingship, the situation in 1130 was very different from that which prevailed six years later, for in 1130 Anacletus must have seemed both the rightful pope, and as the one likely to triumph in the schism. While the election of neither of the two rival popes was strictly speaking canonical, Anacletus had slightly the larger number of cardinals on his side, and they included most of the older and most experienced members of the college, even if more of the cardinal bishops supported Innocent.⁷¹ Nor in 1130 had the rulers of northern Europe yet publicly supported either of the two candidates, although as events were to show the fact that Anacletus sanctioned the new kingdom of Sicily (and by doing so infringed imperial rights) was likely to drive the German emperor into the opposite camp. Nevertheless, in 1130 this was not necessarily obvious, and Anacletus had hopes of securing the Emperor Lothar's support, and indeed made considerable efforts to do so.⁷² Above all, Anacletus had possession of Rome, and previous disputes concerning the papacy over the past 70 years had almost invariably suggested that victory went to him who possessed the Apostolic City. So in 1130, the deal between Pope Anacletus and the about-to-be king of Sicily could be seen as a further

⁶⁹ E.g., among many others, by N. Cilento, 'La "coscienza del regno" nei cronisti meridionali', *Potere, società e popolo tra età normanna ed età sveva* (Atti delle quinte giornate normanno-sveve, Bari-Conversano 1981) (Bari 1983), especially 166–8.

⁷⁰ *Al. Tel.* IV.6–10, pp. 84–8. This wish to distance Roger from Anacletus may also explain why the chronicle attributed to Archbishop Romuald of Salerno claimed that Roger, 'a wise and astute man with an eye to the future', avoided doing homage to Anacletus, *Romuald*, 220.

⁷¹ Robinson, *Papacy 1073–1198*, 69–77, summing up and critiquing older work, especially the influential theories of F.-J. Schmale, *Studien zum Schisma des Jahres 1130* (Cologne–Graz 1961).

⁷² Stroll, *The Jewish Pope*, 66–70.

step in the alliance between the legitimate papacy and the rulers of southern Italy, that had prevailed since 1059. And, if the bull of 1130 recognised the hereditary nature of the new kingship more overtly than previous concessions had done for the duchy of Apulia and the principality of Capua (or at least those investitures where a text has survived), in practice this made little difference, for the popes had effectively recognised the Norman dukes and princes as hereditary rulers from the first grants in 1059 onwards.

The creation of the Sicilian kingship in 1130 ushered in a long period of conflict, both civil war within southern Italy, as King Roger strove to consolidate effective rule over the mainland provinces, and external threat, above all from the German emperors, who still considered themselves to be the rightful overlords of southern Italy, and Roger no more than a usurper, and (in the words of the Saxon annalist, Abbot Arnold of Nienburg) 'a semi-pagan tyrant'.⁷³ The papal schism did not create this conflict, nor was it at first a significant factor in southern Italy. Indeed the two men who later emerged as the principal domestic opponents of the king, Prince Robert II of Capua and the king's brother-in-law Count Rainulf of Caiazzo, were sent by him with a force of troops to aid Anacletus at Rome early in 1132.⁷⁴ But there is no doubt that the schism gravely complicated matters within the new kingdom, not least in King Roger's attempts to bring the civil war to a close in 1138–9, after his rule had survived the great crisis of the German invasion of 1137. Furthermore the legacy of the schism continued to affect relations with the papacy for years after the king apparently made his peace with Innocent II at Mignano in July 1139.

Innocent had previously gone so far as to offer an indulgence of the same remission of sins as Urban II had offered for the liberation of Jerusalem for those who would fight against Roger, at the council of Pisa in 1135 (effectively therefore to proclaim a 'Crusade' against him, not that this term had yet been coined).⁷⁵ In the summer of 1137 Innocent and the Emperor Lothar jointly, and after some dispute as to who had the right to perform this ceremony, invested Count Rainulf as duke of Apulia.⁷⁶ It would seem therefore that at this point the pope envisaged the south Italian

⁷³ *Annalista Saxo*, MGH SS vi.774. Similarly, a monk of the monastery of St Peter at Erfurt in Saxony described Roger as 'usurping the name of king', *Annales Erphesfudenses*, MGH SS vi.540.

⁷⁴ *Falco*, 120.

⁷⁵ E. Bernheim, 'Ein bisher unbekannter Bericht vom Concil zu Pisa im Jahr 1135', *Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht* 16 (1881), 150.

⁷⁶ *Falco*, 190.

mainland restored to the situation of the period before 1127, divided between the duchy and the principality, with both of the rulers as vassals of the papacy. (Whether he may have also contemplated Roger retaining the lands he had held before 1127 is unknown.) Innocent also renewed his excommunication of Roger, proclaimed at Pisa, at the Second Lateran Council in April 1139. Despite the death of Duke Rainulf three weeks later, he pressed ahead with an invasion of the principality of Capua, accompanied by the ousted Prince Robert, which came disastrously to grief at Galluccio, where the pope himself and several of the cardinals were captured by Roger's forces on 22 July 1139. He was subsequently forced to recognise the legitimate existence of the kingdom of Sicily and of Roger as king.⁷⁷

Yet, for all the claims that some historians have made about King Roger's perception of his kingdom as directly derived from God, in 1139 with the schism ended, and Innocent at his mercy, what the king sought was papal recognition and investiture, the latter reluctantly granted by the pope and confirmed by a bull 'creating' the new kingdom, issued at Mignano on 27 July 1139. In fact, this privilege followed the earlier one of Anacletus in a number of respects, notably in the clauses about future oaths of fealty and the payment of the annual census of 600 *scifati* (which was the same in both bulls).⁷⁸ But since to the party who now held the Curia the latter had never been a legitimate pope, all his actions were by definition null and void. Thus the bull of 1139 had to maintain the fiction that this was a new grant, and the precedents cited were the actions of Robert Guiscard as an 'energetic and faithful knight of St Peter' (*strenuus et fidelis miles beati Petri*), the warfare waged on behalf of the Christian religion by Count Roger I, the (unspecified) services to the Roman Church of Roger's mother, and the earlier investiture of Roger himself (as duke) by Honorius II. In addition, the bull added another reason, surely in response to royal suggestion, 'because it is not to be doubted that Sicily was once a kingdom, as is recounted in ancient histories'.⁷⁹ This alleged revival of a former kingdom had already been raised by the *History* of Alexander of Telese (here probably reflecting what had been claimed in 1130), and was also cited in King Roger's foundation charter for his palace

⁷⁷ Falco, 214–16, 220–2. Cf. *Annales Ceccanenses*, ad an. 1138, MGH SS xix.283.

⁷⁸ Hoffmann, 'Langobarden, Normannen, Päpste', 159–61.

⁷⁹ Deér, *Das Papsttum und die süditalienischen Normannenstaaten 1053–1212*, 74–5, and Hoffmann, 'Langobarden, Normannen, Päpste', 175–7.

chapel, issued in April 1140.⁸⁰ This clause therefore reflected royal propaganda.

Furthermore, in several respects the bull was very favourable to the new monarchy. There was a clear acknowledgement of the hereditary succession; and while the king's successors should follow his example in swearing fealty and doing homage, this should be at a time and place of their choosing, and their tenure of the kingdom was in no way dependent upon it having happened. But at the same time the king was prepared to perform this fealty and homage, and to pay the annual census in recognition of papal overlordship. He may well have hoped that the events of July 1139 had restored the relationship with the papacy to the situation as it had been before c. 1120, with the ruler of southern Italy (though in his case one, rather than several) as an ally and supporter, and both sides profiting from the connection.

One of the last clauses of the 1139 bull expressed the hope that the king, 'as a devoted and glorious son of the Apostolic See, may rejoice and be at peace in its love'. Yet in fact this was far from being the case, and relations were to be extremely difficult over the next fifteen years. This was very largely due to the bitter legacy of the Anacletan schism. So long as those who had been involved in the schism were still alive, ill-feeling remained, especially among the college of cardinals. Roger had not just owed his original royal title to the sanction of Anacletus; he also had close personal relations with the Pierleone family, for the erstwhile pope's brothers and nephews had become his vassals in June 1134, in return for a substantial annual pension from the royal treasury – a much larger payment, it should be noted, than that pledged annually to the papacy in 1130 and 1139.⁸¹ The circumstances in which Roger had extorted the agreement of 1139 also rankled. Thus Celestine II refused to confirm it, and therefore to recognise the kingdom's existence, on his election in 1143, and John of Salisbury claimed that the Curia's refusal to allow the consecration of bishops-elect in the 1140s was 'as a penalty for the capture of Innocent II'.⁸² The decree of the Second Lateran Council of 1139 quashing all Anacletan ordinations posed obvious problems for the south Italian Church, which had for the most part followed the king's lead in supporting Anacletus. Among those who were degraded from office after 1139 were the archbishops of Amalfi,

⁸⁰ *Roger II Diplomata*, 133–7 no. 48, at 136.

⁸¹ *Roger II Diplomata*, 98–101 no. 35. Deér, *Papsttum und Normannen*, 218–20.

⁸² *Romuald*, 227. *The Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall (London 1956), 66.

Benevento, Capua and Taranto, probably also Archbishop Angelus of Bari. All of these posts would have been subject to direct canonical confirmation by Anacletus; while Rossemanus of Benevento and Philip of Taranto owed their posts directly to his appointment or influence, and he had personally consecrated John of Amalfi. A later attempt, in 1148, to restore Philip of Taranto even to priestly status was frustrated by opposition within the college of cardinals, which suggests that feelings were still very strong, a decade after the death of Anacletus.⁸³

Furthermore, Innocent's principal lay ally during the schism had been the Emperor Lothar, whom he had accompanied when the latter invaded the kingdom of Sicily in 1137, and good relations with the empire continued after the election of Conrad III in 1138. The German court remained bitterly hostile to the new kingdom, seeing its very existence on what it still perceived as imperial territory as an affront and Roger as 'an invader of the empire'.⁸⁴ Having finally secured good relations with the empire, after two generations of conflict during the so-called Investiture Contest, the popes of the 1140s were understandably anxious not to jeopardise this new-found concord, especially since they were faced with unrest in the city of Rome, and the development of a communal movement there that seriously undermined the papal government of the city, which they needed imperial assistance to suppress.⁸⁵ There were at this period certainly some among the cardinals who were closely tied to imperial interests, notably Octavian of S. Nicola in Carcere (a distant relative of the Staufen and subsequently the anti-pope Victor IV) and Guido of Crema, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Portico (Victor's successor as anti-pope in 1164). Octavian was described by John of Salisbury as 'a sycophant of the Germans' and as 'the advocate of the Germans at the papal court'. Guido was the confidant of Conrad's minister Guibald of Stavelot in his attempts to frustrate King Roger's negotiations with the Curia in 1150.⁸⁶ By contrast, south Italian cardinals continued to be conspicuous by their absence. Admittedly Abbot Rainald II of Montecassino (1137–66) was made a cardinal by Innocent II c. 1141,

⁸³ Mansi, *Concilia*, xxi.533. *Italia Pontificia*, viii.391 no. 14; ix.321 no. 12, 438 no. 11. *Falco*, 180, 190. *Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, 9, 43. Even Peter of Pisa, Cardinal priest of S. Susanna, a supporter of Anacletus who had changed sides in 1137, was deposed at the council, despite earlier promises and the efforts of Saint Bernard on his behalf, Schmale, *Studien zur Schisma*, 267.

⁸⁴ Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, ed. A. Hofmeister (MGH SRG, Hanover 1912), VII.28, p. 355.

⁸⁵ Partner, *Lands of St. Peter*, 178–87. The *patricius* whom the Romans elected in 1144 was none other than Jordan, the brother of the anti-pope Anacletus, Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, VII.31, p. 359.

⁸⁶ *Historia Pontificalis*, 75–7; *Monumenta Corbeiensia*, ed. P. Jaffé (Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum 1, Berlin 1864), 376–8 no. 252, 400–1 no. 273.

but this would appear to have been purely an honorific title; he never witnessed papal bulls and can rarely have attended the papal court. Montecassino had anyway little for which to thank the king, who regarded it with disfavour, and his seizure of the abbey's treasures in 1143 may well have been a response to unauthorised contact with Rome. It is therefore unlikely that Rainald's appointment was intended as a favour to the king.⁸⁷ John of Naples, appointed in 1150 at a time of *détente*, was the only other south Italian cardinal selected before the Treaty of Benevento in 1156. Given these various factors, it was therefore hardly surprising that there was a strong group within the Curia which remained hostile to the new Sicilian kingdom. The chronicle attributed to Romuald of Salerno claimed that it was the opposition of the cardinals that prevented King Roger concluding a peace treaty with Lucius II in the summer of 1144, while in 1155 Adrian IV's wish to negotiate a peace was also frustrated by the hostility of the cardinals. When the Treaty of Benevento was finally concluded in the summer of 1156 the pope took the precaution of sending away all but a handful of trusted confidants before he met the king of Sicily, which suggests that his change of policy was likely to be unpopular with the college.⁸⁸

There were, in addition, several other reasons why relations were difficult in the 1140s. The annexation of Marsia, the six bishoprics of the Abruzzi region, by the king's sons in the early part of the decade not only involved territory to which the papacy had long laid claim – however ineffectually – but also posed a potential threat to the security and communications of Rome itself.⁸⁹ When relations were poor, Roger was prepared to bring pressure to bear on both Benevento and the southern border of the papal states. Benevento was, we are told, 'harassed unmercifully' in 1143, after Celestine had refused to recognise the kingdom, to such an extent that the citizens were afraid to go outside the city walls, and the archbishop was arrested when he set off for the papal court.⁹⁰ After the

⁸⁷ *Annales Casinenses*, MGH SS xix.310. Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, VII.23, pp. 346–7. For Rainald as cardinal: Montecassino, Archivio dell'abbazia, *Aula II Caps. cxxxii* (fasc. ii), no. 1 (September 1141), Fabiani, *Terra di S. Benedetto*, i.422–5 no. 3 (March 1142). K. Ganzer, *Die Entwicklung des auswärtigen Kardinalats im hohen Mittelalter* (Tübingen 1963), 94–7, was, however, unaware of this evidence, and thus postdates Rainald's appointment.

⁸⁸ Romuald, 214; *Liber Pontificalis*, ii.394–5 (English trans., *Tyrants*, 246–7). Robinson, *Papacy 1073–1198*, 50–1.

⁸⁹ Clementi, 'The relations between the papacy, the Western Roman Empire and the emergent kingdom of Sicily', 191–7.

⁹⁰ *Chronicon Ignoti Monachi Cisterciensis Sanctae Mariae de Ferraria*, 27 (English trans., Houben, *Roger II*, 91). This passage was almost certainly drawn from a now-lost section of the earlier chronicle of Falco of Benevento.

breakdown of his talks with Lucius II in 1144, Roger's troops invaded the Roman Campagna and besieged Veroli and Terracina, causing widespread devastation, and forcing the pope to conclude a truce.⁹¹ He was also determined to control his clergy's access to the Curia. One of the biographers of Archbishop Thomas Becket even reported that a group of Sicilian bishops on their way to a papal council had had their horses confiscated, and been told unfeelingly to walk there instead!⁹²

In addition, there was another unfortunate legacy of the schism in the aborted reorganisation of the Sicilian Church structure, which while it probably owed its inspiration to Roger and his advisers, had been sanctioned by Anacletus in 1130–1. Since this involved, among other churches, the new cathedral at Cefalù built by Roger as his intended mausoleum, it was a sensitive issue. But because of the involvement of Anacletus (who had formally sanctioned the creation of the bishopric of Cefalù in September 1131), the papacy proved unyielding. Even after Eugenius III had made peace with Roger in 1150, the pope flatly refused the king's request for the archbishop of Palermo to be granted some other Sicilian bishops as his suffragans, for this would have meant confirming the arrangements that Anacletus had made in his bull creating the kingdom in 1130.⁹³ This *impasse* created serious difficulties for the Church on the island, which were not fully resolved for more than a quarter of a century. In 1131 Anacletus had also raised Messina to be an archbishopric, and sanctioned a further new bishopric based upon the monastery of St Bartholomew on the island of Lipari. After 1139 the status both of Messina and of the two new sees was therefore in doubt. Three successive prelates at Messina remained as unconsecrated bishops-elect from 1137 onwards, and although consecration was permitted in the wake of the peace of 1150, Eugenius III refused to recognise the see as anything more than a simple bishopric.⁹⁴ Meanwhile the status of Lipari and Cefalù remained in doubt, and their prelates as *electi*, or in the case of Lipari sometimes simply as 'abbot', until as late as

⁹¹ *Annales Casinenses*, MGH SS xix.310; *Romuald*, 228.

⁹² *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. J. C. Robertson (7 vols., Rolls Series 1875–85), iv.149, also published *Ex Fragmentis ex Vita Sancti Thomae auctore Herberto de Boseham*, MGH SS xxvii.33 (although the author is unlikely to have been Herbert of Bosham). Cf. the Ferrara chronicle (n. 90 above); *Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, 66; MGH *Constitutiones*, i.258–9 no. 87 (although this was a pro-imperial tract, deeply hostile to the kingdom of Sicily).

⁹³ *Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, 67–8. *Italia Pontificia*, x.364 no. 1.

⁹⁴ *I diplomi della cattedrale di Messina*, ed. R. Starrabba (Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia, Ser. I.1, Palermo 1876–90), 15–17 no. 12 (*Italia Pontificia*, x.340 no.25). Henry was *electus* in November 1137, Guirardus in 1142–3, and Arnold in February 1148, *Roger II Diplomata*, 129–31 no. 46, 156–62 no. 57, 214–16 no. 75, cf. Cusa, *Diplomi*, 306, 312.

1166.⁹⁵ Furthermore, there were a very large number of bishops-elect in other sees, both on the mainland and in Sicily, during the 1140s, which suggests that John of Salisbury was not imagining when he suggested that there was a more general papal refusal to permit consecrations in southern Italy at this period.⁹⁶ John was after all an extremely well-informed observer, who had close connections to the papal court, to which he made a number of visits at this very period: indeed c. 1158 he claimed to have traversed the Alps no fewer than ten times.⁹⁷

Nonetheless, relations between the kingdom of Sicily and the papacy after 1139, although often tense, were by no means universally hostile. Roger was prepared to make pacific gestures such as providing Innocent II with timber for the rebuilding of the Lateran.⁹⁸ Similarly, it is probable that the porphyry marble for the king's sarcophagus at Cefalù, which was erected during his lifetime, in the 1140s, came from Rome – as indeed did the artistic models for the tomb.⁹⁹ Innocent was also prepared to sanction the king's reform of the abbey of Venosa in 1141. Furthermore, at least a few episcopal consecrations did take place. Innocent personally consecrated Archbishop John II of Amalfi in 1142, and similarly Lucius II consecrated Archbishop Lupus of Brindisi in 1144. Both of these prelates remained in office for more than 20 years; it seems unlikely therefore that they were in any sense opponents of the king.¹⁰⁰ So if there was a ban on consecrations, the popes were prepared to make exceptions. Nor did diplomatic contact cease. If Celestine II initially refused to recognise Roger's kingship, he soon sent ambassadors to Palermo, although their mission was overtaken by news of his death in March 1144.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, according to the chronicle attributed to Archbishop Romuald of Salerno: 'when King Roger heard of the election of Pope Lucius, he greatly rejoiced, because the latter had been his spiritual father (*compater*) and friend', and he immediately sent envoys to negotiate peace with the new pope. These

⁹⁵ L. T. White, *Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), 88–97, 189–96 (and see below, chapter 4).

⁹⁶ *Electi* are attested at Canne (1149), Chieti (1144, 1148), Cosenza (1147), Malvito (1144), Melfi (1147), Rossano (1144), Sorrento (1149), Teano (1144), Trani (1144), Trivento (1144), Troia (1145–7), and Valva (1148), on the mainland, and on Sicily at Catania (1143) and Palermo (1143–7), as well as at Cefalù, Lipari and Messina.

⁹⁷ In his *Metalogicon*, ed. C. C. J. Webb (Oxford 1929), 117.

⁹⁸ John the Deacon, 'Descriptio Lateranensis Ecclesiae', in *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, ed. R. Valentini and G. Zuchetti, ii (FSI, Rome 1946), 348–9.

⁹⁹ J. Deér, *The Dynastic Porphyry Tombs of the Norman Period in Sicily* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), especially chaps. 7–8.

¹⁰⁰ Houben, *Venosa*, 438; *Italia Pontificia*, viii.391 no. 15; *Cod. Dip. Brindisiano*, i.29–32 no. 16.

¹⁰¹ *Chronicon Ignoti Monachi Cisterciensis Sanctae Mariae de Ferraria*, 27.

negotiations proved inconclusive, and the king then launched his troops into the Roman Campagna to pressure the pontiff into making a settlement. These tactics were sufficiently effective to persuade him into concluding a seven-year truce in the autumn of 1144. From a letter that Lucius wrote at this time to Abbot Peter of Cluny, it is obvious that he disapproved of the king's 'violence', but at the same time he also made clear that he would ideally have wished to have secured a permanent peace.¹⁰² In the wake of the truce Lucius issued several privileges to south Italian churches, the first of these being to Montecassino on 10 October 1144.¹⁰³ So for a time, at least, it seemed as if normal service had been resumed.

Admittedly, there seems to have been little subsequent contact in the early years of the next pope, the Cistercian Eugenius III, elected in February 1145, but this may well have been due more to the continued difficulties he faced in Rome, and then his lengthy absence in France promoting the Second Crusade, than to any overt hostility towards the kingdom of Sicily. Serious negotiations for a long-term settlement of relations began once again towards the end of 1148, and an accord was eventually concluded between Eugenius and King Roger at Ceprano, on the border between the kingdom and papal territory, in July 1150, which solved some, if not all of the problems outstanding. If nothing else, it allowed the consecration of bishops-elect.

Such diplomacy was not, however, conducted in isolation, and it is clear that the Curia was very conscious both of the difficult internal situation in Rome and of its relations with the German ruler and emperor-elect Conrad III. The 1148 negotiations were begun once the latter's participation in the Second Crusade had ensured that he would not be undertaking an Italian expedition for some considerable time to come, and that the pope could not therefore expect his help against either the Roman commune or the king of Sicily. (Conrad was absent on the Crusade from May 1147 until May 1149; he faced a revolt in Germany soon after his return home, and his health seems to have been undermined by the rigours of the Crusade.) The friendly relations between Roger and Louis VII of France, who travelled back from the Crusade via southern Italy in July and August 1149, may also have been a factor influencing the Curia. But Eugenius III would seem

¹⁰² *Romuald*, 228; MPL 179, 905 no. 64 (22 September 1144). The relationship between Lucius (Cardinal Gerard of S. Croce as he then was) and Roger may well have been begun while the former was papal rector of Benevento in 1128–9, *Falco*, 104; Houben, *Roger II*, 91–2. It is difficult to see when otherwise they may have had contact. For Gerard's career, Hüls, *Kardinäle, Klerus und Kirchen Roms*, 164.

¹⁰³ *Italia Pontificia*, viii.179 no. 252.

already to have been actively seeking an accord. One sign of this desire was a privilege he issued to Roger's court monastery of St John of the Hermits, perhaps granted as early as the summer of 1148, in which the abbot was given the right to wear the mitre, dalmatic, ring and other quasi-episcopal vestments, and to carry a pastoral staff. In its present form this document exists only in a forgery written c. 1250, but that some sort of privilege was indeed granted would appear to be confirmed by a letter written some months later in the name of the Roman Senate to Conrad III, alleging that these ecclesiastical privileges had been given to the king himself – quite possibly in an attempt deliberately to confuse the issue.¹⁰⁴ The grant of such a privilege to a monastery so intimately connected to the royal house was an obvious diplomatic manoeuvre to facilitate good relations with the king. The pope's wish for a peace with the king of Sicily was also noted in a contemporary letter by a Roman sympathiser to the exiled prince of Capua, who seems to have accompanied Conrad on the Crusade. Furthermore, both these letters and other sources suggest that there was a party in the Roman nobility that actively supported the king of Sicily, including members of the two rival families of Pierleone and Frangipane, whose disputes had caused such problems in the City since the 1120s.¹⁰⁵ Roger in turn encouraged the progress of these negotiations by sending money to help the pope against the Romans, as the Senate's letter to Conrad complained. The conclusion of an agreement in 1150 was not therefore surprising.

On the other hand, there were distinct limitations to the accord struck in 1150. John of Salisbury wrote that Roger 'besought the pope to accept his homage and renew his privileges, but neither his prayers nor his gifts were of any avail'. It would seem therefore that Roger did not receive any renewed investiture, and (at least in papal eyes) the status of the kingdom remained in doubt. 'Romuald' similarly noted that although the king 'sent frequent envoys to him [the pope] to negotiate a peace, he was unable to secure this'. What was concluded at Ceprano was effectively no more than a continuation of the existing truce, and relations cooled very quickly once Roger had his only surviving son, William, crowned as king a year later.

¹⁰⁴ *Monumenta Corbeiensia* (as n. 86 above), 332–4 no. 214, reproduced by Otto of Freising in his *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris*, ed. B. von Simson (MGH SRG, Hanover 1912), I.29, pp. 45–7; *Roger II Diplomata*, 217–23 no. † 76, discussed by C.-R. Brühl, 'Das sogenannte Gründungsprivileg Rogers II. für die Abtei S. Giovanni degli Eremiti in Palermo', in *Aus Kirche und Reiche. Studien zur Theologie, Politik und Recht im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Friedrich Kempf zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. H. Mordek (Sigmaringen 1983), 265–73.

¹⁰⁵ *Monumenta Corbeiensia*, 228–9 no. 147, cf. *ibid.*, 334–5 no. 215, to Conrad III.

But, as John observed about this coronation: 'the pope took what happened ill, but oppressed by the evils of the time he could do nothing about it.'¹⁰⁶ However desirable a peace with Sicily was, the pope was also anxious not to offend the German ruler, not least because the latter's help was needed with the problems in Rome; hence Eugenius was careful to write to Conrad after his return from the Crusade, commiserating with him on its failure and expressing a wish to discuss with him 'those things which pertain to the honour of the Holy Church and the kingdom'.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, at least some of the cardinals were still strongly opposed to Roger. But the hostility of the king of Sicily could well inflame the difficulties at Rome, and with the civic elite there (and quite possibly also the college of cardinals) divided, it is no wonder that papal policy tended to fluctuate. Eugenius was for several years attempting to perform a delicate balancing act. However, as the situation in Rome improved towards the end of his pontificate, and with a new, youthful and vigorous German ruler, Conrad's nephew Frederick who had succeeded to the throne in March 1152, the Curia could take a stronger line. The result was the treaty of Konstanz, concluding an alliance with the German king early in 1153.

Yet even here one should note that the pope was keeping his policy options open. The treaty at Konstanz was directed as much against the Romans as the king of Sicily. Frederick pledged himself 'to subjugate the Romans to the lord pope and the Roman Church, as they were a hundred years back'. He also promised not to make peace with 'Roger of Sicily' (no royal title was of course accorded the latter) without the pope's consent. But the pope did not make any corresponding promise – as if therefore he reserved the right to cut his losses and come to an agreement if circumstances warranted. As one distinguished modern historian of the papacy has noted: 'the clause against Roger . . . gave the pope a guarantee, without cutting off his freedom of action.'¹⁰⁸ And it was precisely this freedom of action that Adrian IV exercised in the summer of 1156, when he came to an agreement with William I of Sicily at Benevento, one that created a lasting peace between the papal Curia and the kingdom of Sicily.

Admittedly, Adrian had begun his pontificate by refusing to recognise the legitimacy of the Sicilian royal title, and thereby infuriating the new

¹⁰⁶ *Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, 66, 69; *Romuald*, 230. Houben, *Roger II*, 93.

¹⁰⁷ *Gesta Friderici I*, I.66, pp. 94–5.

¹⁰⁸ M. Maccarone, *Papato ed impero dalla elezione di Federico I alla morte di Adriano IV (1152–9)* (Rome 1959), 65. Text of the treaty in *ibid.*, 50–1, and MGH *Constitutiones*, I.201 no. 144.

king William I, and then by supporting an attack by some of the nobles who had been exiled from the kingdom, headed by Prince Robert of Capua, and rebels from within led by Count Robert of Loritello. But by 1156 it was clear that this policy had failed. The rebels and their Byzantine allies had been utterly defeated, Prince Robert was a prisoner in Sicily, and furthermore immediately after securing his imperial coronation in June 1155 Frederick Barbarossa had returned to Germany, leaving the pope in the lurch, and having inflamed relations with the Romans. It was clear that no help could be expected from this quarter for the foreseeable future. By June 1156 it was time to face reality, and to come to a long-term peace with the kingdom of Sicily, which is what (or so Adrian's biographer claimed) the pope would have done earlier, if he could have persuaded the cardinals to agree.¹⁰⁹

The importance of the Treaty of Benevento was not just that it brought an end to another bout of dispute and border hostilities between the papacy and the kingdom of Sicily. There had after all been previous agreements in 1139, 1144 and 1150, none of which had achieved a permanent end to the difficulties. Where the Treaty of Benevento differed from these earlier truces and agreements was that it embodied a comprehensive solution to almost all the problems that had complicated Sicilian–papal relations since the schism of the 1130s. Adrian IV received the king's homage and invested him with his kingdom (including the principality of Capua, the status of which had tended to complicate earlier negotiations). By itself, such a ceremony was not necessarily a solution, or at least it had not been in 1139, although the absence of an investiture in 1150 had helped to doom that accord. Recognition of the legitimacy and hereditary nature of the royal title was clearly a prerequisite for stability. The treaty also confirmed the extension northwards of the kingdom's frontier into the Abruzzi that had taken place in the 1140s, in return for an extra annual *census* of 400 *scifati* (Byzantine *nomismata*), in addition to the 600 for the rest of the kingdom agreed in 1130 and 1139. The new lands in the Abruzzi were already an important component of royal plans for the defence of the new kingdom against the continuing threat from the German empire to the north.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ *Liber Pontificalis*, ii.394–6. Cf. *Romuald*, 237–40 (English trans. in *Tyrants*, 221–4, 245–7). Partner, *Land of St. Peter*, 188–91, who refers to Frederick's expedition as, from the papal point of view, 'a fiasco'.

¹¹⁰ Feller, *Abruzzes médiévales*, 763–81; L. Feller, 'The northern frontier of Norman Italy, 1060–1140', in *The Society of Norman Italy*, ed. Loud and Metcalfe, 66–70.

In addition, the treaty regulated the extent of the royal privileges and rights over the Church that had been such a sensitive issue in the years before 1156. A set and canonical procedure for episcopal and abbatial elections was laid out, with the chapter or convent choosing the new prelate, albeit with the king allowed to veto the choice of any 'traitor or enemy' who might be selected. Urban II's privilege of 1098 was confirmed, but the rights over legations and councils that it had granted were confined to the island of Sicily (as, of course, had been the case in 1098). The pope was to be permitted to send legates and to hold councils on the mainland, and papal rights of consecration, over metropolitan sees and certain exempt bishoprics and monasteries, were confirmed. Appeals in ecclesiastical law cases by clergy on the mainland were also to be allowed, as were papal rights over churches exempted from episcopal jurisdiction and thus directly subject to Rome.¹¹¹ At the same time the archbishop of Palermo was granted the suffragan sees which he had unsuccessfully requested in 1150, with the bishoprics of Agrigento, Mazara and Malta being made canonically subject to him.¹¹² The one issue still outstanding was the status of Messina and of the two Sicilian sees whose foundation had been sanctioned by Anacletus. This problem was only finally resolved by Pope Alexander III a decade later in the summer of 1166, not long after his visit to Messina on his way home to Rome from his prolonged stay (effectively in exile) in France. The metropolitan rank of Messina was formally sanctioned, with the bishoprics of Lipari and Cefalù as its suffragans.¹¹³ By then, however sensitive the case may have been, the pope was too dependent on the political, military and financial support of the king of Sicily not to fall in with his wishes. Yet in fact the archiepiscopal rank of Messina had been tacitly recognised some years earlier; for in January 1159 'Archbishop' Robert had received a house in Palermo from the king and another in Cefalù from its 'bishop-elect', and the chronicle of 'Romuald' also referred to the archbishop of Messina at the royal court in 1161.¹¹⁴

The significance and permanence of the treaty of 1156 were enhanced by external events, which completely altered the international standing of the kingdom of Sicily. While never entirely a pariah – witness the visit of

¹¹¹ *Guillelmi I Diplomata*, 34–5 no. 12 (also in *MGH Constitutiones*, i.588–90 no. 413), English translation in *Tyrants*, 248–52.

¹¹² *Italia Pontificia*, x.231 no. 27.

¹¹³ *Diplomi della cattedrale di Messina*, 25–7 no. 16. For the visit, *Romuald*, 252; *Liber Pontificalis*, ii.413–14.

¹¹⁴ *Diplomi della cattedrale di Messina*, 20–3 nos. 14–15; *Romuald*, 247.

Louis VII of France in 1149, and the various foreign marriages contracted by King Roger and his sons Roger and William around that time – the new kingdom had not been fully accepted in the wider twelfth-century political firmament. Although the German empire still refused to recognise its legitimacy, after 1156 Sicily took its place among the other kingdoms of contemporary Christendom, and in particular developed increasingly close and cordial diplomatic links with the kingdoms of France and England, culminating in 1177 with the marriage of King William II to Joanna, youngest daughter of Henry II of England.¹¹⁵ For the papacy, the conclusion of peace in 1156 allowed Adrian IV and his officials an opportunity to restore law and order, and effective administration, to the papal lands around Rome and provide some much-needed, even if short-lived, stability to the papal finances.¹¹⁶ However, the agreement with Sicily led, perhaps inevitably, to a decline in relations between the papacy and the German ruler. When Adrian IV died in September 1159, a disputed election among the cardinals led to a renewal of schism, quite possibly fomented by the imperial representatives in Rome, and a dispute between Alexander III, the pope recognised by most of Christendom, and the emperor that was to last for almost 18 years.

Contemporary German writers, and the supporters of the minority candidate Victor IV, suggested that after 1156 a 'Sicilian party' had emerged, apparently with extraordinary rapidity, among the cardinals, and that it was this group that was responsible for the disputed election and renewal of schism in 1159.¹¹⁷ Yet while Adrian IV may have appointed some new cardinals, or promoted existing ones, who supported the new alliance with the kingdom of Sicily, there had hardly been sufficient time for a wholesale revolution in the composition of the college, especially since only one of the cardinals whom Adrian appointed after 1156 was actually from southern Italy – and he, Albert of Morra, was from the papal town of Benevento, and thus not, strictly speaking, a subject of the *regno*. Either the treaty had led to a change of heart about the Sicilian kingdom among some of the cardinals, or the college was already divided on this issue, perhaps

¹¹⁵ T. Reuter, 'Vom Parvenü zum Bündnispartner: das Königreich Sizilien in der abendländischen Politik des 12. Jahrhunderts', in *Die Staufer im Süden. Sizilien und das Reich*, ed. T. Kölzer (Sigmaringen 1996), 43–56; G. A. Loud, 'The kingdom of Sicily and the kingdom of England, 1066–1266', *History* 88 (2003), 540–67 especially 548–55.

¹¹⁶ Partner, *Lands of St. Peter*, 191–7; Robinson, *Papacy 1073–1198*, 254–6.

¹¹⁷ *Gesta Friderici I*, IV.62, 79, pp. 303–4, 329; Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *De Investigatione Antichristi*, MGH *Libelli de Lite*, iii.361–2. The somewhat later chronicle of Burchard of Ursberg blamed the machinations of the king of Sicily for the schism, *Burchardi Praepositi Urspergensis Chronicon*, ed. O. Holder-Egger and B. von Simson (MGH SRG, Hanover 1916), 37, 40.

quite deeply so, before 1156.¹¹⁸ Quite possibly both suppositions were true. Certainly, if the cardinals were already divided, this would help to explain the swings in papal policy after 1144. If some of the cardinals had been deeply hostile to the new kingdom, others may, like Popes Lucius and Eugenius, have been more pragmatic.

In the years after 1159 the king of Sicily, along with the French king Louis VII, was the principal temporal supporter of the papacy of Alexander III, and upheld the cause of the 'legitimate' papacy against Frederick Barbarossa and the line of anti-popes whom he supported. Sicilian ships carried Pope Alexander from Terracina to Genoa in 1161, and from Messina back to Rome in 1165. A Sicilian naval squadron also escorted Byzantine envoys on their way to meet the pope in France in 1163. Sicilian money supported Alexander at Rome – notably the 60,000 *tari* given by William I on his deathbed in 1166 – and Sicilian troops defended the patrimony of St Peter against imperial attacks, in 1165 and again in 1176.¹¹⁹ Above all, Alexander III was able to take refuge at Benevento for some three and a half years after Barbarossa's capture of Rome in the summer of 1167, under the protection of the kingdom, although resident on what remained papal territory. So long as the schism continued, the Sicilian kings remained loyal to Alexander III. Thus in 1174, William II and his advisers refused the offer of a marriage alliance from Frederick Barbarossa, 'knowing that this marriage would greatly displease Pope Alexander, and bring no small damage to the Roman Church'. This was despite the fact that such a union would bring recognition to the Sicilian monarchy from the German court, and therefore remove the major external threat to the kingdom. Similarly, when negotiations finally commenced to end the papal schism in the autumn of 1176, Alexander requested the king to send a Sicilian delegation to the proposed peace conference:

for the pope was absolutely determined never to make peace with the emperor without King William being involved as a partner in the Church's making peace, for the king had been the Church's assistant and defender in its time of tribulation.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ M. Pacaut, 'Papauté, royauté et épiscopat dans le royaume de Sicile (deuxième moitié du XII^e siècle)', in *Potere, società e popolo nell'età dei due Guglielmi* (Atti delle quarte giornate normanno-sveve, Bari-Gioia delle Colle, 1979) (Bari 1981), 36–8. Robinson, *Papacy 1073–98*, 52–3, may be too dogmatic here. For Cardinal Albert, B. Zenker, *Die Mitglieder des Kardinalskollegium vom 1130 bis 1159* (Würzburg 1964), 126.

¹¹⁹ *Liber Pontificalis*, ii.404; *Romuald*, 249, 252; *Recueil des historiens de Gaule et de la France*, xvi, ed. L. Delisle (Paris 1878), 56–7; *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, ii. *The Later Letters 1163–80*, ed. H. E. Butler, W. C. Millor and C. N. L. Brooke (London 1979), 116–17 no. 168; *Annales Ceccanenses*, MGH SS xix.285–6. Partner, *Lands of St. Peter*, 205, 207.

¹²⁰ *Romuald*, 265–6, 269.

Archbishop Romuald of Salerno was not disposed to underestimate the strength of the links between the Sicilian court and the papacy, or the contribution that the former made to the Church's cause. In his speech to the emperor once peace had been concluded at Venice in 1177, he proclaimed that 'he [William II] always strives to exalt the Church of God and to attack its enemies unceasingly.' Earlier on, he had also alleged that the negotiations for the marriage between the king and Henry II's daughter had been undertaken on the pope's advice; although in fact these had been initiated some years earlier.¹²¹ Nevertheless, the picture of Sicilian diplomacy that he presented (and this later part of the chronicle attributed to him was certainly actually written by Romuald, or someone in his household) was broadly realistic.

Furthermore, relations between the Curia and the Sicilian court remained amicable after the peace of 1177. To some extent, this was still a response to external events, for relations between the papacy and the imperial court remained tense and often difficult through the 1180s, especially during the pontificate of Urban III (1185–7), and particularly with regard to rival papal and imperial territorial claims in central Italy. Hence the popes' need for the kingdom of Sicily as an ally did not cease with the conclusion of the schism in 1177. But the good relations between two also reflected the continued importance of the settlement of 1156. When William II swore fealty to Clement III in February 1188, he did so on condition that the agreement made between his father and Pope Adrian should continue to be observed.¹²² What was also notable was that this was the first occasion since 1156 that the king had sworn such an oath, whereas before 1130 rulers had renewed their fealty to each new pontiff. But from 1156 onwards such formal requirements receded into the background. There was certainly opportunity for such ceremonies to have taken place. Alexander III came to Messina in 1165, and resided at Benevento from the autumn of 1167 until spring 1171. During the winter of 1176–7 he travelled to the peace conference at Venice, via Benevento, Troia and Siponto, and returned to the papal states via the same route in October and November 1177.¹²³ Had the question of fealty been significant, presumably a meeting could have been arranged at one of these times for such an oath to be rendered. But William II did not swear fealty to the papacy until 1188, and even then there was no question of any formal investiture with the kingdom. Moreover, in contrast to all previous such oaths, that of 1188 was not

¹²¹ *Romuald*, 290, 268. Loud, 'Kingdom of Sicily and kingdom of England', 554.

¹²² MGH *Constitutiones*, i.591–2 no. 415. ¹²³ *Romuald*, 270, 294.

taken to the pope in person, but to his representatives. The agreement of 1156 was deemed, on both sides, to have settled the legitimacy and permanence of the Hauteville dynasty. In 1188 Clement III was at pains to reassure the king that once he or any of his successors had sworn fealty there would be no need for that ruler to repeat the oath to any future pope for 'it is not our intention to impose anything that is intolerable, either to you or to your successors'.¹²⁴ What led the pope to want an oath to be sworn, after no such commitment had been made for a generation, was the marriage of Constance, William II's aunt and daughter of King Roger, to Henry, the son and heir of the Emperor Frederick, in January 1186. Indeed, had it not been for the marriage and the designation of Constance as the childless king's successor, it is unlikely that fealty would have been an issue at all.¹²⁵ But with the possibility of the next emperor becoming also ruler of Sicily, the papacy wished once more to establish a precedent for the future, and to stress the juridical link that (at least in theory) subordinated the kingdom, and protected the see of Peter from aggression. That relations with Barbarossa had been so tense in the 1180s only underlined the wisdom of this precaution. However, it was in no sense directed against William II.

The popes of the later twelfth century were still anxious to stress that, as Alexander III pointed out to the French king, Louis VII, in 1163, 'the kingdom of Sicily belongs in particular to the right and ownership of St Peter (*ad ius et proprietatem beati Petri*), but as the pope continued in this letter, because of this, 'we are bound to exercise care and attention for its preservation and good order'.¹²⁶ The best way to achieve this was to work in conjunction with the king and his administration, and not against them, particularly since the papacy was anxious to preserve its political alliance with the kingdom. Admittedly, it has been argued that after 1156 the popes were actively trying to extend their ecclesiastical authority on the mainland.¹²⁷ But there is very little evidence to support such a supposition. There were certainly those of a rigorous pro-papal disposition who disliked the privileged position that the king of Sicily held with regard to the Church in his dominions. The celebrated canon lawyer Huguccio of

¹²⁴ MPL cciv.1486 no. 20.

¹²⁵ For exhaustive discussions of the marriage, G. Baaken, 'Unio regni ad imperium. Die Verhandlungen von Verona 1184 und die Eheabredung zwischen König Heinrich VI. und Konstanze von Sizilien', *QFLAB* 52 (1972), 219–97; C. Reisinger, *Tancred von Lecce. Normannischer König von Sizilien 1190–4* (Cologne 1992), 43–76 (this last particularly clear and helpful). For Constance as heir, *Ryccardi de Sancto Germano Chronica*, 6.

¹²⁶ MPL cc.269 no. 211. ¹²⁷ Pacaut, 'Papauté, royauté et épiscopat dans le royaume de Sicile', 51–60.

Pisa, for example, commented on the power exercised by monarchs in approving the election of bishops and investing them with the temporalities of their sees. 'This is a special privilege in his [the emperor's] person and of some others, as today in that of the king of Apulia, and it is a bad thing.'¹²⁸ Subsequently, in 1192, the provisions of the treaty with regard to episcopal elections, and the largely exempt status of the island of Sicily, were renegotiated, and the king's rights considerably reduced. But up to 1189 the popes were careful to respect the provisions of the Treaty of Benevento. Thus in 1168/9 Alexander III told the canons of Siponto and Monte Gargano to announce the death of their archbishop to the royal court, as the preliminary to the procedure for choosing a new prelate.¹²⁹ In 1178 Alexander reproved William II for keeping the see of Catanzaro in Calabria vacant, while granting its revenues to the archdeacon of the neighbouring see of Cosenza, but he was careful not to infringe the king's rights under the treaty; it was the latter who should tell the canons to choose a new bishop, not the pope.¹³⁰ Alexander may occasionally have been prepared to go further to please the king and his advisers, notably in approving the election of the royal minister Walter, dean of Agrigento, as archbishop of Palermo in 1169, even though his predecessor's resignation was canonically dubious. According to the admittedly prejudiced account of pseudo-Falcandus, this was in return for a substantial bribe.¹³¹

Admittedly Alexander III was not an unqualified admirer of King William II. He did, at some unspecified date, but almost certainly also in the later 1170s, sternly reprove the king for not eliminating the abuses from which, so he claimed, the Church in his dominions was suffering, and comparing him unfavourably with his parents in this respect. But having got this off his chest, the pope continued his letter to make clear that he was responding to one particular complaint from the bishop of Nola. And what he was really objecting to was not that the king himself was oppressing the Church, but that he was insufficiently vigorous in supervising it.¹³²

The significant concession that the king had made in 1156 was to allow papal legates to enter the mainland provinces, something that King Roger had been most reluctant to permit – this was one of the accusations made against him by the Roman Senate to Conrad III in 1149.¹³³ 'Political'

¹²⁸ R. L. Benson, *The Bishop-Elect. A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office* (Princeton 1968), 329.

¹²⁹ *Italia Pontificia*, ix.238 no. 19.

¹³⁰ *Epistolae Pontificum Romanorum Ineditae*, ed. S. Löwenfeld (Leipzig 1885), 159–60 no. 279.

¹³¹ *Falcandus*, 163 (*Tyrants*, 215–16).

¹³² W. Holtzmann, 'Kanonistische Ergänzungen zur Italia Pontificia', *QFIAB* 38 (1958), 122–3 no. 158.

¹³³ Above, note 104.

legations were of course sent to the royal court, notably the two missions of Cardinal John of Naples in 1166 and 1169, and that of the two cardinals who received William II's oath of fealty in 1188. In the former instance, the choice of a cardinal who was a native of the *regno* was tactful, and John may also have been something of a royal representative at the Curia. Certainly he was sympathetic to lay rulers; he was in consequence regarded with great suspicion by the supporters of Archbishop Becket, in whose affairs he was also much involved at this period.¹³⁴ However, the presence of such papal diplomats at court hardly represented a significant interference in the affairs of the south Italian Church. Indeed, if they did interfere it might well be at the behest of the ruler, as when Cardinal William of Pavia, stopping in Sicily while on his way to France in 1167, helped to persuade the chapter at Palermo to elect the queen regent's cousin, Stephen of Perche, already royal chancellor, as their new archbishop.¹³⁵ There were some instances of legates who were actively involved in the affairs of the churches on the mainland, but very few, and sometimes such activities were no more than incidental by-products of diplomatic legations. Thus Bernard, Cardinal Bishop of Porto, was returning from the royal court in November 1166 when on the pope's instructions he consecrated the high altar of the abbey of Holy Trinity at Mileto. Here the provisions of the treaty were being strictly observed, for Mileto was an exempt abbey directly subject to the Holy See, to which the right of consecration thereby pertained.¹³⁶ Another cardinal bishop, Manfred of Praeneste, was on his way with two colleagues from the Curia, then at Benevento, to commence the peace negotiations with the emperor early in 1177, when he judged a dispute between a nunnery near Foggia and the monks of Pulsano, which the former had brought to the pope's attention.¹³⁷ But these cases were rare, and it was far more usual for such appeals to be remitted back to members of the local hierarchy as judges-delegate (see the next chapter). Although in theory the treaty would have allowed the despatch of a general legate, with wide-ranging powers, to the mainland (although not to the island of Sicily), none was sent into the kingdom of Sicily before 1192. Nor is there any evidence that legatine councils were summoned to meet in the mainland provinces, although this too was permitted under the treaty of 1156. The popes were therefore careful not to go beyond what was acceptable to the king in the exercise of their rights.

¹³⁴ *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, ii.606–9 no. 279. ¹³⁵ *Falcandus* III (*Tyrants*, 161–2).

¹³⁶ *Italia Pontificia*, x.148 no. 12. ¹³⁷ *Italia Pontificia*, ix.225 no. 2; cf. *Romuald*, 270.

William II died childless, at the early age of 36, on 18 November 1189. The ensuing conflict between the local claimant to the throne, the king's cousin Count Tancred of Lecce, and the legitimate, but effectively 'foreign' heir, Constance and her German husband Henry VI, split the kingdom for the next five years, for if Tancred had from the first control over the island of Sicily he faced significant opposition on the mainland, especially in the principality of Capua and the Abruzzi province. The dispute over the kingship left the papal Curia in something of a dilemma. It has been plausibly suggested that the delay between King Tancred's election and coronation – he was only crowned two months after William's death – can be explained by his wish, or that of his supporters, to obtain papal confirmation for their choice.¹³⁸ But at the same time the Curia had no wish openly to antagonise the German court, and there was division within its ranks as to the wisest policy to pursue. Tancred certainly had some allies there, notably Albinus, Cardinal Bishop of Albano, who was a native of Gaeta, and whom he described in one of his diplomas as 'my very dear friend'.¹³⁹ But a number of other cardinals were sympathetic to Henry, and the continued strength of imperial control in much of central Italy and a revival of internal problems in Rome in the early 1190s both enjoined caution. Thus any support for Tancred had to remain covert, as did Clement III's approval for his coronation. The papacy tried to appear as the honest broker between the two parties – hence, for example, negotiating the release of the empress after her capture at Salerno in 1191, during the first, unsuccessful, imperial invasion of the *regno*. The Curia continued for a considerable period to try to broker a peaceful settlement, only to find the emperor resolute in refusing anything other than the surrender of the kingdom. In March 1192, for example, he informed Pope Celestine III that the only proposal to which he would agree was, 'that we may be able, as we ought, to possess in peace the kingdom of Sicily that has been treacherously and traitorously seized'.¹⁴⁰ It was only after this rebuff that the pope openly acknowledged Tancred as king, and Celestine III did this at a moment when some of the pro-Staufen (or more cautious) cardinals were absent from Rome.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ D. R. Clementi, 'The circumstances of Count Tancred's succession to the Kingdom of Sicily, Duchy of Apulia and Principality of Capua', in *Mélanges Antonio Marongiu* (Palermo 1967), 59–64.

¹³⁹ 'carissimus amicus noster': *Tancred Diplomata*, 43–5 no. 18, at 45 (his privilege to the city of Gaeta in July 1191). Albinus had been one of the two cardinals who had received William II's oath of fealty in 1188.

¹⁴⁰ MGH *Constitutiones*, i.491–2 no. 344 (Clementi, 'Calendar of Henry VI', 112–13 no. 17). For the empress, *Liber ad Honorem Augusti di Pietro da Eboli*, ed. G. B. Siragusa (FSI, Rome 1906), 53–8, and *Annales Ceccanenses*, ad an. 1193, MGH SS xix.292.

¹⁴¹ Robinson, *Papacy 1073–1198*, 118–19.

Furthermore, the pope required something in return for his recognition of Tancred: namely the renegotiation of the ecclesiastical concordat of 1156, with a considerable dilution of the powers exercised over the Church by the monarch. These concessions were embodied in a new treaty, granted by Tancred at Gravina in southern Apulia in June 1192. Henceforth appeals to Rome were to be freely allowed from Sicily as well as the mainland. The papacy was also to have the right to send a legation to the island every five years. Although in episcopal elections the king's right to be notified of the identity of a new bishop-elect was retained, in the event of the king disapproving of the choice he had no automatic right of rejection, but if the elect was 'a known traitor or open enemy' (in other words a supporter of Henry) he could notify the papacy of that disapproval, in the hope that the pope would then reject the choice. Furthermore the king agreed to do both homage and fealty in future (one should note that there had been no reference to homage in 1188).¹⁴²

From Tancred's point of view such concessions were worthwhile, in return for open papal support. However, they were quite unacceptable to Henry VI and Constance after their eventual conquest of the kingdom in 1194. In their eyes Tancred had been a usurper – his coronation, according to the Staufien propagandist Peter of Eboli, 'a new kind of fraud' – and he had therefore no power to grant any such concessions.¹⁴³ Their objections to the new powers exercised by the papacy in the wake of the 1192 treaty were set out in a long letter from Constance to Celestine III in October 1195. This accused the pope of disturbing the peace of the realm and introducing scandal therein. The grounds for this charge were threefold. First, the pope had despatched a general legate to Apulia and Calabria (this was, although the letter does not name him, Cardinal Peter Capuanus, originally from Amalfi).¹⁴⁴ Secondly, he had interfered with the election of an abbot at the court monastery of St John of the Hermits, patronage of which was particularly dear to the royal family; and thirdly, he had consecrated Hugh, dean of Troia, as archbishop of Siponto, despite his having shown himself by his actions at the papal court to be hostile to her and her husband's interests.¹⁴⁵ (Hugh seems to have been a partisan of

¹⁴² *Tancred Diplomata*, 59–62 no. 25 (also *MGH Constitutiones*, i.593–4 no. 417).

¹⁴³ *Liber ad Honorem Augusti*, 17, line 182.

¹⁴⁴ W. Maleczek, 'Ecclesie patrimonium speciale. Sizilien in der päpstlichen Politik des ausgehenden 12. Jahrhunderts', in *Die Staufer im Süden. Sizilien und das Reich*, ed. T. Kölzer (Sigmaringen 1996), 41–2.

¹⁴⁵ *Constance Diplomata*, 10–14 no. 3 (also published by P. F. Kehr, 'Das Briefsbuch des Thomas von Gaeta, Justiciars Friedrichs II', *QFIAB* 8 (1905), 50–3 no. 9). Discussion: G. Baaken, 'Die

Tancred, having as dean administered the see of Troia during the exile of its pro-Staufen bishop, Walter of Pagliara, in 1191–4.)¹⁴⁶

Both sides undoubtedly considered themselves within their rights in putting forward these claims. Celestine had, for example, already appointed a general legate to southern Italy, Gerald, cardinal deacon of S. Adriano, after the Treaty of Gravina in 1192,¹⁴⁷ and anyway would have been entitled to do so under the Treaty of Benevento. It is probable too that the pope's involvement in the affairs of the monastery of St John had been in response to an appeal by the monks, which they would have been entitled to make according to the treaty of 1192.¹⁴⁸ Similarly, the king had abandoned his right of veto over episcopal and abbatial elections in 1192. However, the new rulers would never accept the legitimacy of that treaty, and whatever may in theory have been permitted by way of legations to the mainland after 1156, in practice there had not been such a general legation before 1189. Constance's letter claimed that only legates sent to the royal court, or others who had acted while in transit to other places, had previously been sent to the kingdom of Sicily; and although there had been some, albeit very occasional, other legatine action, in the main this argument was correct. These 'new and unaccustomed practices', she said, had disturbed the kingdom, in a way that had never occurred 'under our father the lord King Roger, or under the other kings our brother and nephew'. The pope's predecessors had not done this, therefore nor should he. The monastery of St John had been founded by her father, was right next to the palace, and the monks were accustomed to receive their victuals directly from the royal household. Hence any interference here was injurious to the royal majesty. The empress could not permit any diminution of the rights exercised by her predecessors, and indeed she stressed her right of inheritance to the full panoply (*plenitudo*) of that hereditary right. This letter was, in short, an appeal to return to the situation before 1189, as well as a complaint about certain specific grievances concerning the pope's exercise of rights to which he was not entitled.

Verhandlungen zwischen Kaiser Heinrichs VI. und Papst Coelestin III. in den Jahren 1195–1197', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 37 (1971), 489–93; Deér, *Papsttum und Normannen*, 261–2; P. Zerbi, 'Papato e regno meridionale dal 1189 all'1198', in *Potere, società e popolo tra età normanna ed età sveva (1189–1210)* (Atti delle quinte giornate normanno-sveva, Bari–Conversano 1981) (Bari 1983), 65–8.

¹⁴⁶ Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, II, 511, 532–3.

¹⁴⁷ He was rector of Benevento, but also held a commission as apostolic legate, cf. W. Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalskolleg von 1191 bis 1216* (Vienna 1984), 78–9.

¹⁴⁸ Baaken, 'Die Verhandlungen zwischen Kaiser Heinrichs VI. und Papst Coelestin III', 490.

Papal policy towards the kingdom of Sicily after 1195 was complicated by Henry VI's position as emperor, and the busy diplomatic traffic between the papal and imperial courts would seem to have been concerned more with such issues as Henry's attempt to secure his infant son's succession to the imperial throne, his claims to the duchy of Spoleto, and his proposed crusade, than with the affairs of the Sicilian Church. Nor can we assume that Henry's concerns and those of Constance were necessarily identical, or that they always viewed their rule over the kingdom of Sicily in exactly the same light.¹⁴⁹ Indeed, it was even rumoured in Germany that the empress was a party to the plots against her husband in Sicily that came to a head with an attempt to assassinate him in May 1197.¹⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the rights claimed by the monarch over the Church in the *regno* remained a delicate issue, and the emperor upheld these rights in terms very similar to those used by his wife. The appointment of Hugh of Troia as archbishop was, so he complained to the pope in July 1196, 'against the custom of our predecessors and the kingdom'.¹⁵¹ Henry too was appealing to the past. After his death in September 1197, we are told that Constance offered substantial gifts to the papacy, to secure not just papal recognition of her son's succession, but also a renewal of the Treaty of Benevento, including the full range of royal powers over the Church that it embodied. However, according to his biographer, the new pope Innocent III, elected in January 1198, refused to grant what was 'deleterious not only to the Apostolic dignity, but also to ecclesiastical freedom'.¹⁵²

The months after Innocent's election saw intensive negotiations between the Curia and the royal court. The papacy's position might seem to have been formidable, with a new, youthful and dynamic pontiff, with a strong sense of the rights and prerogatives of the See of Peter, faced with a female ruler in uncertain health, acting in the name of a three-year-old child, and ruling over a war-torn and divided kingdom. Furthermore, Constance needed, or was careful to seek, papal sanction for the coronation of Frederick as king in May 1198, or so Innocent's biographer claimed. The price for this would appear to have been the abandonment of any claims to the imperial title in return for confirmation of Frederick as king of Sicily.

¹⁴⁹ D. R. Clementi, 'Some unnoticed aspects of the Emperor Henry VI's conquest of the Norman kingdom of Sicily', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 36 (1953/4), 328–35. For Spoleto and central Italy, Partner, *Lands of St. Peter*, 226–7, and for the Crusade, P. Csendes, *Heinrich VI.* (Darmstadt 1993), 179–88.

¹⁵⁰ E. M. Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily. His Life and Work* (London 1957), 158–60; Csendes, *Heinrich VI.*, 191–2.

¹⁵¹ MGH *Constitutiones*, i.523–4 no. 375 (Clementi, 'Calendar of Henry VI', 180–2 no. 91).

¹⁵² *Gesta Innocentii Papae III.*, c. 21, MPL ccxiv.31–2.

But in the event Frederick was crowned, and his new status publicly recognised by the pope, without a formal investiture or oath of fealty – as Constance had wanted.¹⁵³ And, after several months of intensive negotiations with the Sicilian representatives at the Curia, in a settlement reached very shortly before the death of Constance in November 1198, the pope proved relatively conciliatory on more strictly ecclesiastical matters. It did, of course, cost him nothing to extol the loyalty shown by previous south Italian rulers to the Church, as he did in the *arengae* of the two privileges issued to Constance, one concerning the status of the kingdom as a papal fief, the other with the proper procedure to be followed in episcopal elections, though these terms were surely symptomatic of how he wished the relationship to be viewed, and of his desire that the alliance established in 1156 should be continued. It was notable that in the first of these privileges he specifically cited the 1156 Treaty of Benevento as the model that was followed in Sicilian–papal relations, at least insofar as they concerned the status of the kingdom. But, in addition, while he was clearly unwilling simply to return to the earlier treaty's provisions with regard to the Church, he was prepared to make at least some concession to the Sicilian position. In the second of these two privileges, he used this loyalty to justify a 'special grace' conceded to the rulers over episcopal elections. The terms of this agreement were a compromise, but one that went some way towards recognising the traditional situation. They were certainly not an unequivocal papal victory. Thus, when a bishopric became vacant, the chapter was to notify the ruler. Once a canonical election had taken place, the ruler's assent must be sought, and until this had been received the name of the elect must not be proclaimed (which meant that he was not yet formally and canonically recognised), nor could consecration take place. By this procedure, so Innocent wrote, canonical freedom could be reconciled with his wish to respect the royal honour.¹⁵⁴

What this privilege did not make clear was what right the crown might have, or what it could do, if the choice the canons made was unacceptable. This was probably quite deliberate – the Treaty of Gravina had after all raised the issue, even if denying any royal right of refusal. Now the pope omitted the problem altogether. But he may not have been taking much of

¹⁵³ M. Maccarone, 'Papato e regno di Sicilia nel primo anno di pontificato di Innocenzo III', in *Potere, società e popolo tra età normanna ed età sveva*, 75–108, especially 83–6. This study offers a very valuable discussion of Innocent's policy.

¹⁵⁴ *Die Register Innocenz' III. 1 Pontifikatsjahr 1198/1199*, ed. O. Hageneder and A. Haidacher (Graz–Cologne 1964), 613–18 nos. 410–11 (also in Kehr, 'Das Briefsbuch des Thomas von Gaeta', 57–61 nos. 13–14).

a risk by doing so, vague as the provisions in the privilege were. Disputed elections had rarely been a problem before 1189, and in practice the king had only sought to secure the choice of his own candidate in a very few sees – and sometimes with papal connivance, as happened with the archbishopric of Palermo in 1169. It was the civil war after 1190 and the Staufen succession that had, for a time at least, complicated the issue, as in the unwelcome choice of an erstwhile supporter of Tancred as archbishop of Siponto. In this case, however, while Archbishop Hugh remained in exile during Henry's lifetime, he was then allowed to take possession of his see by Constance.¹⁵⁵ Once Henry VI was dead, it was not in the crown's interest to make an issue of this case.

Similarly, it had been the prospect of Henry's succession that had revived the question of fealty, and even raised demands for homage, although this had not been an issue after 1156. But, although the matter had been raised in 1188, Clement III had been anxious to tread carefully and not to offend William II. He had merely been taking precautions for the future. Admittedly, some scholars have suggested that the question of fealty underlay the disputes after 1194, with Henry VI flatly refusing to make such a submission since he believed that Sicily was rightfully imperial territory and papal sanction was thus irrelevant.¹⁵⁶ However, the only evidence that we have to suggest that fealty was an issue in these diplomatic discussions with the emperor is a retrospective reference by Innocent III, in an address to the cardinals round about 1200.¹⁵⁷ The pope may, admittedly, have sought formally to invest Frederick with his kingdom in 1198, or so the author of the *Vita Innocentii* claimed, but when Constance proved unwilling the issue seems to have been put to one side and quietly dropped. Moreover, the extensive contemporary correspondence from 1195–8 relates to the specific problems concerning the Church, not the question of fealty.

The agreement of 1198 did not mark a complete return to the situation pre-1189. Innocent insisted that appeals should be freely allowed, and that he be able to send legates as he wished, and that they might hold councils.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, ii.532.

¹⁵⁶ Baaken, 'Die Verhandlungen von Verona', 281–93; Zerbi, 'Papato e regno meridionale dal 1189 all'1198', 56, 70–1. However, Maleczek, 'Sizilien in der päpstlichen Politik des ausgehenden 12. Jahrhunderts', 36–7, remains sceptical.

¹⁵⁷ *Registrum Innocentii Papae super negotio Romani imperii*, ed. F. Kempf (Rome 1947), 74–91 no. 29, at p. 79: Innocent said that Frederick ought not to become emperor because 'on account of the imperial dignity, he would be unwilling to do fealty and homage to the Church for the kingdom of Sicily, as his father was unwilling'.

¹⁵⁸ *Die Register Innocenz' III. 1 Pontifikatsjahr 1198/1199*, 618–20 no. 412 (to the bishops and clergy of Sicily); Innocent, *Register XI.208*, MPL ccxv.1523–5 (to Frederick II, January 1209).

Constance was thus forced, or persuaded, to approve some of the concessions that her rival Tancred had made six years earlier, and the papacy had eventually succeeded in renegotiating the privileged position of the Sicilian monarchs vis-à-vis the Church in their dominions. In that sense, the appeal to the past by Henry VI and Constance had failed. But it had not failed completely, for the crown retained its right of supervision in the election of bishops, as agreed in 1198 even if such elections were (at least in theory) to be free and canonical. The procedure laid down in a later privilege of Frederick concerning elections, granted to Innocent III in 1212, was essentially that of 1198.¹⁵⁹ Nor were the concessions made in 1198 entirely to the detriment of the crown. When Innocent III despatched a legate to the *regno* immediately after the conclusion of the agreement, he made clear, in a circular letter to the bishops and clergy of Sicily, that his purpose was to restore peace to the kingdom, and to safeguard the position of Constance and Frederick.¹⁶⁰ This role was to be emphasised even more after the death of Constance, while Innocent acted as the nominal regent for the infant king, as the empress had requested in her will, and (so he was later to claim) in accordance with his position as the kingdom's overlord.¹⁶¹

The long minority of King Frederick, and the role of Innocent III as his guardian, undoubtedly led to a very different situation after 1198 than had been the case during the years of peace between 1156 and 1189. The pope had not just the opportunity of interfering in the affairs of south Italy, but faced the necessity of doing so, and to an unprecedented extent, if he was to uphold the interests of his ward. He was later, indeed, to claim to Frederick that,

In order to defend your rights, we have passed sleepless nights, and delayed lunch until it became dinner, so that through thinking matters over by ourselves, or discussion with others, we might be able to find practical ways of pacifying your inheritance for you.¹⁶²

These efforts led, for example, to the proclamation of a Crusade against the German warlord Markward of Anweiler, the former henchman of Henry VI, in 1199, justified by his alleged links with the Muslims of Sicily,¹⁶³ and to the continued involvement of papal legates in trying to secure peace in the *regno*. As soon as the death of Constance was known at Rome, Innocent

¹⁵⁹ *Friderici II Diplomata 1198–1212*, ed. W. Koch (MGH *Diplomatum*, xiv(i), (Hannover 2002), 291–3 no. 150).

¹⁶⁰ *Die Register Innocenz' III. 1 Pontifikatsjahr 1198/9*, 620–2 no. 413.

¹⁶¹ Maccarone, 'Papato e regno', 104–5. ¹⁶² Innocent, *Registrum* IX.249, MPL ccxv.1081.

¹⁶³ E. Kennan, 'Innocent III and the first political Crusade', *Traditio* 27 (1971), 231–49.

had despatched Gregory, cardinal priest of S. Maria in Portico, as his legate in Sicily, and sent two other cardinals, the former legate Gerard of S. Adriano and John of Stephen in Celiomonte, along with a body of troops to secure the principality of Capua. (They were promptly besieged by Markward in the abbey of Montecassino.)¹⁶⁴ They were followed as legates by Cinthius of S. Lorenzo in Lucina in December 1199, Peter, cardinal bishop of Porto, early in 1201, and then Cardinal Gerard returned as apostolic vicar of the kingdom from 1204 until his death in 1208.¹⁶⁵ Innocent was also ready to issue orders directly to the royal *familiars* who had been left in day-to-day charge of the kingdom by Constance.¹⁶⁶ Furthermore, faced with the defiance of Markward and his German supporters, he commissioned nobles, both natives of the *regno* and outsiders such as his cousin James and the Frenchman Walter of Brienne, to lead troops against them, and then appointed these latter two as master justiciars of the kingdom in September 1202.¹⁶⁷ With regard to the Church, this new direct papal overlordship also led to a number of papal chaplains and notaries being directly appointed to south Italian bishoprics, though one reason for this was to secure loyal supporters not just for the pope but also for Frederick.¹⁶⁸ The first of these, the papal notary and vice-chancellor Rainald, was appointed as archbishop of Acerenza as early as July 1199.¹⁶⁹

Given the extent of this papal involvement, in the Church as well as in the secular affairs of the *regno*, it was hardly surprisingly that there was eventually something of a royalist counter-attack after 1220, when Frederick was finally securely in control of his kingdom. But before 1198, and indeed even sometimes thereafter, both pope and ruler had looked to the Treaty of Benevento as the model for relations between the papacy and the kingdom of Sicily. Not every feature of that agreement was entirely pleasing to canonical rigorists, but for a generation it had provided the

¹⁶⁴ *Gesta Innocentii Papae III*, c. 23, MPL ccxiv.32–3; *Ryccardi de Sancto Germano Chronica*, 19–20; *Die Register Innocenz' III*. 1 *Pontifikatsjahr 1198/1199*, 814–15 no. 551.

¹⁶⁵ Cinthius: *Die Register Innocenz' III*. 2 *Pontifikatsjahr 1199/1200*, ed. O. Hageneder, W. Maleczek and A. A. Strnad (Vienna 1979), 451–6 no. 236. Peter: *Ryccardi de Sancto Germano Chronica*, 23, K. Hampe, 'Ein Sizilischen Legationsbericht an Innocenz III, a.d. 1204', *QFIAB* 20 (1928/9), 40–56. Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalskolleg*, 79, 95–6.

¹⁶⁶ E.g. *Register Innocenz' III*. 2 *Pontifikatsjahr 1199/1200*, 342–3 no. 178.

¹⁶⁷ *Ryccardi de Sancto Germano*, 22, 26–7; *Die Register Innocenz' III*. 5 *Pontifikatsjahr 1202/1203*, ed. O. Hageneder, C. Egger, K. Rudolf and A. Sommerlechner (Vienna 1993), 165–8 nos. 83–4. For a detailed account of events up to 1202, T. C. Van Cleve, *Markward of Anweiler and the Sicilian Regency* (Princeton 1937).

¹⁶⁸ Between 1198 and 1216 Innocent III appointed 15 of his chaplains and notaries to south Italian sees, 5 of these being to archbishoprics, N. Kamp, 'Politica ecclesiastica e struttura sociale nel regno svevo di Sicilia', *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane* 95 (1977), 15–16.

¹⁶⁹ *Register Innocenz' III*. 2 *Pontifikatsjahr 1199/1200*, 299–300 no. 150.

basis for an effective working relationship, especially since both parties, pope and king, had been restrained in the exercise of their rights, and anxious to work together. The political alliance after 1156 had consolidated this practical partnership. When circumstances changed, the popes sought to restrict the privileged position enjoyed by the king with regard to the Church on the island of Sicily, or at least to bring it in line with the situation on the mainland, where the Church's rights had already been enshrined in the Treaty of Benevento. But they sought to do this by negotiation, not confrontation, and even Innocent III was prepared to allow an element of royal supervision in episcopal elections.

In many ways, too, the position had been similar at an earlier period, before the 1120s, when it had also been in the long-term interests of both the new Norman rulers and the papacy to co-operate. Such considerations were far more important than any theoretical claims of the papacy concerning its so-called 'feudal' overlordship, which was never the overriding factor in this relationship. The end of the Investiture Contest, and the consequently more aggressive papal policy under Honorius II, but above all the 1130 schism and its legacy disrupted what had hitherto been a mutually beneficial partnership. But even in the 1140s relations were by no means universally hostile, and there were attempts on both sides to re-establish friendly relations. The wide-ranging provisions of the treaty of 1156 settled both the political situation of the kingdom and the ecclesiastical problems that had previously complicated matters. The alliance that was re-established then allowed the Church in the *regno* to develop in a stable environment, protected by royal authority, something that was far more in its interests than were the tensions caused by earlier confrontation. Such stability and agreement was what the rulers sought as well, but in addition it benefited the papacy by furnishing it with an invaluable political ally at a time when it was locked in dispute with the major political power of twelfth-century Christendom.

The papacy and the Church in southern Italy

When William of Apulia described the synod of Melfi of 1059, where Robert Guiscard was invested as duke, it was notable that he mentioned the ducal investiture almost as an afterthought. The pope, he said, 'had come to this region to deal with ecclesiastical affairs', and his discussion of the council concentrated on Nicholas II's efforts to encourage clerical celibacy. This account reminds us that papal concerns with southern Italy were not just with securing a political alliance with its rulers. The popes also sought to promote the reform and well-being of the south Italian Church, and one might well consider that this aspect was ultimately the more important of the two in their eyes. And, as William's description of the council at Melfi implied, there was in the mid-eleventh century a great deal within the Church in southern Italy that was in need of reform. He was concerned, or his account might suggest that Pope Nicholas was, primarily with the chastity of the clergy: 'for the priests, levites and all the clergy of this area were openly joining themselves in marriage', a state of affairs that the pope was determined to remedy.¹ But while the papacy in the era of the Gregorian Reform was committed to the extirpation of clerical marriage, 'so that the acceptable service of a white and spotless household may be offered to the bride of Christ who knows neither spot nor wrinkle',² there were other problems of the Church in southern Italy that were equally in need of attention.

From the pontificate of Leo IX onwards, the papacy took a much closer interest in the affairs of the south Italian Church than hitherto, not least because from this time onwards the popes made frequent visits to the region, held councils there, could address issues personally, and impose ecclesiastical discipline on prelates who failed to live up to the standards now expected of the leaders of the Church. Thus in the spring of 1050 Leo

¹ *W. Apulia*, II lines 387–405, pp. 152–4 (quote from lines 390–1).

² Gregory, *Reg.* II.67, p. 223 (Cowdrey, 161).

held councils at Salerno, where he launched a campaign against simony, and at Siponto, where he deposed two archbishops guilty of that sin (although to which sees they pertained is unknown).³ Similarly Nicholas II deposed Bishop Angelo of Aquino in 1059, replacing him with a monk from Montecassino, and two further bishops (those of Montepeloso and Tricarico) at the synod of Melfi.⁴ Alexander II deposed Archbishop John of Trani in 1063, although this was for his support of the patriarch of Constantinople after the breach between Rome and the Byzantine Church in 1054, rather than for any moral unfitness to rule his see.⁵ He removed three more bishops during his lengthy visit to the south in the summer of 1067, Landulf of Tertiveri and Lanzo of Lucera for simony, and the latter also for fornication, and also Benedict of Biccari.⁶ Since this last bishopric was allowed to lapse, and Biccari became part of the diocese of Troia, it is possible that the problem here was less the sins of the bishop and more the viability of the see.

Yet the problems of the south Italian Church in the mid-eleventh century were more deeply rooted than simply the presence of a few bad apples among its bishops, nor could occasional papal visits, however heavy-handed their imposition of virtue was, be enough to solve them. Nor indeed did the summary dismissal of unsatisfactory prelates continue on a regular basis. Thus while Gregory VII made three visits to southern Italy during his pontificate, including a stay of three months in Benevento and, especially, Capua in the autumn of 1073, he held no councils in the region, and so far as we know sacked only two bishops: Alo of Conza and Transmund of Valva (in the Abruzzi), both for disobedience.⁷ In fact, as the case of the short-lived see of Biccari implies, and indeed that of the pretensions of the see of Conza (to both of which we shall return later), the major problems needing reform in southern Italy were structural ones. They were the legacy of the chaotic development of dioceses and provinces in the century before 1050, and also of the competition between Rome and Constantinople, that had led to often unchecked and disorganised growth and to a welter of rival claims. The number of sees in Apulia that had claims to archiepiscopal rank was an obvious case in point. Such anomalies as the metropolitan province of Otranto, with the archdiocese in the Salento peninsula physically completely separate from its five suffragan sees in Lucania, also required attention.

³ *Amatus*, III.15, p. 130; 'Vita Leonis', in *Pontificum Romanorum Vitae*, I.158.

⁴ *Chron. Cas.* III.14, p. 376; *Italia Pontificia*, ix.473 no. 1. ⁵ Schmidt, *Alexander II.*, 187–95.

⁶ *Italia Pontificia*, ix.148, 157 no. 6, 204 no. 4.

⁷ Pflugk-Hartung, *Acta*, ii.139 no. 172; Gregory, *Reg.* VIII.15, pp. 535–6 (Cowdrey, 381).

When in 1059 Robert Guiscard promised that 'all churches which lie under my lordship, with their possessions, I shall transfer into your power', what lay behind this, in the mind of the pope, was surely the recognition of papal authority by churches in the former Byzantine provinces, and by implication the reorganisation of the ecclesiastical structures of the region. But with the Norman takeover as yet incomplete, and with Guiscard, ducal title or not, at this stage no more than *primus inter pares* among the Norman leaders, any solution to such problems was unlikely to be effective or definitive.

The first efforts of the reform popes to reorganise the south Italian Church were not, in fact, very satisfactory. In July 1051, for example, Leo IX issued a confirmation of the rights of the archbishopric of Salerno. His chancery followed the example of his predecessors, and confirmed as suffragans of the metropolitan see the same seven dioceses that had been listed since the creation of the archbishopric in the 980s. Only two or perhaps three of these were by this date actually in the principality, three more were in Calabria, and Acerenza in Lucania was in Byzantine eyes part of the ecclesiastical province of Otranto. Nor is it clear whether the see of Nola, which historically was part of the duchy of Naples and was probably not under the direct control of the princes of Salerno, actually existed at this period (no bishop there can be attested until 1093).⁸ This bull therefore had little connection with contemporary reality, and worse, like a number of other papal privileges at this period, it tended to create or continue rival claims that compounded the structural confusion within the Church. Similarly, both Leo and Stephen IX continued to recognise the claims of the archbishopric of Benevento over Siponto, even though the latter church had possessed an archbishop for over 30 years, the independent status of which had been recognised as such by Benedict IX in the late 1030s. The claims of Siponto clearly rankled; in 1062 Alexander II, in response to the complaints of the archbishop of Benevento, ordered the 'bishop' of Siponto to render canonical obedience to Benevento, and the historic subjection of Siponto and Monte Gargano to the archbishop of Benevento was formally and publicly recognised at the papal Lenten synod of 1063. Yet less than a year later Alexander changed his mind and appointed a learned German monk of Montecassino, Gerald, as archbishop of Siponto.⁹ Faced with such rival

⁸ L. Pennacchini, *Pergamene salernitane 1008-1784* (Salerno 1941), 27-9 no. 2 (*Italia Pontificia*, viii.349-50 no. 19). For the bishop of Nola, *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.* v.156 no. 461.

⁹ *Più antiche carte della cattedrale di Benevento*, 130-4 no. 41, 148-50 nos. 47-8; *Chron. Cas.* III.24, p. 391. Klewitz, 'Zur Geschichte der Bistumsorganisation', 362-6. Gerard had been consecrated as archbishop by May 1064, when he witnessed a charter at Siponto in favour of his old monastery, *Le colonie cassinesi in Capitanata*, ii. *Gargano*, 61-3 no. 16.

claims, and with prelates and their clergy vociferously claiming their historic rights, some uncertainty and changes of policy were inevitable, but at this stage, anyway, papal policy towards the sees of southern Italy was often reactive and inconsistent.

The other factor complicating the issue was the creation of new bishoprics. To some extent the papacy encouraged this, and indeed had been doing so since the creation of the metropolitan province of Benevento in 969. Moreover, in some regions new bishoprics were much needed, notably in the principality of Salerno, where, whatever the theoretical claims of the archbishop as confirmed by papal bulls, in practice there were only one or two suffragan bishops (Paestum, and perhaps Conza, if that diocese was actually functioning in the early eleventh century). The first real sign of change here came when in 1058 Stephen IX granted a privilege to the new archbishop, Alfano, another monk of Montecassino, which not only listed the traditional seven bishoprics that were theoretically subject to Salerno (most of which were of course in reality not), but added four more names to this list: Policastro, Marsico, Martirano and Cassano. In addition, he stated that the archbishop could exercise his own judgement in appointing bishops to other places within his province, as he saw fit.¹⁰ Admittedly, there was still an element of unreality about these provisions. Both Martirano and Cassano were in northern Calabria, not in the principality of Salerno; indeed in this same year the bishop of Cassano led a revolt in this region against the Normans – he was probably a Greek, and the see had long been a suffragan of the archbishopric of Reggio. And while Martirano, south of Cosenza, was by this time paying tribute to, and effectively under the control of, the Normans, they would have had no interest in promoting the claims of the archbishopric of what was still, at this period, an independent Lombard principality.¹¹ With regard to these two places, all that the 1058 privilege did was to create another unenforceable claim.

Policastro and Marsico were, however, both within the principality, and both were to become the seats of bishoprics within a relatively few years. Both had also been episcopal seats in the late antique period, or were deemed to be revivals of the ancient sees of *Buxentinum* and *Grumentinum*. They were among a number of new dioceses established over the next generation, the foundation of which created for the first time a proper metropolitan province of Salerno. The initiative for this was, however, not

¹⁰ Pflugk-Hartung, *Acta*, ii.82 no. 116 (*Italia Pontificia*, viii.350 no. 21).

¹¹ *Malaterra*, I.17–18, 32, pp. 18, 22. Whether there was a functioning bishopric at Martirano is unclear, no bishop is recorded for this see until 1090, *Italia Pontificia*, x.118.

so much that of the papacy as of the reforming archbishop, Alfanus I (1058–85), who took advantage of the provision of the 1058 bull to exercise his own initiative in installing new bishoprics. The first of these was at Sarno, on the northern border of the principality, established in 1066. The foundation charter not only established a bishop there, but also delineated the boundaries of the diocese, established the authority of the bishop over the clergy within it, laid down detailed rules as to who might and might not be suitable candidates for ordination, and reiterated canonical provisions as to the appropriate times in the liturgical year for the administration of baptism.¹² But the work of Alfanus as a reformer was supported by the papacy, both by Alexander II's defence of the property of the archbishopric against marauding Normans at his councils at Melfi and Salerno in August 1067 (above, p. 72), and by his strengthening of archiepiscopal authority within the diocese of Salerno in a bull issued from Capua in October 1067 that not only repeated the provisions of the 1058 privilege about appointing new bishops but also firmly established the archbishop's disciplinary and sacramental control over both secular clergy and monks of his diocese.¹³ One reflection of the growing corporate identity of the Salernitan clergy, under archiepiscopal leadership, was the compilation during the pontificate of Alfanus I of the *Liber Confratrum* of Salerno cathedral, which recorded a confraternity not just of the cathedral clergy but of those from churches throughout the diocese, including from erstwhile private churches.¹⁴

The limitations of the extant sources unfortunately prevent us from obtaining such a detailed picture of the further development of the Salerno province. It would seem, however, that a bishop was established at Policastro, in the south, not long after the foundation of the see of Sarno. The first bishop was a monk of Cava, Peter, a nephew of the founder Alferius. According to his biographer he found the burdens of office oppressive, and returned to his monastery, where he acted as Abbot Leo's deputy, then after falling out with his fellow monks he became abbot of one of Cava's daughter houses in Cilento, before eventually succeeding as abbot of Cava.¹⁵ However, while Peter can be attested as abbot of S. Arcangelo in Cilento from 1067 to 1072, and was abbot of Cava from 1079, there also survives the text of a charter from Archbishop Alfanus

¹² Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vii.571–2, discussed by Taviani-Carozzi, *Principauté lombarde de Salerne*, ii.1011–14. The summary by Ramseyer, 'Ecclesiastical reorganization', 209, is somewhat misleading.

¹³ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vii.382–3 (*Italia Pontificia*, viii.351–2 no. 25).

¹⁴ Taviani-Carozzi, *Principauté lombarde de Salerne*, 1019–20.

¹⁵ *Vitae Quatuor Priorum Abbatum Cavensium*, 16–18.

(albeit only in a copy made by a seventeenth-century antiquary) to 'his brother and fellow bishop Peter' of Policastro, dated October 1079, which repeats many of the pastoral provisions of the Sarno privilege of 1066.¹⁶ This document cannot be considered the foundation charter of the diocese, for Peter's biographer was clear that his election as bishop happened in the time of Prince Gisulf (before 1076 therefore), and indeed before he became abbot of S. Arcangelo, so probably therefore c. 1066/7. But if the Peter of 1079 was the same person as the eponymous abbot, he may have remained as bishop, albeit one suspects often an absentee, for a considerable period, although he must surely have resigned the post not long after becoming abbot of Cava. Unfortunately we know nothing about any successors until the early twelfth century.¹⁷

Three further bishoprics were established as suffragans of Salerno. At Nusco, the first bishop, Amatus, was installed c. 1080 and died (or at least made his will) in 1093, a bishop of Marsico is attested for the first time in 1089, and the death of Mirandus, first bishop of Acerno, was recorded by the earliest scribe of the necrology of Salerno *Liber Confratrum* on 9 April, 'fourteenth year in the indiction', almost certainly either 1091 or 1106.¹⁸ Thus by the end of the eleventh century, and probably somewhat earlier, the archbishop of Salerno had, instead of vague claims to distant bishoprics that he had no hope of actually controlling, an organised and geographically coherent province within the principality of Salerno.

Admittedly, this was not quite the end of the historic claims of this archbishopric, as embodied in its earlier papal bulls. The bishopric of Nola remained in dispute between the archbishops of Salerno and Naples, and early on in his pontificate Paschal II even accepted the claims of Salerno over Malvito in Calabria, although this had previously been deemed to be an exempt see, directly subject to the papacy.¹⁹ But while Bishop Bartholomew of Nola even attended a synod of the archbishop of Salerno in 1143,²⁰ neither of these claims was ultimately upheld. When

¹⁶ Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, MS. Patetta 1621, fol. 30r-v.

¹⁷ The *Diptychon* or *Liber Vitae* of Salerno cathedral from c. 1100 or soon afterwards does, however, record 'Bishop Peter of Policastro' as well as an otherwise unknown Bishop *Oto* from the same see, *Necrologio di S. Matteo*, 231, which may suggest that the bishop of 1079 was not the abbot of Cava, who only died in 1123.

¹⁸ *Necrologio di S. Matteo*, 52; *Italia Pontificia*, viii.370, 373-4, 377; Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vii.497, 533. See also E. Cuozzo, 'Amato di Montecassino e Amato di Nusco: una stessa persona?', *Benedictina* 26 (1979), 323-48, although the suggestion there that the bishop was also the chronicler Amatus remains unconvincing.

¹⁹ Pflugk-Hartung, *Acta*, ii.172-4 no. 209 (*Italia Pontificia*, viii.357 no. 40).

²⁰ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vi.255-7.

the province of Salerno was definitively confirmed, by Alexander III in 1169, it comprised only six subordinate sees: Capaccio (to which the long-established see of Paestum had now been officially transferred), and the five later eleventh-century foundations, Policastro, Marsico, Nusco, Acerno and Sarno. Meanwhile, at the Third Lateran Council of 1179 the Bishop of Nola was listed as one of the suffragans of Naples, and Malvito (now transferred to S. Marco Argentino) was once again among the exempt sees.²¹

Furthermore, the archbishopric of Salerno also faced a rival claimant to metropolitan rights within the principality, for the archiepiscopal pretensions of its erstwhile nominal suffragan at Conza were encouraged by the Norman counts of the Principate, as they sought to establish their rule in the south-east of the principality. The papacy was to begin with reluctant to accept these claims, and Gregory VII indeed came down forcefully on the side of Salerno. His dismissal of Bishop Alo of Conza appears to have stemmed from the latter's attempts to withdraw his see from the Salerno province. However, Urban II eventually recognised the archiepiscopal status of Conza in 1098, albeit with the rather weak proviso that its incumbent should also still show 'obedience' to Salerno, and that the archbishop of Salerno should have a voice in the election of its archbishops.²² In practice, though, these qualifications remained a dead letter. Conza continued as a separate archbishopric, with its own metropolitan province comprising six, admittedly small and poor sees, along the eastern border of the principality of Salerno, all of which had apparently been founded in the later eleventh century. Similarly another of Salerno's erstwhile, if entirely theoretical, subordinate sees was also established as an archbishopric. Acerenza became the metropolitan for the province of Lucania – here there was a deliberate papal initiative, probably by Nicholas II, to organise the Lucanian bishoprics under their own, Latin-rite, archbishopric, rather than being dependent on the geographically separate, and Greek-rite, archbishopric of Otranto.²³

The slow and complex evolution of the new metropolitan province of Salerno reveals a number of features that were characteristic of the more general development of the Latin Church in southern Italy after 1050.

²¹ C. D. Fonseca, 'L'organizzazione ecclesiastica dell'Italia meridionale tra l'XI e il XII secolo. I nuovi assetti istituzionale', in *Le Istituzioni ecclesiastiche della 'Societas Christiana' dei secoli XI e XII* (Miscellanea del centro di studi medievali 8, Mendola 1977), 327–52, at 334–5. Much of the following discussion draws upon this important study.

²² *Italia Pontificia*, viii.354–5 no. 35.

²³ Fonseca, 'L'organizzazione ecclesiastica', 341–2; H. Houben, 'Il papato, i normanni e la nuova organizzazione ecclesiastica della Puglia e della Basilicata', in his *Tra Roma e Palermo. Aspetti e momenti del Mezzogiorno medioevale* (Galatina 1989), 121–35, at 125–7.

There was the contrast between historic claims and contemporary reality, and the clash of rival claims over which the papacy had to adjudicate. New sees were founded, but while their origins are often shrouded in obscurity, local initiative appears to have been more important than direct papal interference. Indeed, the role of the popes was usually more reactive than a positive and considered policy. The principal exception to this was the establishment of the archbishopric of Acerenza. Churches could also sometimes be the pawns in local political squabbles, as their claims were encouraged by local lords. Furthermore, the process of creating a new, and relatively more organised and integrated Church structure was a slow one. If almost all the new bishoprics were already in existence by 1100, their role within a provincial hierarchy was still fluid, and it was not until the long pontificate of Alexander III in the second half of the twelfth century that the structure's final shape was confirmed.

The evolution of the episcopal structure in Apulia was complicated by the number of sees that the Byzantine authorities had previously raised to archiepiscopal rank, and also by the sheer number of new sees founded, both before and after the Norman takeover. (One should note that in the Byzantine Church archiepiscopal rank could be simply an honorific, and did not necessarily imply metropolitan authority.) For modern historians the issue has also been confused by the propensity of the cathedral clergy, especially at Bari, to advance the claims of their see by forgery, or at least the 'improvement' of existing documentation. Most of the early papal privileges for the archbishopric of Bari, and some of those for the rival see of Trani, are therefore suspect, if not all are necessarily outright falsifications.²⁴ The Barese clergy were extremely reluctant to admit the archiepiscopal claims of Trani, which like those of Bari derived from the temporary union of this see with Canosa, the original seat of the Apulian archbishopric, in the late tenth century (above, p. 39). Hence Trani, as well as Andria, which eventually became its one and only suffragan, were interpolated into bulls listing the suffragan sees of Bari, while Trani in turn laid claim to jurisdiction over sees that were within the Bari province.²⁵ Later, genuine bulls in turn copied their lists of subordinate sees from these dubious 'originals', hence Andria was still claimed as part of the

²⁴ A. Pratesi, 'Alcune diocesi di Puglia nell'età di Roberto il Guiscardo: Trani, Bari e Canosa tra greci e normanni', in *Roberto il Guiscardo e il suo tempo* (Relazioni e comunicazioni nelle Prime Giornate normanno-sveve, Bari, maggio 1973) (Rome 1975), 225–42.

²⁵ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.61–3 no. 33; Prologo, *Carte di Trani*, 65–7 no. 22, both issued by Urban II in October 1089 and interpolated relatively soon after the event (*Italia Pontificia*, ix.291 no. 4, 319 no. 7).

Bari province as late as 1172, even though a whole string of other bulls had meanwhile proclaimed its dependence upon Trani.²⁶

In addition, a number of sees in this region are remarkably poorly documented, and we know little or nothing about their foundation or endowment. Thus the two bishoprics of Bitetto and Bitonto, in the densely populated area immediately inland from Bari, were mentioned for the first time in a privilege for the archbishopric issued during Urban II's visit to the city to dedicate the new church of St Nicholas in October 1089, a document which in its present form has undoubtedly been interpolated. Whether they actually existed at this period, we do not know: the first reference to named bishops presiding over these two sees comes only in a legal case from the 1170s.²⁷ While a number of new bishoprics in the coastal regions of Apulia were established before the Norman conquest, and most of the others soon afterwards, a few may only have been founded in the early twelfth century. The earliest bishop at Molfetta, for example, can only be attested in 1136²⁸ (for this region, see map IV).

Indeed, a number of south Italian bishoprics had a relatively ephemeral existence, particularly in the metropolitan province of Benevento, in the mountainous centre of the peninsula and stretching up into the Capitanata region of northern Apulia. Papal bulls of the 1050s listed no fewer than 27 sees in this province. Of these, Biccari was suppressed in 1067, as has been noted above, and neither Sessula nor Tocco lasted very long, if indeed bishops were ever established there. At Lesina, on the Adriatic coast, where there certainly had been a bishop in the early eleventh century, the bishopric appears to have lapsed thereafter, although it was revived in the early thirteenth century. Meanwhile the see of *Quintodecimo* was transferred to Frigento, some 8 km south-east of the original site, by 1061.²⁹ In addition, however, a bishop is attested at Morcone, 25 km north-west of Benevento, somewhere not mentioned in the earlier bulls, in 1100. Anacletus II also established a see at Limosano in 1131–2, possibly at the request of Robert de Principato, the lord of the town, who established a territorial and fiscal endowment for the see. But, as with the other initiatives of Anacletus, this was doomed after the end of the papal schism in 1139

²⁶ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.99–101 no. 52. Klewitz, 'Zur Geschichte der Bistumsorganisation', 376.

²⁷ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.103–7 no. 54 (undated, but 1171–8/9).

²⁸ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* G.20, edited C. A. Garufi, 'I diplomi purpurei della cancelleria normanna ed Elvira, prima moglie di Re Ruggiero (1117?–feb. 1135)', *Atti della Reale Accademia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arte, Palermo*, Ser. 3.7 (1904), 27–8.

²⁹ Fonseca, 'L'organizzazione ecclesiastica', 336. The bishop of Frigento attended an archiepiscopal synod in 1061, *Chronicon S. Sophiae*, ii.680. For Lesina, Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, i.271–3.

and disappeared thereafter. Both Morcone and Limosano were still noted as suffragan sees of Benevento in the *Liber Censuum* at the end of the twelfth century, but this appears to have been an antiquarian survival. We have no evidence that either diocese had more than the briefest existence, and it is probable that the first and only bishops attested there were also the last.³⁰ Apart from the subsequent illegitimacy of any action of Anacletus, it is unlikely that the remote Molise uplands needed, or could support several bishoprics. Not only did these two sees disappear, but throughout the Norman period the two existing ones of Venafrò and Isernia were combined under the rule of one bishop.

Similarly, in southern Apulia the see of Cisterna lapsed after its first and only bishop abandoned his charge to become a hermit c. 1050, while that of Lavello was formally suppressed by Paschal II in 1101. This was in a region where there were a number of episcopal seats no great distance one from another, and the sees that disappeared were probably unneeded and unviable. The territory of both these defunct bishoprics was incorporated within the neighbouring diocese of Melfi, and Paschal expressly justified his suppression of Lavello because it was too close to Melfi.³¹ The bishopric of Lavello was eventually revived in the later twelfth century. Further south, in the Basento Valley in Lucania, the erstwhile bishopric at Montepeloso had an even more chequered history. After Nicholas II had dismissed its bishop and that of the neighbouring see of Tricarico at the synod of Melfi in 1059, the metropolitan, the Archbishop of Acerenza, combined the two dioceses as one. Subsequently, with the agreement of Archbishop Arnold of Acerenza, in 1093 Count Geoffrey of Conversano established a monastery there, which was made subject to the Campanian abbey of St Lawrence, Aversa. Thirty years later, in response to a petition from the people of Montepeloso, Calixtus II re-established the bishopric, with the monastery of St Mary as its cathedral, and the former abbot as the new bishop. However, during the civil war of the 1130s Montepeloso was besieged and captured by King Roger's army. The king, according to the chronicler Falco, admittedly no admirer of his, 'sacked the city of Montepeloso and its monasteries, and slew all its inhabitants, men, women and children, by the sword'. Not surprisingly, the bishopric

³⁰ *Italia Pontificia*, ix.113, 192. Two charters of Robert de Principato for Bishop Gregory of Limosano, dated April 1132, in the first year of the latter's pontificate, were copied in Archivio segreto vaticano, Collectoriae 61, fols. 21–31.

³¹ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, i.924 (*Italia Pontificia*, ix.498 no. 2); *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, ed. K. Reindel (MGH *Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, iv, 4 vols. 1988–93), ii.350 no. 72.

collapsed. Sixty years later another attempt was made to revive it, but this was turned down by Celestine III.³²

Nevertheless, despite such false starts, a large number of new bishoprics were founded in southern Italy between c. 970 and c. 1130, the majority of them during the second half of the eleventh century. The contrast between the ecclesiastical structure, such as it was, in the early Middle Ages and that in the time of the 'Norman' kings was striking. In Apulia, for example, there were in 900 only eight bishoprics; by the later twelfth century there were 46.³³ In the principality of Salerno, there were before 1050 only three sees (Salerno, Paestum and Conza). A century later there were 14, split between the two metropolitan provinces of Salerno and Conza. The disadvantage of this process, however, was that while it provided a large number of bishops to carry out the Church's ministry, many of the dioceses were very small and very poor.

There were several reasons for the proliferation of new bishoprics during the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. In some cases there may have been a wish to revive an early Christian see that had long since lapsed. Certainly attempts were made to link new bishoprics with ancient ones that had once existed; thus Count Roger I's establishment of a bishopric at his Calabrian headquarters, Mileto, in 1080 was justified as the revival of the ancient diocese of Vibo Valentia. Similarly, when Calixtus II created the see of Catanzaro in 1121 (assuming that the fragmentary Calabrian chronicle that records this is actually genuine), this was deemed to be a re-creation of the ancient bishopric of *Tria Taberna*.³⁴ Sometimes this was the result of direct action by secular rulers, as with the new bishoprics established by the Byzantine Catepan Basil Boiannes in the towns he founded along the border of the Capitanata after the defeat of the 1018 rebellion.³⁵ However, neither the Norman princes of Capua nor the dukes of Apulia were active in this respect. The episcopal structure in the principality was already well established by the time of the Norman takeover – the only see established by the Normans was at their own new town of Aversa, and that was founded during the pontificate of Leo IX, before the Normans had

³² *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.* v.185–6 no. 470; *Falco*, 154; *Italia Pontificia*, ix.476–80. For the full text of the 1123 bull, *Papsturkunden*, iv.102–5 no. 2.

³³ Martin, *Pouille*, 563.

³⁴ *Italia Pontificia*, x.79 no. 4, 138 no. 3. The authenticity of the so-called *Chronicon Trium Tabernarum*, ed. E. Caspar, 'Die Chronik von Tres Tabernae in Calabrien', *QFLAB* 10 (1907), 1–56, has been much debated. If it was an antiquarian forgery, it was an early one: it is known to have been in existence by 1533.

³⁵ S. Borsari, 'Aspetti del dominio bizantino in Capitanata', *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana*, n.s. 16 (1966/7), 55–66.

taken Capua. Nor were the dukes active in creating new bishoprics, despite the reputation for piety that Roger Borsa and Duke William apparently enjoyed. The only new bishopric that can be linked directly with ducal initiative was that of Ravello, on the Amalfitan peninsula, established by Victor III at the request of Duke Roger in 1087.³⁶ This was in a region that was only very loosely under ducal control, and often restive. It was possible that the duke's action was intended in some way to strengthen his position in the duchy of Amalfi, or to gain favour from the inhabitants. But, elsewhere in their dominions the dukes appear to have left such matters to local initiative, perhaps because the towns under direct ducal control already possessed episcopal sees.

The secular ruler who did, however, leave his mark on the Church structure was Roger I. Apart from the foundation of the bishopric of Mileto, and the conversion of several other Calabrian sees from the Greek to the Latin rite – and his monastic foundations – he was instrumental in creating a diocesan structure on the island of Sicily. When the Normans invaded Sicily, it is probable that the Greek archbishop at Palermo was the only Christian bishop on the island, who as Malaterra, somewhat scornfully, remarked: 'although he was a Greek and a timid man, had been celebrating the Christian religion as best he could' in a poor church near the former cathedral, long since converted into a mosque.³⁷ By 1083 he had been succeeded by a Latin-rite, and probably French archbishop, Alcerius,³⁸ and a second see had been established at Troina, in the Val Demone in the north-east of the island, where the majority of the inhabitants were Christians, albeit of the Greek rite. But at that period the south-east of the island, the Val di Noto, was still in Muslim hands, and the creation of a diocesan structure throughout the island had to wait until the last Muslims had finally surrendered in 1091. Soon afterwards Roger founded and endowed four further bishoprics, at Catania and Syracuse on the east coast, Agrigento on the south coast and Mazara in the west. The see of Catania was based upon the Benedictine monastery that Roger had already founded in that city in 1091, and to which the count had granted the lordship over the city. The other Sicilian bishoprics were not as generously endowed, although each of them was given some landed resources.³⁹ They certainly became more prosperous than many of the mainland sees.

³⁶ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, i.1182–3. ³⁷ Malaterra, II.45, p. 53. ³⁸ *Italia Pontificia*, x.229 no. 20.

³⁹ Malaterra, IV.7, pp. 88–90. L. T. White, *Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), 105–9; Loud, *Age of Robert Guiscard*, 174–6.

On the mainland, however, and especially in Apulia, the initiative of local lords was probably the major factor in the creation of new sees after the Norman conquest, and towns that became the *caput* of a lordship almost invariably acquired a bishop if they did not already possess one. Only rarely can this process be documented. One place where it can be was at Gravina, on the Murge, the barren limestone ridge of inland south Apulia, where in 1092 a new bishopric was created in response to the wishes of the Norman lord, Humphrey son of Aichardus. Here Humphrey had to overcome the doubts of the metropolitan, Arnold of Acerenza, who thought that Gravina was too poor to support a bishop. Only when Humphrey and his knights promised to give the bishop a tithe of all their revenues in money and kind did he relent and permit the foundation.⁴⁰ Sometimes there may have been more general popular pressure from the inhabitants of a town, as with the re-establishment of the bishopric of Montepeloso in 1123, and if we can believe the *vitae* of Gerald of Potenza and Albert of Montecorvino such popular feeling could sometimes accompany the election of a bishop (above, p. 127). One might also suggest that this pressure reflected a growing population and the expansion of some existing, if small, urban centres. The foundation of a number of new sees in the coastal region of central Apulia also reflected the economic expansion of this area, based upon growing, and large-scale, olive production, while in the Capitanata it accompanied the colonisation of a region that was, before the Norman conquest, and except on its margins, thinly populated.⁴¹ Finally, in some cases there was the desire of archbishops, and especially those in the former Byzantine provinces whose sees' claims to archiepiscopal status was not fully established, to acquire suffragan bishops whose existence would buttress their metropolitan claims. This may, for example, have explained the foundation of the bishoprics of Mottola and Castellaneta, to provide subordinates for the hitherto autocephalous archbishopric of Taranto, although this undoubtedly took place also with the support and permission of the lord of this region, Richard the Seneschal, one of the many nephews of Robert Guiscard.⁴²

The papal role in this expansion of the Church structure may seem to have been relatively limited, and often little more than reacting to local initiatives, or at best encouraging some archbishops, like Alfano of

⁴⁰ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vii.115–16 (also in *Codice diplomatico del regno di Carlo II d'Angio*, ed. G. del Giudice, i (Naples 1863), appendix no. 15, pp. xxxii–xxxiv). Kamp, 'Vescovi e diocesi', 389.

⁴¹ Martin, *Pouille*, 279–89, 362–6.

⁴² Kamp, 'Vescovi e diocesi', 384; Fonseca, 'Organizzazione ecclesiastica', 387–8.

Salerno, to found sees where they might be needed. Whatever canon law and Church tradition may have stipulated, papal permission to found a new bishopric was not always sought, and even where this was it may often have been retrospective. The popes were not necessarily happy with this state of affairs. Gregory VII complained to Count Roger about his unilateral action in founding sees at Mileto and Troina, not least because the creation of Mileto might infringe the rights of the archbishopric of Reggio, and the count was warned that he was not to act in this way in future.⁴³ One reason for Calixtus II being sympathetic to the revival of the bishopric at Montepeloso in 1123 was that the previous union of the see with Tricarico had been carried out by the archbishop of Acerenza without papal sanction. However, as time went on, it became more usual for papal permission to be requested, if only to provide clear legitimacy for the foundation. It is probable, for example, that Urban II sanctioned the plans of Roger I for the new Sicilian bishoprics during his visit to the island in 1089; certainly the new foundations all received papal bulls very shortly after their creation, and the new bishops of Syracuse and Agrigento received consecration from the pope in person. At the same time Urban vetoed a proposal to erect a further see based on the island monastery of Lipari, which he thought unsuitable because of its bleakness and lack of inhabitants.⁴⁴ Roger also claimed that the transfer of the see of Troina to Messina in 1096 had been done after consultation with Urban.⁴⁵ It appears therefore that after his reproof from Pope Gregory in 1080, the count of Sicily was careful to act with papal approval. If more cathedral archives had survived on the mainland, we might have a much fuller picture of papal action there, as well. As it is, the origins of many of the new bishoprics are obscure. But even with the imperfect state of the surviving sources, significant papal involvement can still be discerned, for a number of different reasons.

First and foremost, there was the popes' wish to ensure that the Church in southern Italy should possess a clearer and more suitable structure than it had hitherto possessed. This meant sanctioning and creating metropolitan provinces, which with the exception of Capua, and perhaps Benevento,

⁴³ Gregory, *Reg.* IX.25, p. 607 (Cowdrey, 424).

⁴⁴ *Italia Pontificia*, x.359 no. 1 (June 1091). Bulls for the other Sicilian sees, *ibid.*, 290 no. 19 (Catania, March 1092), 317 no. 70 (Syracuse, Nov. 1093), 264 no. 9 (Agrigento, October 1098). Urban's bull for Mazara has not survived; it was, however, mentioned in a subsequent one of Paschal II in October 1100, *ibid.*, x.252 no. 2.

⁴⁵ Cusa, *Diplomi*, 289. This was also referred to in a confirmation of the rights of the see of Messina by the Empress Constance in 1196, *Constance Diplomata*, 191–4 no. 52.

c. 1050 either did not exist or were no more than in embryo. Since this in turn led to disputes and rival claims, the popes were required to judge such disputes and arbitrate on claims, although this process was an imperfect one, and as in the quarrel between Bari and Trani vulnerable to attempts by the local clergy to manipulate the record. Furthermore, diocesan boundaries were in many cases as yet unclear, and the popes would on occasion be drawn into disputes about these, as for example that between the archbishop of Benevento and the bishop of Troia concerning the territory of the suppressed diocese of Biccari. This argument seems to have begun in the 1080s; according to the Troia version of events when Archbishop Roffred of Benevento 'violently seized' the disputed territory. The issue was raised by Bishop Hubert of Troia at the last synod of Urban II's pontificate, held in Rome at Easter 1099, and according to the Troia account would have been settled in their church's favour but for the delaying tactics of the archbishop, who secured a postponement that, with all the parties busy with other issues, allowed the case to fall into abeyance. It was revived once again, 'vigorously' (*viriliter*), by Bishop William (II) of Troia at the Lateran synod of Lent 1112. Following the example of his predecessor, Archbishop Landulf successfully requested a further delay, claiming that he had not been prepared for such a claim, and it was decided that the case should be heard when the pope next came to Benevento. Nevertheless, when he did come there, a year later, the archbishop continued his procrastination, and the case was eventually settled, in favour of Troia and on the advice of several cardinals who had been involved in the original inquiry under Urban II, at Ferentino in the papal states in October 1113.⁴⁶ The extended time-scale, and the opportunities for the party with the weaker case to spin proceedings out, were characteristic of such disputes. But this example shows quite how much contact there was between some members of the south Italian episcopate and the Curia, something enhanced by the frequent visits of the popes to their enclave at Benevento.

Sometimes too the popes might have to arbitrate in internal disputes within a diocese, as in the long-running quarrel between the clergy of Brindisi and Oria as to which of these two churches should be the cathedral for the diocese. The Brindisi–Oria dispute was complicated by local politics, for the counts of Conversano upheld the claims of Brindisi, while Robert Guiscard's son Bohemond, and subsequently his widow Constance of France, supported Oria.⁴⁷ Urban II decreed the transfer of

⁴⁶ *Chartes de Troia*, 160–5 no. 41. ⁴⁷ Martin, *Pouille*, 577.

the see to Brindisi, which he considered to be its historic seat 'where it had existed from antiquity', during his visit to Apulia in the autumn of 1089, and he personally dedicated the new cathedral; but ten years later he was rebuking Bishop Godinus for still treating Oria as the cathedral of the diocese. The bishop was told in no uncertain terms that ordinations, the holding of synods, the consecration of chrism and other episcopal functions could only take place at Brindisi, and that the clergy of Oria should be forced to accept this.⁴⁸ Yet the dispute continued to rumble on through much of the pontificate of Paschal II.

In addition, the issue was complicated by the claims of the prelates at Brindisi to enjoy archiepiscopal status, which their predecessors had undoubtedly enjoyed under Byzantine rule, and as a mark of this to have the neighbouring see of Monopoli, which in the tenth century had been united with the church of Brindisi in one diocese, as a suffragan. The bishop and clergy of Monopoli were, however, just as determined to escape this subjection. The status of Brindisi was not finally settled until Calixtus II appointed a cardinal, Abelard or Baialardus, to the see in 1121/2, granting him the rank of archbishop, but also upholding the independence of Monopoli, as a diocese that was to be directly subject to the papacy, which was what Urban II had decreed at the council of Benevento in 1091. The archbishopric was, however, to be at Brindisi, and was allowed one subordinate, the bishop of Ostuni, perhaps as a consolation prize for the loss of Monopoli.⁴⁹ The end result was not entirely satisfactory – the archiepiscopal status of Brindisi, with its one suffragan, hardly contributed to a sensible provincial structure in Apulia, and Urban's exemption of the Monopoli diocese in that respect was unfortunate, but it was done at a time when he was trying to prevent the aspirations of the bishop of Brindisi to higher status, and his successors were clearly reluctant to reverse his decision.

The appointment of the cardinal to Brindisi, although it was one of a number of such appointments to the more important south Italian sees at this period, may in this particular case have been desired so that the pope had a reliable subordinate in place, above local loyalties, to put an end to the interminable dispute. And for a time it did, although half a century later the clergy of Oria were once again causing difficulties, complaining that they had not received formal notification of the consecration of a new

⁴⁸ Pflugk-Hartung, *Acta*, ii.146–7, 166–7 nos. 179, 202; Lupus Protospatharius, *Annales*, MGH SS v.62; *Romuald*, 198 (*Italia Pontificia*, ix.388–9 nos. 14–16).

⁴⁹ *Italia Pontificia*, ix. 375 no. 6, 376 no. 9, 392 no. 28.

archbishop, and somewhat later apparently raising once again the claims of their church to be the cathedral of the diocese. However, Alexander III gave them short shrift. There was no precedent for having formally to notify Oria of the appointment of a new archbishop, and if the clergy and people there did not cease their 'seditions and scandals', the king of Sicily would punish them. In a second letter, c. 1178/9, he introduced an apparently new, though entirely sensible, argument: the see had been translated to Brindisi because it had many more inhabitants than Oria, and canon law stated that bishoprics should not be based in small towns or villages. Even then the quarrel did not go away. In 1199, while trying to settle the case of an archbishop-elect to whom there were 'many and grave objections', Innocent III was forced once more to refuse the requests of the chapter of Oria for their church to be allowed cathedral status.⁵⁰

Although Brindisi was one of several dioceses in the region with more than one church with claims to be the cathedral, the nature and ramifications of this dispute were relatively unusual. Papal involvement in the affairs of an individual diocese were more commonly caused by disputes about the possession of particular churches or, albeit less frequently, claims for exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, invariably by monasteries. That these latter cases occurred is, in itself, testimony that bishops were exercising much greater authority over the churches and clergy in their diocese than had usually been the case in the pre-Norman period, although claims to exemption usually involved only the wealthier and more important monastic houses. There tended not to be a problem where these claims were supported by clear precedent and documentary evidence, and hallowed by time, as for example with Montecassino, although its widespread congregation of subordinate churches, greatly expanded as we have seen during the Norman conquest, inevitably involved the abbey of St Benedict in litigation, and often at the Curia. But the status of more recent foundations could be much more controversial. Two such cases in particular involved the papal court during the pontificate of Urban II.

The first of these involved the monastery that was second only to Montecassino in its phenomenal expansion in the wake of the Norman conquest: Holy Trinity, Cava, which had already by the 1080s progressed a long way from its modest origins, to become by far the wealthiest and most influential monastic house in the principality of Salerno. Urban II took Cava under the special protection of the Apostolic See in 1089, as well as upholding its rights over its subordinate monasteries in Cilento, about

⁵⁰ *Italia Pontificia*, ix.394–5 nos. 38–9; *Register Innocenz' III. 2 Pontifikatsjahr 1199/1200*, 456–7 no. 237.

which it was in dispute with Bishop Maraldus of Paestum. He also gave Cava permission to build a church to possess baptismal rights in the village that had developed next to the abbey (the modern-day Corpo di Cava). The one reservation that he made was that it should still receive episcopal sacraments from the archbishop of Salerno, rather than being able to choose any bishop to confer these, as some exempt houses could, although blessing of the abbot was to be conferred by the pope in person. Three years later Urban confirmed this favour by personally dedicating the new abbey church.⁵¹ However, when Urban visited Salerno in August 1098, he was faced with bitter complaints from Archbishop Alfano II about his previous privileges to Cava, and apparently admitted that these had been granted unjustly, and without considering the rights and previous privileges of the archbishopric. What may have been a telling argument was the claim that many churches had been removed from archiepiscopal jurisdiction and made subject to Cava 'through the hands of laymen' (*per manus laycorum*). Though it was not expressly stated in the surviving documents, it seems that an inquiry was launched, as a result of which nine months later Urban cancelled the exemption privilege that he had granted a decade earlier, and made Cava and its dependencies once more subject to the archbishop.⁵² However, fifteen months after that, in August 1100 on his first journey into the south, the new pope Paschal II reversed this decision, and once again made Cava exempt, and more generously than before, for instead of Cava being simply 'under the special tutelage and protection of the Apostolic See' it was now to be 'free from the yoke of all secular and ecclesiastical persons, so that it shall be deemed subject only to the holy and Apostolic Roman Church', and the monks could now receive episcopal ministrations from any bishop they chose, rather than, as in the 1089 privilege, only from the diocesan.⁵³

One can only guess at the reasons for such a dramatic reversal by Paschal of his predecessor's decision, but the most probable factor was some energetic lobbying among the cardinals during the intervening period. It may well be significant that of the six cardinals who witnessed the renewed exemption privilege of August 1100, all three cardinal bishops, and the only one of the other three whose earlier career is known, had been monks, although the Cluniac Odo (II) of Ostia (who might have been presumed to

⁵¹ *Italia Pontificia*, viii.318 nos. 6–7; *Annales Cavenses*, MGH SS iii.190.

⁵² Pflugk-Hartung, *Acta*, ii.164–5 nos. 198–9 (seemingly two variants on the same document), MPL 151, cols. 547–8 no. 300 (*Italia Pontificia*, viii.355–6 nos. 36–8).

⁵³ Pflugk-Hartung, *Acta*, ii.169–71 no. 206 (*Italia Pontificia*, viii.324 no. 19).

favour monastic exemptions) had also been present in 1098 when Urban had lent a sympathetic ear to the archbishop.⁵⁴ Furthermore, in contrast to so many other ecclesiastical law cases that, like the saga of Brindisi and Oria, were endlessly revived, this decision proved decisive. The Cava exemption was never again questioned.

The other such case that arose at the same period was more complicated, and much more protracted. This concerned the abbey of St Lawrence, Aversa, which was granted a wide-ranging privilege of exemption by Urban II in May 1092. This included the right to choose any bishop from whom to receive episcopal ministrations, to deny the diocesan access to its church unless invited, protection from bishops laying an interdict on the monastery or its cells, and the right of the abbot to wear the episcopal mitre and ring at festival services.⁵⁵ Since the then bishop of Aversa, Guimund, had himself been a monk in Normandy, and furthermore his brother had been Abbot of St Lawrence in the early 1080s, he may not have raised any objection to this.⁵⁶ However, his successors were less well-disposed towards the abbey, not least because they had other complaints as well. These involved a grant of fishing rights on the Lago di Patria (near the coast to the west of Aversa) made by Prince Jordan I to the abbey in 1080, but which cut across similar rights claimed by the bishop, and (a much more significant ecclesiastical issue) rival claims over the nunnery of St Blaise at Aversa. The quarrel about the fishing rights had already been the subject of litigation in a secular court in 1098, but the ecclesiastical issues were brought before Paschal II at Benevento in the autumn of 1101. There, in the presence not just of the pope but of the archbishop of Capua and several of his fellow bishops from that province, Bishop John of Aversa launched a full-scale assault on the St Lawrence exemption, complaining in particular that other bishops had infringed his episcopal rights by conferring ordinations on monks of the abbey. The case was eventually settled when the pope returned to Rome in November 1101, largely in favour of the bishop, with the abbot promising canonical obedience to the bishop, and recognising the latter's rights over the nunnery.⁵⁷ This might have been expected to settle the issue, and for a considerable time it did. However, the

⁵⁴ In addition to Odo, Milo of Palestrina had been a monk of St Aubin, Angers; Bruno of Segni at Montecassino, and Teuzo of Sts John and Paul is known to have been a monk. The earlier careers of the Frenchman Robert of S. Eusebio and Paganus of S. Maria Nuova are unknown, Hüls, *Kardinäle*, 103–4, 111–12, 165–7, 234–5.

⁵⁵ *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.* v.132–3 no. 452 (*Italia Pontificia*, viii.289 no. 1).

⁵⁶ Ivo of Chartres, *Epistolae*, no. 78, MPL 162, cols. 99–100; Orderic, ii.270.

⁵⁷ Pflugk-Hartung, *Acta*, ii.171–2 no. 208. Cf. *Diplomi inediti dei principi normanni di Capua, conti di Aversa*, ed. M. Inguanze (Miscellanea Cassinese 3, 1926), 4–5 no. 2 (1080), 20–2 no. 8 (1098).

argument about the fishing rights was revived at a royal court presided over by King Roger at Capua in November 1144, and again in the 1230s, when despite the apparently secular nature of the dispute it was investigated by papal judges-delegate. Meanwhile, in 1151 Eugenius III confirmed once again the exempt status of the monastery, and it was duly entered among the exempt houses directly subject to the papacy in the *Liber Censuum*.⁵⁸ In 1202 Innocent III recognised the nunnery of St Blaise as a possession of the abbey; and in 1208 the bishop was once again complaining that his diocesan rights were being infringed.⁵⁹

It can be seen from these two cases that there was no concerted policy of granting exemptions as a means of increasing direct papal influence within the south Italian Church. Such privileges, of which there were anyway relatively few, might be granted to distinguish monasteries of particular wealth and status. Urban II noted, for example, in his privilege to St Lawrence, Aversa, in 1092 that this house had during his lifetime 'grown from small to great'. But if any one factor linked those south Italian houses made directly subject to the papacy it was more that these were abbeys founded by, or closely linked with, the secular rulers, notably those founded by the Hauteville dynasty. Venosa and the Calabrian monastic foundations of Robert Guiscard were all exempt abbeys, as were almost all of those houses founded by Roger I. Urban II granted St Bartholomew of Lipari exemption in 1091, citing the Donation of Constantine as justification, but since his privilege was issued from the comital capital of Mileto one can assume that this was with the consent of, or more likely as a favour to, Count Roger. When Urban granted exemption to Holy Trinity, Mileto, in 1098, his bull made clear that this was at Count Roger's express request. Although we have no direct surviving evidence, the canons of Bagnara later claimed that their house had been exempt from its earliest years, and submitted what were deemed to be genuine papal bulls to that effect for inspection – and since their house was already listed as exempt in the mid-twelfth century schedule of such houses copied into the *Liber Censuum* this claim may well have been true. Finally, although the hermits of S. Maria della Torre only received a full and formal exemption privilege in 1224, the foundation bull of this house, issued by Urban II in 1092, already permitted them to choose any bishop to administer those sacraments that needed a bishop to confer them.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 107–9 no. 62; *Liber Censuum*, i.243. Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, i.350.

⁵⁹ Loud, *Church and Society*, 113–16, for fuller discussion.

⁶⁰ *Italia Pontificia*, x.67 no. 1, 145 no. 1 (full text: *Papsturkunden*, ii.331–4 no.8), 157, 158–9 no. 1, 359 no. 1; *Liber Censuum*, i.20, 243–4.

Similarly, while St Lawrence, Aversa, may not have been directly founded by the counts of Aversa (as indicated above, the origins of this house are obscure), it was much favoured by the comital/princely dynasty, as was Cava by the dukes of Apulia after their takeover of the principality of Salerno. Furthermore, among the south Italian bishoprics that were made directly subject to the Holy See, outside the structure of the metropolitan provinces, were those of the two key ducal bases in inland Apulia, Troia and Melfi, both of which towns saw the meeting of papal councils, and the comital capital of Mileto.⁶¹ Thus the growth of exemption in southern Italy appears to be, if anything, a consequence of the close alliance between the popes and the secular rulers.

However, as the two particular cases discussed above show, Urban II and Paschal II were sensitive to complaints by diocesan bishops, and the Curia tended to examine cases on their merits. Nor were attitudes very consistent. Urban II changed his mind over Cava's exemption, and if in that case Paschal restored and amplified the original privilege, by contrast in that of St Lawrence, Aversa, he upheld at least some of the episcopal claims. Nor was the Curia keen to encourage such ecclesiastical legal disputes: in the 1101 bull that settled the dispute at Aversa, it was noted, perhaps rather more than as a matter of form, that there was great sadness about such discord between religious figures over 'temporal matters'. And while a surprising number of south Italian sees were made directly dependent on Rome, in some cases this appears to have been, not a unilateral extension of papal authority, but an attempt to avoid dispute. For example, the archbishops of Capua and Naples both claimed that the bishopric of Aversa ought to be subject to them; and it was because of this dispute that Urban II personally appointed, and perhaps actually consecrated, Bishop Guimund in 1088. Urban subsequently decreed that Aversa would be subject to Naples, apparently after considerable lobbying on the latter's behalf, not least from Gisulf, the deposed prince of Salerno, who after losing his principality had remained close to the papacy.⁶² However, in 1120 Calixtus II made the see of Aversa directly subject to the Roman Church, citing the consecration of 1088, and that of the first bishop Azolinus by

⁶¹ In the early twelfth century the clerics of Troia claimed that the exempt status of their see dated back to the pontificate of Benedict IX: however, it is more probable that the first grant was that of Alexander II in 1067, Klewitz, 'Zur Geschichte der Bistumsorganisation', 366–70. The origins of the Melfi exemption are obscure, but Paschal II decreed in 1101 that the bishop should receive consecration directly from the pope, Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, i.924 (*Italia Pontificia*, ix.498 no. 2). Mileto received an exemption privilege from Urban II in October 1093, *Italia Pontificia*, x.139 no. 5.

⁶² Somerville, *Pope Urban II, the Collectio Britannica and the Council of Melfi*, 53–8, 63–7; cf. Ivo of Chartres, *Epistolae*, no. 78, MPL 162, cols. 99–100.

Leo IX, as precedents for this (the right to personal consecration by the pope was one of the key features of exempt status). For most of the twelfth century Aversa was considered to be an exempt see: but the claims of Naples were never abandoned, and although Celestine III continued the tradition of personally consecrating the bishop in 1192, he proclaimed that this was 'without prejudice' to the rights of Naples. Finally, in November 1198, Innocent III decided that in future Aversa should be subject to Naples.⁶³ It looks therefore as though the exemption of this see was an attempt to resolve disagreement between two rival metropolitans.

As we have already seen, the exemption accorded to the bishopric of Monopoli was part of an attempt to deny the claims of Brindisi to archiepiscopal status, and continued even after these claims had been recognised, perhaps more as historical accident than anything else. Meanwhile the exemptions accorded to Bisignano and Malvito, in Calabria, may well have derived from the rival claims of Reggio, to which these sees had been subject under Byzantine rule, and Salerno, whose papal bulls claimed authority over them from the 989 onwards.⁶⁴ The privileged status of Malvito may also have derived from its links with Robert Guiscard, whose principal base during the early part of his career was at S. Marco Argentano, within the diocese of Malvito, as also was his monastic foundation of Mattina. (By the middle of the twelfth century the cathedral of this diocese had been transferred to S. Marco.)⁶⁵

Several other Calabrian sees were for a time made directly subject to Rome: Cassano and Squillace by Paschal II, and the new see of *Tria Taberna*/Catanzaro apparently by Calixtus II. The privileged status of Cassano may have been linked with the role of Bishop Sasso as apostolic vicar in Calabria, which post he was filling from 1096, when he played a part in the installation of the first Latin bishop at Squillace, until at least 1101, while the exemption privilege granted to Squillace was justified by reference to ancient tradition, as proven (supposedly) by a letter of Gregory

⁶³ MPL 163, cols. 1183–4 no. 20 (*Italia Pontificia*, viii.284–5 no. 6), repeated by Innocent II in 1142 and Alexander III in 1169; *Die Register Innocenz' III. 1 Pontifikatsjahr 1198/1199*, 601–2 no. 402 (which refers to the earlier action by Celestine).

⁶⁴ Both Bisignano and Malvito were classed as exempt in the *Liber Censuum*, i.23, 243, and the bishop of Malvito/S. Marco was among the exempt bishops at the Third Lateran Council of 1179, although the earliest surviving bull for Bisignano dates only from 1192, and even this is somewhat ambiguous, *Papsturkunden*, v.598–600 no. 22, while no twelfth-century bull survives for Malvito. Kehr, *Belehungen*, 13, suggested that they had been directly subject to the papacy from the time of Robert Guiscard onwards: they were certainly exempt in the thirteenth century.

⁶⁵ The bishop of S. Marco was attested for the first time in 1157, *Carte latine di abbazie calabresi*, 53–5 no. 20. Bishop Lawrence of Malvito witnessed the foundation charter of Mattina in 1065, *ibid.*, 3–5 no. 1. For Guiscard at S. Marco, *Amatus*, III.7–10, pp. 121–5; *Malaterra*, I.16–18, pp. 16–18.

the Great.⁶⁶ Assuming that the chronicle of *Tria Taberna* is genuine, then the exempt status of this see must surely have been derived from the direct papal role in its foundation in 1121–2. All three of these bishoprics were listed in the mid-twelfth-century schedule of exempt sees copied into the *Liber Censuum*. Yet by making so many Calabrian bishoprics directly dependent on the Apostolic See, the popes were undermining any prospect of an effective provincial structure in Calabria, as well as contravening the historic claims to authority of the archbishopric of Reggio. This appears to have led to some second thoughts. Hence in 1165 all three of these erstwhile exempt bishoprics were once again made subject to Reggio, and so they were also listed in the later, more contemporary parts of the *Liber Censuum*.⁶⁷ In the thirteenth century and thereafter they remained among the nine suffragan sees of the province of Reggio.

It can be seen from the discussion above that, although largely excluded from the island of Sicily by the privilege granted to Count Roger in 1098, papal influence otherwise stretched right across mainland southern Italy, including down into the territory ruled by the count of Sicily in the deep south of Calabria. That Calabria was certainly not outside the sphere of papal activity is also apparent from the continued relations of Paschal II with the hermits of S. Maria della Torre and their prior Lanuinus, who succeeded Bruno of Cologne as their leader in 1101. Lanuinus was, for example, commissioned by the pope to act as his agent in arranging the election of a new bishop at Mileto (a see that was directly dependent upon the papacy) in 1104. It seems that there had been some problems here: Lanuinus was, if necessary, to lay an interdict upon the canons of the cathedral, and was to consult with Countess Adelaide of Sicily – at this period acting as regent for her son Simon – and the ‘good barons’ of the region, in order to arrange a canonical election.⁶⁸ Nor in grave cases was papal influence entirely excluded even from Sicily. In 1111 Paschal commissioned a group of leading local ecclesiastics from both Calabria and Sicily to investigate charges of simony that had been made against Archbishop Walter of Palermo – the Archbishop of Reggio, the Bishop of Catania, the abbot of St Euphemia and (once again) Prior Lanuinus. As in the earlier case at Mileto, where consultation with the ruler was specified, it is not clear that the inquiry into the affairs of the archbishop of Palermo was in

⁶⁶ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, ix.402, 426–7, 429–30; Trinchera, *Syllabus*, 85–6 no. 68; *Italia Pontificia*, x.27 no. 2.

⁶⁷ *Italia Pontificia*, x.23 no. 10; *Liber Censuum*, i.22, 243, ii.104. ⁶⁸ *Italia Pontificia*, x.70 no. 8.

any sense aimed against comital authority. The prelates involved ruled over churches closely linked with the count, whose father has founded the see of Catania and fostered and endowed the hermits of S. Maria della Torre, and they were instructed that if the archbishop could purge himself of the accusation, then he should be restored to office, which in the event they duly did.⁶⁹

The ejection of the archbishop of Cosenza in 1114, the rebuke administered by Paschal II to Count Roger II in 1117 for exceeding his authority in exercising his rights over the Church in Sicily, and the count's reluctance to accept papal arbitration in his dispute with Duke William in 1121, might suggest that relations deteriorated sharply once Roger came of age in 1112 and undertook personal control over his dominions. It was probable, as has been suggested above (pp. 150–1), that memories of these incidents were a significant factor in Honorius II's reluctance to accept Roger's claim to the ducal title in 1127. Nevertheless, despite these moments of tension, there was still some contact between churchmen from the young count's dominions and the papacy. If the evidence for such links during the period 1112 to 1127 is limited, that may be more to do with the patchy survival of Calabrian archives than anything else. We may even prefer to disregard the story of the personal role of Calixtus II in the foundation of the see of *Tria Taberna*/Catanzaro, during the Curia's ill-fated visit to Calabria in 1121/2, since this is contained in a source of doubtful authenticity, although most modern authorities have accepted the essential historicity of that account. But we know, for example, that Calixtus personally blessed Abbot Nicholas of Holy Trinity, Mileto, possibly during that same visit, and then in March 1122, immediately after his return to Rome, confirmed the exemption of this abbey, which was of course a comital foundation. Furthermore, a year or so later Calixtus translated Bishop Peter of Squillace to the archbishopric of Palermo. It is possible, perhaps even probable, that this translation was performed while Peter was attending the Lateran Council of March 1123 – he is certainly attested as attending this gathering, as archbishop – but it is surely inconceivable that his transfer was made, from one see within the count's dominions to another, without the agreement of Count Roger.⁷⁰ Nor was this the only occasion when Sicilian and Calabrian bishops attended Roman councils. The archbishops of Reggio and Cosenza, Bishop William of Syracuse, and the Greek archbishops of

⁶⁹ *Italia Pontificia*, x.229 no. 22. Walter was also subsequently attested in office in 1112–13, Pirro, *Sicilia Sacra*, i.80–1; Garufi, *Documenti inediti*, 9–11 no. 3.

⁷⁰ *Papsturkunden*, ii.339–41 no. 12 (*Italia Pontificia*, x.146–7 no. 8), *ibid.*, 230 no. 24.

S. Severina and Rossano all attended the important 1112 council, when Paschal II had to defend himself against critics of his concessions to the Emperor Henry V a year earlier.⁷¹

The attendance of south Italian prelates at papal councils was one obvious sign of the growth of papal influence within the south Italian Church, as well as providing valuable support for the 'Gregorian' pontiffs during the continuing dispute with the Western Empire and the various imperially sponsored anti-popes. As early as 1059 the archbishops of Benevento, Capua and Salerno, and seven other south Italian bishops, as well as three from the Abruzzi, attended Nicholas II's Roman council, another very significant gathering, especially in that it promulgated the reform of the procedure for papal elections.⁷² But the limitations of the attendance of this council should also be noted: all but two of the south Italian prelates came from the Campania, only the bishops of Troia and Siponto were from Apulia, and as one might expect at this early date there was none at all from Calabria.

By 1112 the situation was very different. Although both William of Malmesbury's account and the surviving synodical decree only mention the most prominent of those who attended, these included the archbishops of Acerenza, Amalfi, Benevento, Brindisi (listed as an archbishop), Capua, Conza, Otranto, Reggio, Rossano and S. Severina, as well as Bishop William II of Troia and William of Syracuse as the representative of the Sicilian bishops. Among the others known to be present was Abbot Gerard of Montecassino.⁷³ Thus, by this stage prelates from all over southern Italy were attending a Roman council. Archbishop Sennes of Capua appears to have taken an especially prominent role.⁷⁴ A similarly wide-ranging and impressive group were present at the election of Gelasius II at Gaeta in 1118: the archbishops of Bari, Benevento, Capua, Naples, Salerno, S. Severina, Siponto and Trani, and (again) William II of Troia, as well as the abbots of Montecassino and Cava, and possibly also the archbishop of Brindisi.⁷⁵

However, the major factor that encouraged recourse to the papacy, and the increase, and indeed regularity, in contact between south Italian

⁷¹ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, 772–3. ⁷² Mansi, *Concilia*, xix.909–12.

⁷³ MGH *Constitutiones*, i.570–3 no. 399: William mentions the archbishop of Cosenza, but the decree makes clear that this was actually Conza. *Chron. Cas.* IV.45, p. 513.

⁷⁴ He was noted by name both in the *Acta* of the council, Mansi, *Concilia*, xxi.55, and by the German chronicler Ekkehard (one of only two prelates whose attendance he singled out), *Chronicon Universale*, MGH SS vi.246.

⁷⁵ *Liber Pontificalis*, ii.314–15. The archbishop of Brindisi was here named as 'Abelard', but it is unlikely that he became archbishop until c. 1121.

churchmen and the papacy, was the physical presence of the popes in the south. That both Urban and Paschal regularly held councils in the region, both at Benevento and in Apulia, apparently very well attended (even if we lack exact details), obviously encouraged such links (above, p. 143). So too were the dedications of major churches that the popes carried out. When Paschal II dedicated St Sabinus, Canosa, in 1102, there were also present, in addition to three cardinal bishops, six archbishops and five other named bishops, 'and a huge congregation of many other clergy'.⁷⁶ In contrast to prelates from other areas of Christendom, those from southern Italy were often personally known to the popes, and had regular contact with the Curia.

A number of high-profile legal cases certainly enhanced this regular contact. To take but one example, we can look at the long-running attempt by the abbey of Montecassino to incorporate the abbey of St Sophia, Benevento, under its authority. (This was one of a number of claims to authority over other south Italian monasteries made by the abbots of St Benedict, but they had rather more justice in this claim than in some other cases, for the original nunnery of St Sophia had been subject to Montecassino, before its conversion to a monastic house for men in the 940s.)⁷⁷ The claim was raised by the monks of Montecassino at Gregory VII's Lenten synod of 1078, again at the council of Melfi in 1089, at the council of Troia in 1093, at Urban II's Lenten synod in Rome in 1097, at the council of Bari in October 1098, and in a further meeting held at Benevento a few weeks after that. The Cassinese version of these events suggests that Urban II was sympathetic to their claim, but unable to do anything because of local opposition at Benevento – over which the pope's hold at this period was anyway fragile. After some years in abeyance, Abbot Gerard of Montecassino raised the claim once again at a synod in Benevento in 1113 and in Rome in 1116, again without success.⁷⁸ Montecassino, with its wealth and influence within the Church in southern Italy, its strategic position next to the Via Latina (the principal route south from Rome), and its importance as an intellectual centre sympathetic to the moral reform of the clergy, already had close links with the papacy, and would inevitably have continued these. But this long-running, if ultimately unsuccessful, legal claim was undoubtedly one factor encouraging regular contact – and that of the monks of St Sophia, as well, for they were anxious

⁷⁶ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, ii.211–12 no. 1.

⁷⁷ The independence of St Sophia was established in a legal case heard before Prince Landulf II of Benevento in 945, Benevento, Museo del Sannio, Fondo S. Sofia, vol. 8 no. 8.

⁷⁸ G. A. Loud, 'A Lombard abbey in a Norman world: St. Sophia, Benevento, 1050–1200', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 19. *Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1996* (Woodbridge 1997), 278–80.

to secure privileges vindicating the dependence of their house on the Roman Church alone.⁷⁹ Furthermore, it may well have encouraged one further effect as well, for Montecassino's spokesman in this dispute, from 1078 onwards, until the council of 1098, was its librarian and archivist Leo Marsicanus. It was this case that made Leo known to the Curia. Is it fanciful to suggest that the qualities he displayed then played a part, perhaps an important one, in securing his eventual promotion, between 1102 and 1107, to be cardinal bishop of Ostia?

A number of other long-running legal disputes that involved the papacy have already been discussed. It should be stressed that the majority of such cases were personally judged by the popes, and that delegation of such matters to others, as in the accusation of simony against the archbishop of Palermo in 1111, was exceptional. When in 1122 Calixtus II ordered a dispute between two nunneries at Benevento to be heard by a group of cardinals, we are expressly told that he did this only because he himself was unwell.⁸⁰ In addition, one should emphasise that alongside exemption disputes and rival claims by metropolitans, there were other, more mundane cases, often concerning rights over a particular subordinate church, that were also brought before the popes for judgement: cases such as the dispute between the abbey of St Lawrence, Aversa, and the bishop of Caiazzo over the church of the Holy Cross at Caiazzo, between c. 1097 and 1106, the long-running dispute between Montecassino and Torremaggiore over the church of St Maria di Casale, settled at Benevento in February 1113, and that between Montecassino and the Bishop of Aversa over the church of St Agatha of Aversa, heard at Rome in the autumn of 1113.⁸¹

The case involving Torremaggiore is interesting in revealing both the attendance at the papal court of other clerics from southern Italy, not all directly involved in the case, and also the presence at Benevento of clergy from elsewhere in Christendom, a sign of how customary the residence of the papal Curia was there. In addition to the archbishop of Benevento (as one might expect) the former included Archbishops Sennes of Capua and Riso of Bari, Bishop William of Troia (busy pursuing his dispute about Biccari at this synod), the bishop of Venosa, the abbot of the nearby monastery of the Holy Saviour of Telese, and the bishop of Terracina

⁷⁹ *Chron. S. Sophiae*, 624–44 (1084, 1092, 1101). ⁸⁰ *Falco*, 64.

⁸¹ Loud, *Church and Society*, 116; T. Leccisotti, 'Antiche prepositure cassinesi nei pressi del Fortore e del Saccione', *Benedictina* 1 (1947), 98–100 no. 6; Gattula, *Historia*, 281, cf. *Chron. Cas.* IV.52. St Agatha, Aversa, had been given to Montecassino in 1085 by Jordan I of Capua, *Regesto di S. Angelo in Formis*, 62–3 no. 22. The dispute with Torremaggiore had begun under Abbot Oderisius I of Montecassino, who died in 1105.

(the most southerly diocese in the Roman Campagna), who was a former monk of Montecassino. The latter included the archbishop of Auch and several other French bishops, and two envoys from the patriarch of Antioch – representing their church in the celebrated and protracted dispute with the Patriarchate of Jerusalem about the ecclesiastical province of Tyre.⁸²

However, the increasingly close contacts with Rome, and the many visits that the popes made to southern Italy in the years up to 1130, affected the Church in the region in various other ways as well. Like other archbishops, the south Italian metropolitans had canonically to receive the *pallium*, the scarf that was the liturgical symbol of their office, to be worn while celebrating mass on the major church festivals, from the pope. Furthermore, a number of them, and some of the other bishops whose sees were directly subject to the Apostolic See, also obtained the privilege of receiving episcopal consecration directly from the pope. Similarly, the abbots of exempt monasteries often received installation through direct papal blessing. The origins of such a practice are, however, somewhat obscure. Interestingly, Urban II claimed, in his bull issued on the occasion of his consecration of Archbishop Elias of Bari in October 1089, that it was ‘against Roman and Apostolic custom’ to perform such a personal consecration, but on this occasion he had done so through reverence for Saint Nicholas (whose church he had just dedicated) and ‘conquered by the love of your people’ – yielding therefore to the enthusiasm of the citizens.⁸³

However, this was probably not the first time that a pope had performed such a ceremony, and Urban himself may have consecrated Bishop Guimund of Aversa the year before, although this practice undoubtedly became more frequent after 1089.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, the evidence for such consecrations by the popes is neither as full, nor as reliable, as one might wish. Thus both extant versions of the *Annales Beneventani* recorded that Gregory V ‘consecrated’ (*consecravit*) Archbishop Alfano as far back as 985, although either the year or the pontiff must be in error here, for Gregory only became pope a decade later. By contrast, the *Annales* said that Leo IX

⁸² Pflugk-Hartung, *Acta*, ii.205 no. 247. For this dispute, J. G. Rowe, ‘The papacy and the ecclesiastical province of Tyre’, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 43 (1960), 160–89. For Gregory of Terracina, *Chron. Cas.* IV.42, p. 511.

⁸³ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.61–3 no. 33.

⁸⁴ As Somerville, *Pope Urban II, the Collectio Britannica and the Council of Melfi*, 54, points out, the terminology used was often unclear, and the text in *Collectio Britannica* said simply that Guimund ‘was made’ bishop by Urban, ‘despite ancient custom’. However, in a later bull of 1120 Calixtus II expressly stated that Bishop Azolinus of Aversa had been ‘consecrated’ by Leo IX and Guimund by Urban II. Robert, *Bullaire du Pape Calixte II*, i.271–2 no. 85. Leo IX also granted the abbot of Tremi the right of receiving blessing directly from the pope in 1053, *Cod. Dipl. Tremi*, ii.156–8 no. 49.

'ordained' or 'appointed' (*ordinavit*) Archbishop Udalric in 1053, and the bull issued by Leo to the archbishop at his installation made no mention of consecration by the pope, although the latter did confer the *pallium* on him.⁸⁵ One wonders, therefore, if the earlier reference may have been subsequent scribal interpolation. Similarly the fragmentary surviving Troia chronicle recorded that almost all the bishops of that see, from 1041 onwards, received direct papal consecration, but generally gave no further details, except occasionally the date. We may well be sceptical about some of these claims, particularly the earliest example cited, in 1041, since it appears probable that the exempt status of the bishopric of Troia only dated from after the takeover of the town by Robert Guiscard c. 1058/60.⁸⁶ In some of the later cases, where an exact date is given by this brief chronicle, such direct papal consecration can only have occurred if the bishop travelled to Rome to receive it, as with Bishop Hubert (allegedly consecrated on 20 June 1097) since, although no confirmation of this location is given by the source, Urban II remained in Rome from late March until November in 1097. The earliest unequivocal evidence of the right of the Bishop of Troia to receive consecration directly from the pope comes in a bull of Paschal II in November 1100.⁸⁷ But even after this, there are still problems evaluating the information concerning the bishops in the fragmentary Troia chronicle. Hence we are told that Bishop William II was consecrated by Paschal II on 18 December 1106, but this was at a time when the pope was actually in France, and it seems most unlikely that the bishop followed him there to receive consecration.⁸⁸

We know, however, that some other prelates did indeed travel to Rome to receive blessing or consecration direct from the pope, as for example Abbot Roger of S. Angelo, Mileto, in the early months of 1100. Paschal II also blessed Abbot Gerard of Montecassino at Rome early in 1112, although when he personally consecrated Cardinal Riso of S. Lorenzo in Damaso as archbishop of Bari, and granted him the *pallium*, at Rome in April of the same year, this was presumably because he was already present in the City.⁸⁹ Calixtus II blessed Abbot Oderisius II of Montecassino at Rome during the Lateran Council of 1123, and in this case it is clear that he had

⁸⁵ *Annales Beneventani*, 126, 138; *Più antiche carte della cattedrale di Benevento*, 130–4 no. 41. Gregory V was actually pope from May 996 to February 999.

⁸⁶ Klewitz, 'Zur Geschichte der Bistumsorganisation', 366–70. ⁸⁷ *Chartes de Troia*, 147–8 no. 35.

⁸⁸ *Italia Pontificia*, ix.206 no. 13. Paschal II left Italy in November 1106, spent Christmas at Cluny, Ekkehard, *Chronicon Universale*, MGH SS vi.241–2, and did not return to Rome until November 1107.

⁸⁹ *Papsturkunden*, ii.334–6 no. 9; *Chron. Cas.* IV.45, p. 513; *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, v.103–4 no. 58.

been formally summoned by the pope.⁹⁰ Yet Montecassino, with its close links with the papacy, may well have been exceptional – Oderisius had, for example, already been a cardinal deacon for a decade before he became abbot – and it was probably more usual for such ceremonies to take place when the popes were themselves in the south.

The obvious occasions for these events were the ecclesiastical councils held in the region: thus Archbishop Bisantius of Trani received the *pallium*, and confirmation of his see's direct dependence on Rome – against the claims of Bari – from Calixtus II at the council of Troia in November 1120.⁹¹ Urban II blessed Abbot Grimoald of St Clement of Casauria, in the Abruzzi, when he visited Chieti to preach the Crusade to a gathering of local bishops and barons late in 1096 or early 1097, and by doing so established a precedent that became the custom for later abbots.⁹² Bishop Robert II of Aversa was personally consecrated by Gelasius II in 1118, probably during the latter's visit to Capua immediately after the council at Gaeta where he was elected.⁹³ The frequent visits of the popes to Benevento also presented opportunities for these ceremonies, not least for the archbishops of that see and the abbots of St Sophia. Thus Paschal II consecrated Archbishop Landulf during his synod at Benevento in November 1108.⁹⁴ When Calixtus II came to Benevento in the summer of 1120 he first blessed Abbot John III of St Sophia as abbot at mass in the abbey church on 19 August, and also dedicated the altar of St Mercurius there on the same occasion. He then ordained the archbishop-elect Roffred as a priest in the palace at Benevento on 18 September, consecrating him the next day in the cathedral in the presence of ten of his suffragan bishops. Roffred had actually been elected a year earlier, immediately after the death of his predecessor on 4 August 1119; but the pope was then in France, and the archbishop's consecration was delayed until the pope could arrive at Benevento. There seems to have been no question either of him going to Rome to await the pope's arrival, or still less setting a precedent by receiving consecration from other bishops. The pope then insisted, even after his arrival in Benevento, on waiting for the appropriate Ember period for the consecration. Similarly, although Abbot Franco of St Sophia was elected in November 1128, he waited for the next visit of Honorius II to Benevento in August 1129 to receive his canonical blessing.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ *Chron. Cas.* IV.78, p. 542. ⁹¹ Prologo, *Carte di Trani*, 72–3 no. 28. ⁹² *Chron. Casauriense*, 872.

⁹³ This was referred to by the later bull of Calixtus II, Robert, *Bullaire du Pape Calixte II*, i.271–2 no. 85 (September 1120). Gelasius spent most of his brief pontificate in France.

⁹⁴ *Annales Beneventani*, ed. Bertolini, 153. ⁹⁵ *Falco*, 52, 58, 104.

In addition, the popes of this period also took advantage of their journeys in southern Italy personally to dedicate churches. Urban II, for example, dedicated the cathedral of Brindisi and the crypt church of St Nicholas of Bari, built as a site for the recently obtained relics of the saint, during his visit to Apulia in the autumn of 1089, as well as personally consecrating Archbishop Elias.⁹⁶ In 1092 he dedicated the new abbey church at Cava.⁹⁷ But the pope who was especially active in this respect was Paschal II. Among the churches he dedicated were the abbey of Mileto (or at least its high altar) in July 1101, St Sabinus of Canosa (effectively the secondary, or alternative, cathedral for the Bari diocese) in September 1102, the abbey church of St Dominic at Sora in August 1104, the cathedral of Gaeta in 1106, the rebuilt abbey church of St Benedict, Capua, in December 1108, the new abbey of St Mennas at Sant'Agata dei Goti in September 1110, the new abbey church of St Vincent on Volturmo in September 1115, and the cathedral of Siponto in April 1117.⁹⁸ In the last two cases the consecration ceremony also included the solemn reinterment of the relics of the patron saint, and at the dedication of the church of St Vincent an indulgence was also offered, both to those present and to those subsequently visiting the shrine. Subsequently, in April 1117, Paschal renewed the exemption of the abbey of St Vincent, and granted the abbots the right to wear the quasi-episcopal mitre and dalmatic at major festivals (a right already enjoyed by the abbots of Montecassino and St Lawrence, Aversa). By this time, too, he had appointed Abbot Amicus as a cardinal.⁹⁹ The consecration and this subsequent privilege may be seen as marking the real revival of this historic abbey after the tribulations that it had endured at the hands of the Muslims in the ninth century and its neighbours, Norman and Lombard, in the later eleventh.

These activities – the consecration of archbishops and bishops, the blessing of abbots, and the dedication of churches – should be seen in a primarily religious context, and not as the deliberate extension of papal jurisdiction. As the example of the dedication of the new abbey church of St Vincent, about which we are better informed than for most other such ceremonies, shows, these were great spiritual occasions, in which the pope

⁹⁶ Lupus Protospatharius, *Annales*, MGH SS v.62; *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.61–5 nos. 33–4.

⁹⁷ *Annales Cavenses*, MGH SS iii.190.

⁹⁸ *Italia Pontificia*, x.145 no. 4; *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, ii.211–12 no. 1; *Annales Ceccanenses*, MGH SS xix.281; *Italia Pontificia*, viii.88 no. 1; *Chron. Cas. IV.33*, p. 499; Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, viii.346; *Chron. Vult.* i.20–1, 99; *Italia Pontificia*, ix.241 no. 1.

⁹⁹ *Chron. Vult.* iii.169–72. There was, interestingly, no mention of the confirmation of any previous exemption here, although there had been a previous such bull in 944.

was fulfilling his pastoral mission. The ceremony of 1115 was attended by 'cardinals, bishops and 20 abbots', and not only was an indulgence offered to all those who remained at the abbey for 40 days, but those attending were all urged to make their confession. Such ceremonies were occasions of great popular rejoicing and religious enthusiasm. At the dedication of the new abbey church of Montecassino in 1071, an even larger occasion attended by more than 50 bishops, including some from central as well as southern Italy, we are told that:

The crowds filled all the monastery buildings, all the roofs of these buildings, the whole of the road from the bottom to the summit of the mountain, and I would say all the houses of the town, all its squares and the length and breadth of the neighbouring fields were filled, indeed jammed, with the crowds of people gathered there.

The dedication itself, the culmination of three days of ceremonies, was accomplished 'with great devotion and immense rejoicing from all who were gathered there'.¹⁰⁰ Similarly the dedication of the new church of St Nicholas at Bari in 1089 took place 'at the request of Duke Roger and his brother Bohemond' (not therefore in any sense against the interests of the secular rulers) and 'in the presence of a great and joyful crowd of people'.¹⁰¹ Even without such a specific focus, papal visits were often accompanied by scenes of mass enthusiasm. Falco of Benevento described the arrival of Calixtus II at Benevento in August 1120, the first papal visit for three years (a longer than usual gap at this period):

The people of Benevento, who had long wished for this, went out full of joy some two miles from the city. Finally the pope was welcomed gloriously and with great rejoicing by the clergy and priests, a crowd of monks, and by all the people. Meanwhile the Amalfitans had decorated all the squares with silken draperies and stoles and other precious ornaments to celebrate his arrival. Among these ornaments they had put gold and silver thuribles, with sweet-smelling things and cinnamon. Four citizens led the pope's feet and the reins of his horse from the Ponte Leproso to the gate of S. Lorenzo, and then another four took over from there to the cathedral, from the cathedral four judges took him to the Sacred Beneventan Palace.¹⁰²

There was also a musical accompaniment, with drums, cymbals and lyres. Whatever the customary ceremonies for the reception of a pope, and what took place at Benevento seems to have been very similar to papal *adventus*

¹⁰⁰ *Chron. Cas.* III.29, p. 398.

¹⁰¹ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.61–3 no. 33.

¹⁰² *Falco*, 56.

rituals at Rome,¹⁰³ Falco makes clear that his arrival in 1120 was greeted with real popular approval.

Furthermore, such actions as the granting of exemptions were, as we have seen, usually a response to requests from particular churches, and, given the number of Hauteville foundations that were granted exemptions, probably from the rulers as well. Such privileges for bishoprics might well be a means of avoiding continued dispute and rival claims by contending metropolitans. The papacy was certainly not committed to a consistent policy of extending the role of exemptions; if anything, the granting of such privileges was hesitant, and subject to recall and modification. Similarly, the number of ecclesiastical law cases brought for papal judgement was far more due to the litigious propensities of the clergy, the structural problems within the south Italian Church that inevitably led to dispute, and the physical availability of the papal court than to any wish at the Curia to intervene aggressively in local affairs.

To what extent, therefore, was there any positive policy of increasing papal authority over the south Italian Church in the period up to 1130? There was a wish to regulate the structure and organisation of the Church, and to develop an infrastructure of dioceses that could provide an effective spiritual ministry, but this was a response to the lack of adequate ecclesiastical structures before the Norman takeover, and much of the initiative was local, rather than directed from above by the papacy. The popes' task was rather to mediate and sort out the confusions that resulted.

The popes were concerned to see their authority recognised, and while they were conscious of their need for the political and military support of the new Norman rulers, and perhaps also of the generally benevolent attitude these had towards the Church, they were not prepared to tolerate abuses, and were keen to uphold ecclesiastical rights. Gregory VII was resolute in excommunicating those who seized the property of churches, especially in the Abruzzi, where the continued turmoil worked to the detriment of ecclesiastical interests long after Robert Guiscard and Richard of Capua had restored order in the rest of mainland southern Italy.¹⁰⁴ In 1079 he even laid an interdict upon the church of Montecassino, in protest against Prince Jordan of Capua sacrilegiously confiscating some treasure deposited at the abbey (and perhaps suspecting a degree of

¹⁰³ For which, S. Twyman, *Papal Ceremonial at Rome in the Twelfth Century* (London 2002); unfortunately this otherwise excellent book does not discuss Benevento.

¹⁰⁴ In 1073, for example, he threatened excommunication against 'any Norman, or any other man' who invaded the property of St Clement, Casauria, *Chron. Casauriense*, 865.

collusion by the monks).¹⁰⁵ He was also clearly less than happy with Count Roger of Sicily's unilateral action in founding bishoprics. Urban II may generally have been somewhat more emollient than Gregory, but he sharply reprovved Duke Roger Borsa in 1092 for installing his own candidate as archpriest of the former princely proprietary church of S. Maria *de Domno* in Salerno, in defiance of the authority of the archbishop:

No layman ought to dispose of churches or have them under his power, but all should be under the power of bishops, and he ordered the duke to remit the aforesaid church, and all the churches of the diocese of Salerno into the power of the archbishop, so that the aforesaid archbishop may dispose of them and ordain them canonically, as is pleasing to him.¹⁰⁶

Unfortunately, apart from the 1089 council at Melfi, we know very little of any reforming legislation that may have been promulgated in these papally convened gatherings in southern Italy, although Paschal II repeated his predecessors' condemnation of lay investiture at a synod in Benevento in 1108,¹⁰⁷ nor of how far the popes may have used these gatherings to promote reform of the local Church, following the example of Nicholas II at the 1059 council. There was, however, one issue with which Urban II was especially concerned that was of direct relevance to southern Italy, which was raised at the council of Melfi, and was the principal subject of business at the council of Bari in 1098. That was relations with the Greek part of the Church. Obviously Urban's concern was not just with southern Italy: he was anxious to restore relations with the Church of Constantinople, and to work for the greater unity of the whole Christian Church. Hence in 1089 he despatched a legation to Constantinople, headed by a cardinal deacon, Roger (from his name probably a Frenchman) and Abbot Nicholas of Grottaferrata, the Greek monastery near Rome founded almost a century earlier by Saint Nilos. But given the number of Greek Christians in southern Italy, and the continued presence of Greek bishops in Calabria and the Terra d'Otranto, this was also a matter of considerable concern in the local context. The embassy to Constantinople was one of the issues that Urban discussed with Count Roger during his visit to Sicily in the autumn of 1089.¹⁰⁸

Latin-rite bishops, some of them Frenchmen, had been installed in several formerly Greek sees in the wake of the Norman conquest, generally

¹⁰⁵ *The Epistolae Vagantes of Pope Gregory VII*, ed. H. E. J. Cowdrey (Oxford 1972), 72–5 no. 28; cf. Gregory, *Reg.* VI.37, pp. 453–4 (Cowdrey, 319–20).

¹⁰⁶ Pflugk-Hartung, *Acta*, ii.149 no. 184. ¹⁰⁷ *Chron. Cas.* IV.33, p. 499.

¹⁰⁸ *Malaterra*, IV.13, pp. 92–3. For the embassy, Becker, *Papst Urban II.*, ii.108–28.

in the Terra d'Otranto and the more northerly part of Calabria. There was, for example, a Latin archbishop at Otranto by 1067, although at that date, with the conquest of Apulia still incomplete, and in a region with a largely Greek population and that was geographically close to Byzantine Greece, the reason for this substitution may have been more a matter of security than religion, especially since the last Greek archbishop is known to have been in Constantinople in 1066.¹⁰⁹ Similarly the spur to the installation of a Latin archbishop at Reggio in 1079 was the election at Constantinople of a Greek incumbent, Basil, whom the ducal government doubtless (and rightly) saw as the agent of the imperial government – against which Robert Guiscard was soon to mount an attack.¹¹⁰ But the advance of the Latin rite at the expense of the Greek in southern Italy was a slow and gradual process, and any policy of 'Latinisation' was cautious in the extreme. Both Greeks and Latins were still considered to be part of one and the same Church, and there is no evidence of hostility to the Greek clergy among the Norman conquerors (see chapter 9, below), nor certainly at the papal court, which after a period of difficult relations was currently seeking a rapprochement with the Byzantine Empire and its churchmen. Urban's concern with regard to the Greek Church of southern Italy was far more basic. He simply wished Greek churchmen to recognise papal authority and be obedient to papal mandates. If they were willing to do this, then they could continue in office undisturbed. Basil of Reggio recorded with disgust that his fellow Greek archbishops of Rossano and S. Severina had recognised papal jurisdiction at the council of Melfi, and Urban had in turn confirmed them as the legitimate incumbents of their sees. Indeed, Urban might even have been prepared to have recognised Basil as archbishop of Reggio – the see then being vacant – if he in his turn had been willing to have accepted the papal primacy, but that was something the prickly Greek would not do.¹¹¹ Thereafter the leaders of the Greek Church in Calabria remained within the papal obedience. Later archbishops of Rossano and S. Severina attended the Lateran synod of 1112, and the archbishop of S. Severina was present at the election of Gelasius II at Gaeta in 1118, while Bartholomew, the founder of the celebrated Greek monastery of S. Maria Patiron, near Rossano, went to Rome in 1108 to seek a privilege for his abbey from Paschal II.¹¹² With the churches of Calabria

¹⁰⁹ *Italia Pontificia*, ix.409.

¹¹⁰ D. Stiernon, 'Basile de Reggio, le dernier métropolitain grec de Calabre', *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia* 18 (1964), especially 191–7.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 214–17; Becker, *Papst Urban II.*, ii.93–4.

¹¹² *Vita S. Bartolomei*, in *Acta Sanctorum, September*, viii. 819–20.

restored once more to papal jurisdiction, from which they had been uncanonically removed centuries earlier during the Iconoclast schism, there was no need, nor desire, for any anti-Greek policy.

However, if papal policy with regard to the Greeks was once again limited, there was one aspect of papal action after 1088 that did see a positive initiative. From the pontificate of Urban II onwards, the popes appointed a number of cardinals to south Italian archbishoprics, although whether this was so that they might be bastions of Roman influence or act as agents for reform is unclear – it might even have been for both reasons. The first of these appointments was of Rangerius, the erstwhile monk of Marmoutier and Angers, latterly cardinal priest of S. Susanna, who was installed as archbishop of Reggio in or shortly before 1091. His appointment appears to have stemmed from the situation in which the see of Reggio had been left after the Council of Melfi in 1089. Once the Greek archbishop, Basil, had refused to swear obedience, Urban sought to find another suitable incumbent. (The initiative appears to have been his, though no doubt this was in consultation with Count Roger). His first choice was Bruno of Cologne, the leader of the group of hermits whom Roger had recently established near Stilo, but when he refused the archbishopric Rangerius was appointed.¹¹³

He was the only cardinal appointed to a south Italian see by Urban: it is not clear, therefore, that the pope was intending to set a precedent. He was also a suitable appointee for his see because he had at least some knowledge of Greek.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, Rangerius was an absentee for a considerable part of his pontificate, accompanying Urban at the dedication of the new abbey church at Cava in September 1092 and, more notably, during the latter's long journey in France to preach the First Crusade from July 1095 until August/September 1096. (He died before February 1099.)¹¹⁵ However, later popes followed the example of their predecessor on a number of occasions. Paschal II appointed Albert, cardinal priest of S. Sabina, to the archbishopric of Siponto in October 1100, Landulf of S. Lorenzo in Lucina to Benevento in November 1108, and Risus of

¹¹³ Between 20 March and 7 December 1091, when he witnessed a charter of the Greek bishop of Squillace in favour of the hermits of S. Maria della Torre, Trinchera, *Syllabus*, 69–71 no. 53. For Rangerius, see also Ganzer, *Entwicklung des auswärtigen Kardinalats*, 45–9, Hüls, *Kardinäle*, 207–8. For the offer to Bruno, *Lettres des premiers chartreux*, i (Paris 1962), 243.

¹¹⁴ At the dedication of the church of his old abbey, Marmoutier, in 1096, Rangerius translated an inscription from Greek into Latin, *Dedicatio Ecclesiae Maioris Monasterii*, in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, xiv (Paris 1877), 100.

¹¹⁵ His successor Archbishop Roger witnessed a charter of Duke Roger for the hermits of S. Maria della Torre in that month, Trinchera, *Syllabus*, 85–6 no. 68.

S. Lorenzo in Damaso to Bari early in 1112; while it is possible that he may have sent another cardinal to Brindisi in the early years of his pontificate. Paschal also appointed Berard, cardinal deacon of Sant'Angelo in Pescheria, as bishop of Marsia, in the Abruzzi, in 1110. Calixtus II appointed Romuald, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Via Lata, to Salerno in September 1121, and another cardinal deacon, Abelard, to Brindisi soon afterwards.¹¹⁶

How far this represented a deliberate policy of extending papal influence must nonetheless remain doubtful. While Rangerius was still considered to be a cardinal after his appointment to Reggio, this does not seem to have been the case with those later cardinals appointed to south Italian archbishoprics. Thus, although Berard of Marsia had been promoted from cardinal deacon to be a cardinal priest only a few months before his appointment to his bishopric, he did not remain in the college thereafter, being almost immediately replaced in his cardinal's church by a distinguished canon lawyer from Lucca.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, although Berard was noted for his sanctity and his resolute opposition to simony, and was installed to replace a bishop who had been a supporter of the anti-pope Guibert, as a member of the Marsian comital family who was made bishop as soon as he had reached the canonical age, his was a very traditional choice for that see.¹¹⁸ While Albert of Siponto was originally from Piacenza in northern Italy, and thus clearly an outsider, Romuald of Salerno was by contrast a native of that city. He was part of the considerable south Italian presence in the college of cardinals. Nor were all of these former cardinals necessarily subservient to papal wishes. Riso was despatched to Bari after he had criticised Paschal II's agreement with the emperor at the Lateran synod early in 1112, so his appointment there may have been intended to get him out of the way, while Pope Paschal's relations with Landulf of Benevento broke down so badly that he deposed him at the Council of Ceprano in October 1114, although he subsequently restored him to office two years later. He was deposed ostensibly for disobedience, and for improperly taking over papal property at Benevento, but his real crime had been to become too involved in the bitter factional disputes within the city.¹¹⁹ Nor, once a cardinal had been appointed to a see was this necessarily a precedent for future appointments. Paschal II had appointed Landulf at a time when

¹¹⁶ Ganzer, *Entwicklung*, 55–7, 63–6, 72–4, Hüls, *Kardinäle*, 174, 179, 181, 203, 222–3, 238. For the cardinal at Brindisi, c. 1101–5, *Papsturkunden*, i.308–9 no. 6, but there are problems identifying who this (unnamed) cardinal may have been.

¹¹⁷ Hüls, *Kardinäle*, 174–5. ¹¹⁸ *Vita Berardi, Acta Sanctorum*, November, ii.128–34.

¹¹⁹ MGH *Constitutiones*, i.570 no. 399; *Falco*, 24–30, 34.

he had been present in Benevento, and after the archbishopric had been vacant for more than a year – which may suggest that there had been some problem in finding an acceptable candidate. However, when Landulf died in August 1119 the pope was far away in France, and the canons elected their own candidate from within the chapter, the archpriest Roffred.¹²⁰

On the other hand, if the intention behind these appointments was to raise clerical standards and promote reform and religious feeling, there are signs that this was successful. Thus, a few months before his death, Archbishop Landulf reinterred the bodies of various local saints in the cathedral, and around this ceremony organised an extensive series of processions and services, involving all the clergy of the city, and the citizens in an outpouring of civic devotion. This, claimed the chronicler Falco, led to ‘something unheard of for many years, the city of Benevento moved only by honour and love for the saints’.¹²¹ Within a generation of his death in 1130, Berard of Marsia became the focus for a local cult, and his biography, written by Bishop John of Segni (probably between 1138 and 1153), praised him for his campaigns against simony and clerical incontinence, to encourage religious devotion and prayer and to improve the morals of the laity, especially with regard to marriage, and against ‘tyrannous barons’ who withheld the dues properly owing to churches, whom he ‘struck down with the canonical sword’ (excommunication). He was also charitable to the poor, and did his best to promote peace among the powerful. Idealised though this picture is, it suggests that there was a model of episcopal action that some of these papal appointees tried to promote.¹²²

In addition, these links between the papal court and the south Italian Church were by no means one-way. For more than 60 years, from the election of Nicholas II through to the pontificate of Calixtus II, there was a significant south Italian presence within the college of cardinals. Monks of Montecassino were especially prominent – Desiderius was made a cardinal in 1059, soon after his election as abbot, along with another Cassinese monk Oderisius, who was to succeed Desiderius as abbot in 1087. John of Gaeta was cardinal deacon and papal chancellor from 1089, and the abbey’s chronicler, librarian and (as we have seen) often spokesman, Leo Marsicanus, became cardinal bishop of Ostia between 1102 and 1107.

¹²⁰ Falco, 4, 52. ¹²¹ Falco, 48.

¹²² *Vita Berardi*, especially 131–2. For its date, H. Hoffmann, ‘Petrus Diaconus, die Herren von Tusculum und der Sturz Oderisius’ II. von Montecassino’, *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 27 (1971), 22–3. For discussion of what has been described as a new type of episcopal biography in the early twelfth century, P. Toubert, *Les Structures du Latium médiéval. Le Latium méridionale et la Sabine du IX^e siècle à la fin du XII^e siècle* (2 vols., Paris 1973), ii.807–27.

Bruno, bishop of Segni in the papal Campagna, who was considered to be one of the cardinal bishops, for a time abandoned his see to become a monk at Montecassino, and then became abbot, in plurality, in 1107. Although Bruno proved to be a critic of papal actions, and was eventually dismissed as abbot, Paschal II still appointed two other Cassinese monks as cardinal deacons, Rossemanus in 1112 and Oderisius of Sangro, in 1113 (the latter became abbot in 1123). A former Cassinese monk, Abbot Amicus of St Vincent on Volturno, was made a cardinal in 1117. Other south Italian cardinals included Abbot John of the Holy Saviour, Telese, who was cardinal bishop of Tusculum from 1100 to 1119, the Salernitan Romuald of S. Maria in Via Lata from 1110 onwards, and Henry, Dean of Mazara cathedral in Sicily, who was cardinal deacon of S. Teodoro in 1118. Another cleric from Salerno, John Dauferius, became cardinal deacon of S. Nicola in Carcere in 1123.¹²³ Thus, for some years in the middle of the pontificate of Paschal II three of the seven cardinal bishops and the papal chancellor were from southern Italy. Furthermore, of course, both Desiderius and John of Gaeta concluded their illustrious careers by becoming pope, as had the earlier abbot of Montecassino, Frederick of Lorraine, in 1057 (although he was hardly a south Italian).

However, this situation, and indeed the relationship between the papacy and southern Italy, began to change from the pontificate of Calixtus II onwards. John Dauferius was, indeed, to be the last south Italian cardinal to be appointed for almost 20 years – and as an active resident member of the college for more than a quarter of a century,¹²⁴ while (as has been suggested earlier) new cardinals after 1122 were recruited overwhelmingly from north Italians and Frenchmen. But at the same time, the popes were anxious, not just to continue the links between the Church in southern Italy and the Curia, but if anything to strengthen the latter's control. Thus not only were south Italian clerics at Rome for councils, above all the First Lateran Council of 1123, but at other times when there was no formal meeting to justify their presence there, alongside bishops from the papal states, to whom it would appear that the pope was to some extent equating them. Thus in July 1126, Honorius II's grant of the *pallium* and rights over Corsica to the archbishop of Pisa was witnessed by the archbishops of Benevento, Capua and Salerno (as well as the archbishop of Ravenna), and

¹²³ *Chron. Cas.* III.12, 14, IV.42, 64, pp. 376, 378, 511, 527. Ganzer, *Entwicklung*, 43–5, 57–62, 69–71; Hüls, *Kardinäle*, 105, 141, 207–9, 227–8, 231–2, 242.

¹²⁴ Since Abbot Rainald II of Montecassino appears to have been no more than an 'honorary' cardinal: see above, pp. 157–8.

among the twenty bishops present, mainly from the Roman Campagna and Umbria, were the bishop of Gaeta and four of the suffragan bishops of the province of Capua, as well as the abbots of the two exempt monasteries of St Sophia, Benevento, and St Lawrence, Aversa.¹²⁵

There was also the matter of papal representatives in the south. Those who had previously, and very occasionally, been commissioned to deal with south Italian Church affairs, had been members of the local hierarchy, such as Desiderius of Montecassino, whom the Montecassino chronicle claimed Nicholas II had appointed as his deputy for southern Italy in 1059,¹²⁶ Bishop Sasso of Cassano as apostolic vicar in Calabria from 1096 onwards (above, p. 202), or Archbishop Sennes of Capua, who described himself as apostolic legate in a charter of 1116.¹²⁷ Cardinals had sometimes been sent to Benevento, but not elsewhere. Now cardinals were despatched from Rome to intervene in south Italian concerns. Calixtus II sent Matthew, cardinal deacon of S. Adriano, to Gaeta, where in May 1124 he was judging disputes between its citizens and men from Rome, alongside the bishop of the city.¹²⁸ If this might be seen as a matter with a legitimately 'Roman' dimension, in 1125 a routine agreement over the lease of a local church between the bishops of Aversa and Acerra was witnessed not just by three of their fellow bishops but by Matthew of S. Adriano and another cardinal.¹²⁹ Another cardinal and a member of the Roman family of Frangipane – the latter key allies of Honorius II – were arrested by the Neapolitans, somewhere near the city, c. 1127, and only released when the pope agreed to recognise the claims of Naples over the see of Aversa, a claim that was promptly disavowed as soon as they were free.¹³⁰ There is also some evidence that Honorius interfered with ecclesiastical appointments, notably in vetoing two successive elections to fill the vacant archbishopric of Amalfi.¹³¹

Above all, there was the involvement of the papacy with the monastery of Montecassino, which culminated in the deposition of two successive abbots, Oderisius II in March 1126 and Nicholas in May 1127. Admittedly,

¹²⁵ MPL 166, cols.1261–5, at 1263. Loud, *Church and Society*, 108. ¹²⁶ *Chron. Cas.* III.12, p. 374.

¹²⁷ *Pergamene di Capua*, i.33–5 no. 13. ¹²⁸ *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.* ii.217–19 no. 302.

¹²⁹ B. Figliuolo, 'Alcune nuove pergamene Aversane di età normanna', *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane* 120 (2002), 378 no. 1.

¹³⁰ *Liber Pontificalis prout extat in Codice Dertusensi*, ed. J.M. March (Barcelona 1925), 207–8. P. F. Palumbo, *Lo scisma del MCXXX* (Rome 1942), 175.

¹³¹ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vii.201–2. N. Kamp, 'Der unteritalienische Episkopat im Spannungsfeld zwischen monarchischer Kontrolle und römischer "libertas" von der Reichsgründung Rogers II. bis zum Konkordat von Benevent', in *Società, potere e popolo nell'età di Ruggero II* (Atti della terze giornate normanno-sveve, Bari, 23–25 maggio 1977, Bari 1980), 108.

the reasons for the dispute between Honorius II and Abbot Oderisius were, at least in part, personal. They had already clashed before Honorius became pope, over his claim to hospitality at the Cassinese dependency in Rome.¹³² Oderisius, who was also a cardinal, had almost certainly voted against him in the disputed papal election in December 1124 and had refused the pope a financial aid immediately afterwards; and it is abundantly clear from the Montecassino chronicle that there was no love lost between the two. The chronicler gave the unforgettable picture of the snobbish abbot's scornful reply to his monks' inquiries about the new pontiff: 'he was stuffed full of learning from head to toe', but the abbot 'had no idea whose son he was'. The pope in turn loathed Oderisius, accusing him (before an audience of laymen too) of being 'a soldier not an abbot, who neglected and squandered the property of the monastery'.¹³³

Yet underlying the personal antagonism were other issues too; notably the pope's wish to extend his temporal authority over the nobles of the southern Campagna, some of whom like the counts of Tusculum and Ceccano were benefactors and allies of Montecassino, as well as the abbey's increasingly difficult local position given the atrophy of the authority of the princes of Capua, who had formerly protected it. The monastery was embroiled in the quarrels of the local nobles, who not only attacked its property but also did not hesitate to traduce the abbot to the pope. Furthermore, the proud and independent traditions of Montecassino were at odds with a papacy seeking to consolidate its authority more directly over the south Italian Church than had been the case before 1120, when attention in Rome had been distracted by other and more pressing problems. The chronicler claimed that Honorius had said: 'Even if he [Abbot Oderisius] was guilty of nothing else, his pride would be a sufficient sin for which to condemn him.'¹³⁴ In addition, certainly if one accepts one of the most influential interpretations of the changes at the papal court during this period, the pretensions of traditional Benedictine monasticism, of which Montecassino was perceived – and perceived itself – as the archetype, were coming under attack both from the secular clergy and from the new canonical orders, from one of which both Honorius

¹³² Montecassino had allowed Honorius's predecessor as Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, Leo, to stay with his suite at S. Maria di Pallara, but Leo had been a former Cassinese monk. Oderisius was afraid that if he consented then this, and perhaps possession of the cell, would be regarded as a permanent right of the see of Ostia, *Chron. Cas.* IV.81, p. 545.

¹³³ *Chron. Cas.* IV.83, 86, pp. 546, 547–8.

¹³⁴ *Chron. Cas.* IV.88, p. 549. Hoffmann, 'Petrus Diaconus, die Herren von Tusculum und der Sturz Oderisius', especially 74–9, 82–95, gives a masterly exposition of the political ramifications.

himself and his influential chancellor Haimeric came, and to which they were notably sympathetic. Thus the cardinals sent to mastermind the election of a new abbot who would be more acceptable to the papacy stressed that the traditions of the monastery were as nothing compared to the overriding obligation of obedience to Rome. The monks regarded this as an appalling infringement of the rights and honour of their church.

They said that the election of the abbot of Cassino ought not to be handed over to any other power, and that it was quite unworthy and unsuitable that the church of Cassino, which under their predecessors had always remained free, should to its detriment be made subject to disgrace at the hands of the cardinals.¹³⁵

However, they were forced to give way, and eventually abandon their own choice of successor to Oderisius and to accept the Curia's candidate, Seniorectus, the provost of St Benedict, Capua, and former dean, whom the pope saw as a disciplinarian who would reform the proud and unruly monks. But the means involved, with the monks first interviewed individually by one cardinal bishop, then harangued collectively by another, and finally threatened with excommunication unless they complied, were a far cry from what the Rule prescribed for the election of an abbot. The abbey's historian was unequivocal: the monks accepted Seniorectus 'through fear and unwillingly'.¹³⁶

The evidence for the growing desire, especially by Honorius II, to strengthen papal authority, comes mainly from the principality of Capua – which was, after all, the part of the south closest too and most accessible from Rome – and from Benevento, where the consequence was the revolt and murder of the papal rector in 1128 (above, p. 148). Elsewhere the evidence is slighter, although the appointment of Abbot Matthew of St Lawrence, Aversa, as archbishop of Bari c. 1127–8 was surely the work of the pope – that monastery had no previous links with Bari.¹³⁷ Furthermore, a pope who sought direct overlordship over Apulia – as the privilege of Honorius guaranteeing the rights of the citizens of Troia suggests he did (above,

¹³⁵ *Chron. Cas.* IV.89, p. 550. The significance of the 'new orders' has been suggested above all by Schmale, *Studien zum Schisma*, and while he may have exaggerated its impact in creating the schism, this theory cannot be entirely dismissed. There is a highly coloured account of the attack by the bishops on monastic pretensions at the Lateran Council of 1123 in *Chron. Cas.* IV.78, pp. 542–3, and the legislation of the council decreed that monks ought to be subject to their own bishops, MGH *Constitutiones*, i.576 no. 401, clause 18. The monks of Montecassino were clearly apprehensive about such hostility.

¹³⁶ *Chron. Cas.* IV.94, pp. 554–6.

¹³⁷ Mentioned retrospectively by *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 88–90 no. 51 (1144), cf. Loud, *Church and Society*, 142, and also in a later charter of Archbishop Rainald of Bari in 1172, itself surviving only in a copy of 1254, *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, ii.198–200, appendix, no. 19.

p. 151) – surely intended to strengthen also his hold over the Church in that region. He did his best to enlist local churchmen in his attempts to prevent Roger of Sicily taking over the duchy, holding a ‘council of bishops’ at Troia in November 1127 where he proclaimed Roger’s excommunication and that of anybody who might assist him.¹³⁸

The defeat of Honorius by Roger II, and the latter’s unification of southern Italy under his rule put an end to such ambitious plans. Indeed, for the last year and a half of his pontificate, from his investiture of Roger as duke in August 1128, there are no surviving bulls of Honorius II for south Italian recipients. The pope made a brief and unhappy visit to Benevento in the summer of 1129, during which the citizens proved so recalcitrant that the pope ended asking the new duke, his erstwhile enemy, to take military action to coerce them.¹³⁹ The papal schism and the creation of the kingdom of Sicily consolidated this changed situation. Anacletus II was too dependent, not just on Roger, but also on the support of south Italian churchmen, to continue his predecessor’s policy. In retrospect therefore, the aggressive papal policy during the 1120s appears to be an aberration. Anacletus has often been seen by modern historians as a continuator of the policies and ideals of the ‘Gregorian’ papacy. The majority of his supporters in the disputed election of February 1130 came from the older cardinals, who had (in Herbert Bloch’s felicitous phrase) ‘grown grey in the service of the Curia’ – as had Anacletus himself, a member of the college from 1112 onwards. Admittedly, not all modern commentators have been convinced by claims that there was a clear split between old and new religious ideals; and in particular between those who looked to traditional Benedictine monasticism and those who supported the new canonical orders.¹⁴⁰ But with regard to southern Italy, the pontificate of Anacletus saw a return to a much more traditional policy.

Whether, as has sometimes been argued, papal policy towards southern Italy was itself a factor in creating the schism is doubtful.¹⁴¹ However, the consequence of the schism was to re-create the alliance between the Roman papacy and southern Italy that had prevailed from 1059 onwards. Anacletus needed the support both of King Roger and of his churchmen, and particularly so once it became clear – relatively early on during the dispute,

¹³⁸ *Al. Tel.* I.10, pp. 11–12. ¹³⁹ *Falco*, 104.

¹⁴⁰ Schmale, *Studien zum Schisma*, 30–88; Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, ii.947–51; C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy. The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford 1989), 182–4; Robinson, *Papacy 1073–1198*, 69–75. All studies of this issue ultimately stem from the brilliant pioneering work of Hans-Walter Klewitz.

¹⁴¹ As suggested by Robinson, *Papacy 1073–1198*, 67, 381–3.

from 1131 onwards – that the majority of north European ecclesiastics, as well as their rulers, had rallied to the rival pope. Just as with Gregory and his immediate successors, the loyalty of south Italian clerics helped to provide legitimacy for the ‘Roman’ pope. Thus in September 1130 Anacletus travelled to southern Italy. After meeting Roger at Avellino, where he agreed to sanction the creation of the monarchy, he went on via Benevento into Apulia, eventually reaching Bari by 28 November, before retracing his steps back to Benevento. After doing his best to restore order in that troubled city, and arresting the ringleaders in the communal agitation there, he then went to Salerno in early March 1131, before returning to Rome. During this journey he issued a number of privileges to leading south Italian churchmen, in some cases, as that of the archbishop of Capua, at their request, but also to bind these influential figures more closely to him. So he granted Archbishop Hugh of Capua authority over the nunnery of St John the Baptist in that city, hitherto subject to Montecassino. He confirmed an earlier privilege of Calixtus II for the archbishopric of Trani (an important document given the rival claims of Bari), and confirmed the property and jurisdiction of the bishopric of Giovinazzo – the first known papal bull for this see. He personally consecrated Archbishop Angelo of Bari, and granted him authority for his lifetime over the church of St Sabinus of Canosa and the hitherto exempt monastery of All Saints at Cuti, just outside Bari, as well as the right to crown or inaugurate the prince of Bari and his sons. During his visit to Salerno, he upheld the rights of Archbishop Romuald of Salerno over a church at Nocera, about which he was in dispute with Prince Robert of Capua.¹⁴²

The journey through southern Italy and the privileges conceded during it were partly a matter of Anacletus displaying himself as pope, and following the example and actions of his predecessors. Hence too he consecrated Archbishop Landulf (III) of Benevento, confirmed the exemption of the monastery of St Sophia and granted Abbot Franco the right to wear the mitre and dalmatic on feast days, as well as making other minor grants to that abbey. But this was also a matter of rewarding his supporters. The bulls for St Sophia mention the loyalty of Abbot Franco, and that abbey seems to have been one of the bastions of support for Anacletus in that divided and faction-ridden city – early in 1131 his rector at Benevento took refuge there after further civil disorder and ‘fearful threats’ by his opponents in the city

¹⁴² *Carte di Trani*, 77–9 no. 31; *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, ii.170–1 no. 2; *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.80–1 no. 42; Pflugk-Hartung, *Acta*, ii.332 no. 374.

(and remembering the murder of his predecessor in the palace at Benevento in 1128).¹⁴³ However, Anacletus was not simply seeking to gain support, and he also showed a degree of disinterestedness, both in potentially alienating the Prince of Capua by his support for the rights of the archbishop of Salerno, and by cancelling his earlier privilege for the archbishop of Capua once the abbess of St John the Baptist had demonstrated the historical rights of her house and its traditional subordination to Montecassino. He was not just concerned to conciliate the south Italian metropolitans, and his concern with justice is worth remembering given the slanders that the more unscrupulous supporters of Innocent publicised about him.¹⁴⁴ Anacletus was also continuing the work of his predecessors in consolidating the structure of the Church in southern Italy. So, although there had been bishops at Giovinazzo from the mid-eleventh century, it seems that the rights, jurisdiction and boundaries of that see had not been fully defined, and the privilege of Anacletus was in turn followed by a similar one from Archbishop Angelo of Bari, expressly described as the first metropolitan privilege for the see.¹⁴⁵ Anacletus in addition sanctioned the creation of the new bishopric at Limosano in Molise.¹⁴⁶

However, his most important action in that respect was with regard to the island of Sicily. In a series of privileges, issued at Priverno in the papal states in September 1131, and at King Roger's request, Anacletus raised the see of Messina to be an archbishopric, and created two new bishoprics to be its suffragans, along with the existing bishopric of Catania. The two new bishoprics both had monastic cathedrals. One was at the abbey of Lipari in the Aeolian Islands, thus bringing to fruition the proposal of Roger I that Urban II had vetoed almost 40 years earlier. The other utilised the new Augustinian house of Holy Saviour, Cefalù, recently founded by King Roger.¹⁴⁷ Thus the Church in Sicily became divided into two provinces, that of Messina covering the north-east of the island, while that of Palermo comprised the south and the west, each of the archbishops having three subordinate sees. It was, therefore, an eminently sensible arrangement.

From 1132 onwards mainland southern Italy, or at least the duchy of Apulia and the principality of Capua, were ravaged by civil war, as many of the mainland barons and a number of the towns revolted against King Roger. The conflict never spread throughout the mainland: Calabria

¹⁴³ *Chron. S. Sophiae*, ii.649–52, 654–9; *Falco*, 108, 114–16.

¹⁴⁴ Pflugk-Hartung, *Acta* ii.331 no. 372. Loud, *Church and Society*, 145–7.

¹⁴⁵ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, ii.172–3 no. 3 (March 1131). ¹⁴⁶ Above, note 30.

¹⁴⁷ *Papsturkunden*, v.12–13 no. 61; *Diplomi della cattedrale di Messina*, 5–6 no. 4; Pirro, *Sicilia Sacra*, i.387–8 (*Italia Pontificia*, x.339 no. 23, 357 no. 4, 364 no. 1).

remained peaceful, and the principality of Salerno largely supported the king, and saw little fighting except on its borders until the expedition into the south by the German Emperor Lothar in 1137. Indeed, after the king's campaign of pacification in southern Apulia in 1133, most fighting was concentrated in the principality of Capua, the Benevento region and the Capitanata, while after the royal takeover of the principality of Capua in 1135 there was an 18-month lull when most of the kingdom was at peace, with the irreconcilable rebels either in exile, like Prince Robert of Capua, or trapped in the besieged city of Naples.

Nevertheless, the disturbed situation inevitably affected the Church, and contact between Anacletus and southern Italy was severely hampered, not least since the chief rebel areas lay across the main communication routes, the Via Latina through the principality of Capua and the Via Trajana across the Capitanata. And while to begin with the schism had little direct impact on southern Italy, once conflict had broken out those who opposed King Roger inevitably sought support from his external enemies, Innocent the rival pope and the Emperor Lothar. Thus, while early in 1132 Robert of Capua and his cousin Count Rainulf of Caiazzo led a military expedition to Rome to assist Anacletus, on the king's orders, once these two had rebelled against the king, and become the principal leaders of the resistance, they embraced the cause of Pope Innocent. The prince had discussions with Innocent when the latter came to Rome with Lothar in 1133, and at Pisa over the winter of 1133–4, as the two of them tried to enlist the support of the north Italian maritime cities and their fleets against the king. Robert later, in 1135, went with one of Innocent's cardinals to Germany to request the emperor to launch an expedition against the kingdom.¹⁴⁸ When Lothar invaded the *regno* in 1137, Innocent accompanied him, as well as Prince Robert, and the pope and emperor jointly installed Count Rainulf as duke of Apulia in August 1137.

Whether there was much convinced support for the rival pontiff among south Italian churchmen may be doubted, although these clerics would no doubt have been influenced by sentiment within their towns – and bishops tended to be the *de facto* spokesmen and leaders of their flock – while churchmen would also obviously be influenced by the patrons of their institutions and the prevailing attitude of the local power brokers. That, for example, Archbishop Marinus of Naples was sent by Duke Sergius to meet the Emperor Lothar in 1136 says nothing about his preferences in the schism.¹⁴⁹ Many prelates no doubt did their best to adapt to the situation

¹⁴⁸ *Falco*, 120, 148, 160, 174. ¹⁴⁹ *Falco*, 176.

and support the winning side – and for most of the time that was the king. Hence, although the people of Troia had earlier made an agreement to assist Count Rainulf, Bishop William persuaded them in 1133 to remain loyal to the king, through fear of what the latter might do if they did not.¹⁵⁰

Only two committed supporters of Innocent can be identified among the episcopate. Bishop Henry of Sant' Agata dei Goti was a follower of Count Rainulf, and wrote an exultant letter to Innocent's supporters in Rome describing the defeat the count inflicted on Roger at the Battle of Nocera in 1132 and the plundering of the king's baggage train. Henry also witnessed, along with Prince Robert, a charter of Rainulf for the bishopric of Caiazzo in 1134. A year later he was with Pope Innocent in Pisa, where he received a privilege from the pope, the only surviving bull granted by Innocent to a south Italian recipient before the invasion of the kingdom in 1137.¹⁵¹ The other Innocentian supporter was one whom the pope himself had hand-picked: Gregory, whom he chose as archbishop of Benevento, while he was at Rome in 1133. Gregory was, however, largely an absentee, being sent by Count Rainulf and the duke of Naples to the pope at Pisa early in 1134, and not returning to Benevento, nor receiving consecration, until the city was restored to Innocent by the German invasion of 1137. Meanwhile, the see of Benevento was in the hands of a rival archbishop loyal to Anacletus, Rossemanus. And once the German army withdrew in the autumn of 1137, he returned to Benevento. Gregory was only finally installed in the see on the conclusion of peace in 1139.¹⁵²

Given the disturbed situation, and the obvious dangers for messengers passing through enemy territory, Anacletus continued to perform his papal duties towards the south Italian Church until a surprisingly late date. He and his court were at Montecassino in October 1133, when he confirmed the rights of that abbey over the French house at Glanfeuil in Anjou – in which he was the innocent dupe of one of the most ingenious and unscrupulous schemes of that prince of forgers, the Cassinese archivist Peter the Deacon.¹⁵³ Otherwise there is little or no evidence of his activity until King Roger's restoration of his authority over almost all the mainland in the autumn of 1134: a peace that enabled Anacletus once again to go to

¹⁵⁰ *Falco*, 150.

¹⁵¹ *Monumenta Bambergensia*, ed. P. Jaffé (Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum 5, Berlin 1868), 442–4 no. 259; *Pergamene dell'archivio vescovile di Caiazzo*, 62–3 no. 16; *Papsturkunden*, i.447 no. 2.

¹⁵² *Falco*, 150, 168, 180, 190–2, 198, 224. Vehse, 'Benevent als Territorium des Kirchenstaates', 138–51, analyses the situation in Benevento during these years, largely on the basis of Falco's account.

¹⁵³ Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, 941–1049, especially 977–94, 1022–3 (first published in *Traditio* 8 (1952), 159–264).

Benevento. Thereafter, his links with the Church in the south were restored. Presumably this was when Archbishop Rossemanus was installed at Benevento. This may well also have been when he restored to the abbey of St Sophia mills and other land which had been in pledge for a loan from a Beneventan noble, whose property had been confiscated for treason (that is for being a member of the opposing party in the city). He appointed the abbot of Torremaggiore as a cardinal.¹⁵⁴ He translated Philip, the former archbishop of Tours (one of the few parts of the French Church which had for a time supported him) to the archbishopric of Taranto.¹⁵⁵ It is possible also that he was involved in the deposition of the archbishop of Capua for simony in 1135.¹⁵⁶ He spent much of 1136 in Benevento, during which time he confirmed the privileges and exemption of the abbey of Tremiti, and in October he gave the archbishop of Benevento the market area immediately in front of the cathedral (the noise from which was annoying its clergy) and some commercial revenues in the city. Early in 1137 he confirmed the election of a new abbot of Montecassino, something which that prelate was soon to regret.¹⁵⁷ Given the *damnatio memoriae* that overtook Anacletus and his acts after his death, once Innocent was the generally acknowledged pope, it is possible that he did a good deal more, but since his documents were worthless after 1139 there can have been little incentive to preserve them. However, enough scraps of evidence have survived to show that Anacletus continued to act, very much in the tradition of his pre-1120 predecessors, as the pope for southern Italy until very late in his pontificate.

However, once Anacletus was dead, in January 1138, and Innocent and King Roger had made their peace at Mignano eighteen months later, there was a reckoning. The Lateran Council of 1139 declared that all appointments and ordinations made by Anacletus and his supporters were invalid. Several south Italian archbishops who had been confirmed, consecrated or even directly appointed by Anacletus paid the penalty. In addition to

¹⁵⁴ *Falco*, 172; *Chron. S. Sophiae*, 662–6, to which the abbot of Torremaggiore was a witness.

¹⁵⁵ *The Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, 43. Philip, dean of Tours, had been elected archbishop by one faction within the deeply divided chapter, after the death of Archbishop Hildebert in 1133. He had gone to Rome to secure confirmation from Anacletus, and in his absence the rival group had elected another candidate, Hugh, who was consecrated by the other bishops of the province, *Actus Pontificum Cenomannis in Urbe Degenitum*, ed. G. Busson and A. Ledru (Le Mans 1903), 433–4. This account was deeply hostile both to Philip, whose election was described as uncanonical, and to Anacletus ‘the first-born of Satan’, whose Jewish ancestry was also emphasised. Hugh by contrast was a *vir prudens*, elected by the *senior pars* of the canons.

¹⁵⁶ *Al. Tel.* III.31, p. 76.

¹⁵⁷ *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, iii.278–81 no. 97; *Più antiche carte della cattedrale di Benevento*, 189–91 no. 62; *Chron. Cas.* IV.104, p. 565.

Rossemanus of Benevento, the archbishops of Amalfi, Capua and Taranto lost their positions. Rossemanus, still calling himself 'archbishop', was compensated, no doubt by King Roger, with a church at Syracuse in Sicily, of which he was rector in 1141.¹⁵⁸ John *de Porta*, the former archbishop of Amalfi, returned to his native Salerno. Peter, the former archbishop of Capua, went to Rome where he practised medicine, while the Frenchman Philip of Taranto returned to his homeland and subsequently became a monk at Clairvaux.¹⁵⁹ Innocent had already deposed Abbot Rainald I of Montecassino in the autumn of 1137, despite his having previously agreed to abandon and denounce Anacletus and pledge obedience to Innocent.¹⁶⁰ On the other hand, there were limits to this purge. William of Ravenna, a north Italian cleric who had been elected as archbishop of Capua in 1135 and then transferred to Salerno in 1137 may have escaped deposition because he had avoided consecration by Anacletus.¹⁶¹ And while the two Sicilian sees founded by Anacletus lost their episcopal status, the incumbent bishops remained as the heads of the monastic chapters there: John of Lipari reverted back to become the abbot of the monastery of St Bartholomew, while Jocelyn of Cefalù remained as *electus*, or perhaps clung stubbornly to that title as the remnant of his episcopal pretensions. Later Cefalù tradition maintained simply that he had never been consecrated. In practice, however, he must have functioned simply as the prior of the Augustinian canons of Cefalù.¹⁶²

Nevertheless, as has been pointed out above, while there remained at least some in the Curia who were as a result of the schism extremely hostile to King Roger, there was never a complete break in ecclesiastical relations between the papacy and the kingdom in the years after the treaty of Mignano of 1139. There were moments of *détente*, especially after the truce between Lucius II and the king in the autumn of 1144, and more extendedly as relations improved between Roger and Eugenius III from 1148 onwards, during which the popes were once again in contact with

¹⁵⁸ *Documenti inediti*, 41–2 no. 16.

¹⁵⁹ Kamp, 'Der unteritalienische Episkopat', 116–17; *Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, 9, 43; *Gesta Abbatum Lobbiensium*, MGH SS xxi.325; *The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, trans. B. Scott James (London 1953), 411–12 no. 330.

¹⁶⁰ *Chron. Cas.* IV.115, 122, pp. 589, 596.

¹⁶¹ *Al. Tel.* III.31, pp. 76–7; *Romuald*, 225. He was still archbishop-elect in 1137: he was first attested as (consecrated) 'archbishop' of Salerno in February 1140, Salerno, Archivio diocesano, Mensa Archiepiscopalis, Arca I.45. He was probably fortunate that Salerno was one of the archbishoprics that did not enjoy the privilege of consecration by the pope.

¹⁶² *Rollus Rubeus Privilegiarium Ecclesiae Cephaleditane*, ed. C. Mirto (Palermo 1972), 32. White, *Latin Monasticism*, 89, 191–2.

south Italian churches, and not just those conveniently close to the border with the papal states. So in November 1144 Lucius II confirmed the exemption of the abbey of All Saints at Cuti (which Anacletus had made subject to the archbishop of Bari), and soon afterwards consecrated Archbishop Lupus of Brindisi, granted him the *pallium* and confirmed the rights and properties of his see. He also assisted Montecassino to recover churches and other property in the papal states that had been taken from it.¹⁶³ Similarly, even before the formal agreement with the king at Ceprano in 1150, Eugenius was once again issuing bulls in favour of south Italian recipients, notably a confirmation of the rights and property of Cava, issued in May 1149.¹⁶⁴

The agreement at Ceprano in 1150 led to a regularisation of the position of those bishops-elect who had on papal orders not received consecration in the preceding years. John of Salisbury suggested that while the pope insisted on an examination of the validity of the election and fitness for office of these *electi*, only a few were rejected, since the pope was reluctant to give offence to the king. Norbert Kamp suggested a small number of possible candidates whose election may not have been confirmed, but none of these identifications is very certain. Thus Roger Fesca, archbishop-elect of Palermo, was last attested in March 1147: in 1150 Eugenius agreed to translate Archbishop Hugh of Capua to Palermo. But whether this was because Roger had been rejected, or had died during the intervening period, is impossible to know – the sources are simply not that detailed.¹⁶⁵ What we can say, however, is that, for all the annoyance that Eugenius was alleged to have shown after the coronation of the king's son William as co-ruler at Easter 1151, this did not lead to a significant change in relations with the south Italian Church; indeed there were regular and routine contacts in the early 1150s. Thus Eugenius III confirmed the metropolitan rights of Acerenza in April 1151, and those of Bari in March 1152, granting the *pallium* to Archbishop John, and he also confirmed the exempt status of the bishopric of Rapolla in June 1152. The bull in favour of Bari makes clear that Archbishop John had actually gone to see the pope at Segni in the Roman Campagna. So too did Archbishop Godfrey of Siponto, probably in this same year, in an attempt to secure the authority of his see over the

¹⁶³ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, v.167–8 no. 98; *Cod. Dipl. Brindisiano*, i.29–31 no. 16; P. F. Kehr, *Le bolle pontificie anteriori al 1198 che si conservano nell'archivio di Montecassino* (Miscellanea cassinese 2, 1898), 65 no. 18 (also in *Papsturkunden*, ii.191), *Italia Pontificia*, viii.179 nos. 252–3.

¹⁶⁴ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* H. 7 (*Italia Pontificia*, viii.325 no. 23).

¹⁶⁵ *Historia Pontificalis*, 66–7. For Roger, *Colonie cassinesi in Capitanata*, iv. *Troia*, 93 no. 37. Kamp, 'Unteritalienische Episkopat', 123–4.

monastery of S. Maria of Calena – in this, however, he failed, and both Eugenius and his successor Anastasius IV confirmed the exemption of this abbey.¹⁶⁶

The major difference from the period before 1130 was that the popes did not themselves visit southern Italy – not even to go to Benevento, which saw no pontiff between the visit of Innocent II in 1137 and that of Adrian IV in 1155. Clearly this was too sensitive an issue. But the king no longer prevented south Italian ecclesiastics from visiting the pope, as he may have done in the early 1140s. We may note, for example, the provision in a charter of 1153 for a lay vassal of the abbot of Tremiti to escort him when he went to see the pope, either at Rome or Benevento.¹⁶⁷ Eugenius III also began to commission south Italian prelates as papal judges-delegate: so c. 1151/2 he appointed Archbishop William of Salerno and Abbot Marinus of Cava to decide a dispute between the abbeys of St Sophia, Benevento, and Venosa over property in the territory of Ascoli.¹⁶⁸ And despite the Treaty of Konstanz, there was no immediate interruption in these ecclesiastical contacts between southern Italy and the Curia, which continued through the brief pontificate of Anastasius IV (July 1153–December 1154). It was only with the breakdown of diplomatic relations after the election of Adrian IV and the period of rebellion and open warfare in the south which followed that there was a cessation.

While, therefore, there were surprisingly frequent contacts between south Italian churchmen and the papacy in the years from 1140 to 1156, the vicissitudes of the relationship between the crown and the Curia meant that these were always potentially subject to interruption or manipulation. The conclusion of the Treaty of Benevento thus placed the role of the papacy in the life of the south Italian Church on a much more secure footing, not least because (as was suggested above) it secured agreement on and defined almost all of the contentious issues where papal and royal authority might clash. The treaty established a clear procedure in episcopal and abbatial elections, and regulated the right of appeal to Rome, attendance at councils, the role of legates, and the status of exempt churches, while guaranteeing to the king his privileged position vis-à-vis the Church on the island of Sicily. It also ensured that henceforth the Abruzzi dioceses

¹⁶⁶ *Italia Pontificia*, ix.237 no. 17, 256 nos. 6–8, 321 no. 13 (full text *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.94–5 no. 49), 501 no. 4.

¹⁶⁷ *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, iii.257–9 no. 107.

¹⁶⁸ Known retrospectively from a copy made in 1284, *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, x. 203–10 no. 131, at 208. This must date from before the death of Archbishop William on 7 July 1152, *Necrologio di S. Matteo*, 92.

would be regarded as an integral part of the kingdom of Sicily. Furthermore, a start was made on the reorganisation of the Church structure on the island, the previous attempt at which had been sabotaged by Innocent's victory in the schism. Thereafter, for almost 40 years the kings of Sicily were the papacy's closest allies, and the increasingly close relations of south Italian churchmen with the papacy reflected this harmony. There is no need here to postulate any deliberate attempt aggressively to increase papal authority: rather the closeness and regularity of relations developed organically, and often with the encouragement of the crown.

First of all, the period after 1156 – and primarily the long pontificate of Alexander III (1159–81) – saw the consolidation of the structure of the Church in southern Italy. This is not to say that there were significant changes at this period. The major developments had already taken place in the years before 1130, especially during the pontificates of Urban II and Paschal II, who had taken such a close interest in south Italian ecclesiastical affairs. But there were still loose ends to tie up, and the provincial organisation was not finally and fully established until the time of Alexander III, whose bulls to the south Italian metropolitans enshrined the changes over the preceding century on a long-term basis. Thereafter there were very few changes until the fifteenth century, when a falling demographic and contractions in settlement led to the suppression of a number of sees, particularly in northern Apulia. During the second half of the twelfth century there were a few changes in the cathedral seat of dioceses: in Calabria the bishop of Malvito had moved to S. Marco Argentano by 1157, and *Tria Taberna* to Catanzaro by 1165.¹⁶⁹ On Sicily, the bishop of Lipari, whose status was finally confirmed by Alexander III in 1166, had always in practice ruled over a church with a mainland base at Patti, on the north coast of Sicily, in addition to the monastery on the bleak and inhospitable island of Lipari. Even before 1166, the style had been adopted of '*electus* of Lipari and Patti', and while this double title continued for some time thereafter, the effective cathedral was clearly Patti. From the time of Bishop Stephen (1179–1201) onwards, the see became simply that of Patti.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ *Carte latine di abbazie calabresi*, 53–5 no. 20; *Italia Pontificia*, x.23 no. 20.

¹⁷⁰ Thus Gilbert, *electus* of Lipari and Patti, October 1164, White, *Latin Monasticism*, 265–6 no. 25; Daufferius, Bishop of Lipari and Patti, November 1177, K. A. Kehr, *Die Urkunden der normannisch-sizilischen Könige* (Innsbruck 1902), 444–5 no. 24; Stephen, Bishop of Lipari and Patti, November 1185, C. A. Garufi, 'Memoratoria, chartae et instrumenta divisa in Sicilia nei secoli xi a xv', *Bullettino del istituto storico italiano per il medio evo* 32 (1912), 120–1 no. 2; but Bishop Stephen of Patti, October 1188, Kehr, *Urkunden*, 456–7 no. 30, and May 1194, Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, 321–3 no. 3.

Similarly, while the process of Latinisation in Calabria was incomplete, and indeed was to remain so for several centuries to come, the major changes in the wake of the Norman conquest had already taken place by 1100 or soon afterwards, and the pace of change thereafter was very slow. In eastern Lucania, it is possible that the diocese of Tursi, before the Norman conquest undoubtedly staffed by Greek bishops, may for some time during the twelfth century have had two prelates, a Greek bishop at the traditional diocesan seat of Tursi and a Latin one at a new cathedral at Anglona some 7 km to the east; although it is also feasible that there may have been successive Greek and Latin bishops presiding over a united diocese, while for a time using either name. But by the later twelfth century the bishops were Latin and the cathedral was at Anglona.¹⁷¹ The see of Umbriatico in Calabria also had a Latin bishop and cathedral chapter by 1164: this does not, however, mean that the clergy of the diocese were all Latin.¹⁷² A further formerly Greek see, Cerenzia, had a Latin bishop by 1198, but this diocese is so ill-documented that we have no real idea of when such a change took place, except that it was at some time during the twelfth century.¹⁷³ Calabria was the one region where there may still have been a degree of flux in the episcopal structure during the second half of the twelfth century: there may have been an attempt to revive the defunct see of Nicotera, if the Bishop Pelegrinus who was buying land there in 1173 was actually the diocesan, but if so it was short-lived, and this bishopric was only revived once more at the end of the fourteenth century.¹⁷⁴ But even in Calabria the shape of the secular Church was very largely established by the time of Alexander III.

The structure revealed by the papal confirmations of the later twelfth century and by the *Liber Censuum* was a considerable improvement on the confusion of the eleventh century, but still could not be described as either entirely logical or wholly satisfactory. The province of Benevento, for example, the final composition of which was settled by a bull of Anastasius IV of 1153, now comprised no fewer than 22 subordinate

¹⁷¹ *Italia Pontificia*, ix.468–9. The evidence here is confusing: was, for example, the John τῆς Τούρας, Bishop of Tursi, who witnessed a donation to the Cava dependency of S. Maria Kyrozosimi in 1121, Trinchera, *Syllabus*, 115–16 no. 88, the same person as the Bishop John of Anglona who was one of the witnesses to a legal case involving the Greek monastery of Carbone in 1144, G. Robinson, 'The history and chartulary of the Greek monastery of St. Elias and St. Anastasius of Carbone', *Orientalia Christiana* 19 (1930), 30–8 no. 37?

¹⁷² W. Holtzmann, 'Die ältesten Urkunden des Klosters S. Maria del Patir', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 26 (1926), 341–2 no. 2.

¹⁷³ Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, ii. 897.

¹⁷⁴ Trinchera, *Syllabus*, 237–8 no. 181. *Italia Pontificia*, x. 45.

bishoprics.¹⁷⁵ The province of Bari in the late twelfth century had twelve suffragans, including the bishopric of Cattaro in Dalmatia – testimony to the close commercial and cultural links across the Adriatic at this period. But by contrast, the archbishop of Brindisi still had only a single suffragan at Ostuni, and the archbishops of Trani and Taranto just two apiece. In Calabria the province of Reggio comprised an archbishop and eight suffragans by 1165, with Catanzaro added by the thirteenth century; but the archbishop of Cosenza had only one subordinate bishop, while the Greek see of Rossano remained as an autocephalous archbishopric. And although Alexander III had made some of the exempt sees in Calabria subject to Reggio, there were still too many dioceses on the mainland directly subject to Rome and outside the provincial structure and archiepiscopal supervision.¹⁷⁶ That the six dioceses in the Abruzzi, which had been incorporated in the kingdom in 1140, were still directly dependent on the pope and lacked a metropolitan was only one of a number of historical anomalies that were not conducive to effective organisation and clerical standards.

On the island of Sicily, the reforms instituted by Anacletus II at the request of King Roger had produced, temporarily, a coherent diocesan and provincial structure. After 1139 there was confusion, which even the eventual and belated sanction accorded to the province of Messina by Alexander III in 1166 did not solve. He provided the archbishop of Messina with only the two ‘new’ (or newly recognised) sees of Lipari and Patti as suffragans. Catania, the erstwhile third subordinate bishopric, remained independent, and its status was confirmed by Alexander in a bull of July 1168: it was directly subject to St Peter, the bishop was entitled to personal consecration at the hands of the pope, and to wear a *pallium* on the major church festivals, which was normally only the prerogative of metropolitans. A similar privilege was granted in April 1169 to the bishop of Syracuse, who under the 1130/1 scheme had been a suffragan of Palermo.¹⁷⁷ Alexander III had thus taken a retrograde step, in contrast to the pragmatic and sensible arrangement made by his (by now illegitimate and forgotten) predecessor a generation before. The reason for this was surely political. Richard, the bishop-elect of Syracuse, was a *familiaris*, one of the inner circle of royal ministers, who after a brief period in disgrace had returned to office

¹⁷⁵ *Più antiche carte della cattedrale di Benevento*, 215–19 no. 73.

¹⁷⁶ Fonseca, ‘L’organizzazione ecclesiastica’, gives the best and clearest guide to this issue.

¹⁷⁷ *Diplomi della cattedrale di Messina*, 25–7 no. 16; MPL 200, cols. 495–7 no. 495, 583–6 no. 616 (*Italia Pontificia*, x.340 no. 26, 292 no. 25, 318 no. 73).

following the expulsion of Queen Margaret's cousin and minister Stephen of Perche at Easter 1168. Bishop John of Catania was the brother of another *familiaris*, the royal notary Matthew, soon to be promoted to be vice-chancellor, but already the head of the royal chancery. John did not enjoy the enhanced status of his see for long, for he was killed in the great earthquake that devastated Catania in February 1169. Richard of Syracuse meanwhile lost his position among the *familiares* a few months later, soon after he received this privilege for his bishopric from the pope.¹⁷⁸ Had the two bishops been men of less consequence or connections, or Richard been elbowed out of the central governmental council somewhat earlier, then their sees would probably not have been granted such exemptions. That they were issued in 1168/9 was surely the result of a request from the Sicilian court, which Pope Alexander, then in exile from Rome and in residence at Benevento under Sicilian protection, thought it politic to gratify.

Matters were further complicated some 14 years later, when Lucius III, at the request of King William II, raised the latter's own monastic foundation of Monreale to become an archbishopric, despite the fact that the new cathedral lay only 8 km outside Palermo – that it was unusual to have two metropolitan sees so close to each other was specifically mentioned in the bull of foundation. Although William clearly wished to distinguish the church that was his own personal and much-cherished foundation, and intended as his mausoleum and that of his dynasty, there was another political dimension to this – just as there had been in the earlier changes of 1168/9. Certainly the later chronicle of Richard of S. Germano claimed that the king had acted on the prompting of the vice-chancellor Matthew, who hoped that the creation of a rival archbishopric next door to his own would undermine the influence of his hated rival Archbishop Walter of Palermo, who since 1170 had been the dominant figure among the royal *familiares*.¹⁷⁹ Lucius III decreed in 1183 that Monreale would have the bishopric of Catania as a suffragan, but he agreed that the incumbent bishop might continue to use the *pallium* during his lifetime, although his successors could not. Subsequently, in 1188 Clement III, once again in response to a specific request from the king, subjected the see of Syracuse to Monreale – and soon afterwards, clearly in response to protests from Syracuse, he forbade that bishop any further use of the *pallium*, this time with

¹⁷⁸ H. Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Leiden 1993), 115–23. For Bishop John, *Falcandus*, 120–1, 164 (*Tyrants*, 171–2, 216–17).

¹⁷⁹ *Ryccardi de Sancto Germano Notarii Chronica*, 5; MPL 201, cols. 1178–83 no. 95.

immediate effect and with no attempt to assuage the hurt feelings of the incumbent.¹⁸⁰

Two other features of this transaction may be noted. First, the royal agent in transmitting the request for the subordination of Syracuse was Archbishop Nicholas of Salerno, who was the son of the vice-chancellor Matthew – which tends to support what the early thirteenth-century chronicler suggested about the latter's support for the Monreale project. Secondly, the abolition of the exempt status of Syracuse was undoubtedly easier to achieve because its powerful former bishop, Richard, now restored to the ranks of the *familiars*, had been translated to the archbishopric of Messina in December 1182. His successor, Lawrence, lacked his political influence.¹⁸¹ But the result of all this was that by the end of the twelfth century the island of Sicily had no fewer than three metropolitan provinces, although there were only six other bishops (see map III). (Palermo had a further suffragan in the bishop of Malta, although whether this see was regularly filled at this period is doubtful.) But at least the Sicilian sees were almost all well-endowed, and in the case of Monreale spectacularly so, which was more than could be said for many of their mainland counterparts (see chapter 7, and appendix II).

The reorganisation of the Sicilian bishoprics shows the close co-operation between the papal Curia and the royal court after the treaty of 1156, and indeed how amenable the papacy was to requests from the kings and their government, although in the wake of the political support for the papacy from the kingdom perhaps this was hardly surprising. There were other aspects to this co-operation. Papal and royal justice were not necessarily in competition. So in the late 1160s Alexander III threatened an Abruzzi noble who had seized property belonging to the abbey of Casauria not only with excommunication but also with punishment by the king.¹⁸² In 1175 Alexander made his judgement in a dispute between the bishop of Aquino and the abbey of St Paul in Rome, about the ownership of a church in the former's diocese, on the basis of a preliminary investigation by royal justiciars, the results of which had been sent to him by William II.¹⁸³ A settlement brokered by the papacy in 1184 of a dispute between Montecassino and one of its subordinate houses in the Abruzzi,

¹⁸⁰ *Documenti inediti*, 197–8 no. 80, 221–7 nos. 91–3.

¹⁸¹ Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, iii.1013, 1234. Richard is first found as archbishop in January 1183, *Documenti inediti*, 188–9 no. 76.

¹⁸² *Chron. Casauriense*, 905.

¹⁸³ J. Knöpfer, 'Papsturkunden des 12., 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts aus dem Germanischen Nationalmuseum in Nürnberg', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 24 (1903), 766–7 no. 2.

St Nicholas at Tordino, referred back to a previous case, heard a generation earlier before a royal court (albeit with significant ecclesiastical involvement), that had vindicated Montecassino's ownership of this house against the claims of the local bishop.¹⁸⁴

Another aspect of these links was the translation of bishops. This was not a very common phenomenon, but there were a few instances during the twelfth century. The treaty of 1156 had, of course, recognised the royal right of supervising episcopal elections. While the elections themselves were to be free and canonical, the king had the right of assent, or if necessary a veto, and until his assent had been given the name of the elect was not to be made public. Canonically, confirmation by the ecclesiastical superior was also required: bishops by their metropolitan, exempt bishops or archbishops by the pope. Unfortunately we have no information as to how far this procedure was adhered to in the kingdom of Sicily, especially as regards papal confirmation of those sees directly subject to Rome – but, perhaps significantly, there are no recorded instances before 1198 of elections being quashed, as did occasionally happen in other kingdoms.¹⁸⁵ Translation was, however, a special case, since there remained, even in the twelfth century, a strong attachment to the concept enunciated in the early Church that a bishop ought to be wedded to his see, and episcopal appointments were for life – a concept reaffirmed at a papal council as recently as 1116.¹⁸⁶ If such translations were to be made, only the pope could sanction this – something the popes themselves were at pains to emphasise – and unauthorised attempts at translation were invariably quashed.¹⁸⁷ Yet at the same time, given the royal control over episcopal elections, it is most unlikely that translations of prelates from one see to another within the kingdom would have taken place without royal approval.

In fact, we can go further than this. There were only seven instances of such translations in southern Italy before the pontificate of Innocent III. The two earliest, in 1123 and c. 1150 (and discussed previously, pp. 204, 230), both involved the archbishopric of Palermo, and it is surely inconceivable that

¹⁸⁴ Gattula, *Historia*, 199 (*Italia Pontificia*, iv.314 no. 1). The 1148 case is edited by Gattula, *Historia*, 198–9 and (better) by E. M. Jamison, 'The Norman administration of Apulia and Capua, more especially under Roger II and William I, 1127–1166', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 6 (1913), 458–61 no. 5.

¹⁸⁵ For example, in the kingdom of Jerusalem the choice of the royal chancellor Ralph as archbishop of Tyre in 1146, quashed by Eugenius III, B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States, the Secular Church* (London 1980), 73.

¹⁸⁶ Palumbo, *Scisma del MCXXX*, 244.

¹⁸⁷ There was an important discussion in the *Gesta Innocentii Tertii*, cc. 43–5, MPL 214, cols. 86–9, and cf. also *Register Innocenz' III. 1 Pontifikatsjahr 1198/1199*, 472–4 no. 326, to the bishop of Faenza, justifying and explaining the practice.

these were not at the request of Roger II. The five translations after 1156 were as follows: Bishop Rainald of Gaeta to the archbishopric of Bari, between January and May 1171; Dionisius of Aprutium to the archbishopric of Amalfi in 1175/6; Richard of Syracuse to Messina in December 1182; Doferius of Caiazzo to Bari, where he succeeded Rainald, between October 1188 and May 1189; and Bartholomew of Agrigento to Palermo between September 1191 and April 1192. In three of these five cases it appears probable that the pope was responding to a request from the royal government. Dionisius of Aprutium was a protégé and trusted subordinate of the royal *familiaris* Archbishop Walter of Palermo, the king's chief minister for much of the reign of William II, whose influence was particularly strong in the early years of the reign: whether indeed he spent much time in his diocese in the Abruzzi is doubtful, for in 1172 and again in 1174 he was in Sicily acting as judge, first in a dispute between the archbishop and canons of Messina and then in a legal case concerning a church at Agira. In both cases he had been chosen as judge by Archbishop Walter.¹⁸⁸ Richard of Syracuse, of course, was himself a major political figure, who had been restored to his previous position as one of the three royal *familiares* early in 1177;¹⁸⁹ his promotion to the archbishopric was therefore almost certainly both a mark of his status and a reward for long and distinguished service to the crown. Bartholomew of Agrigento was also a royal *familiaris*, both in the 1170s and once again in the last years of William II, and although his brother Archbishop Walter had opposed King Tancred's accession, Bartholomew was once again a *familiaris* shortly before his appointment to Palermo. He was to serve Tancred's ill-fated son William III loyally during his short reign. His translation to succeed Walter at Palermo can only have been a political move, either to reward his loyalty to Tancred, or perhaps to confirm his fidelity to the king.¹⁹⁰ By contrast, the reason for the promotion of Doferius of Caiazzo to Bari cannot be discerned. He was a native of his original bishopric, from a local family of no great importance, some of whose relatives followed him to Bari and profited from their association with him.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ *Documenti inediti*, 103–6 no. 45 (wrongly dated there to 1168); W. Holtzmann, 'Papst-, Kaiser- und Normannenurkunden aus Unteritalien 1: S. Filippo–S. Maria Latina in Agira', *QFIAB* 35 (1955), 81–2 no. 15. Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, 1.50–1.

¹⁸⁹ Takayama, *Administration*, 122.

¹⁹⁰ Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, iii.1119–21. For his role as a *familiaris*, Takayama, *Administration*, 121–2, and D. Girgensohn and N. Kamp, 'Urkunden und Inquisitionen des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts aus Patti', *QFIAB* 45 (1965), 118–19 no. 1. He was named in the dating clause of all seven genuine diplomas of William III.

¹⁹¹ Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, ii.574–6. His relatives in the thirteenth century adopted the surname *de archiepiscopo*, thus their status derived from him, and not vice versa.

The only case where direct papal influence may be discerned is that of his predecessor Rainald, a monk of Montecassino, who in 1169 was identified as both bishop-elect of Gaeta and cardinal.¹⁹² He was one of several south Italian clerics appointed as cardinals during Alexander III's sojourn in Benevento after 1167, but unlike some of the others he does not appear to have retained his status as a member of the college; however, he must have been personally known to Alexander III. He may well have been deliberately installed at Bari as a reformer of his church and province – the city of Bari had probably not fully recovered from its destruction by William I as a punishment for rebellion in 1156, while the archbishopric had been vacant for at least 18 months before his appointment. As archbishop, Rainald was active in improving clerical discipline, as well as completing the building of the cathedral. But at the same time he was also close to the royal government. He witnessed William II's charter endowing Monreale in August 1176, and was present at the king's wedding to Joanna of England in February 1177.¹⁹³ This handful of episcopal translations cannot, therefore, be seen as a mark of growing papal authority.

Nor can the equally small number of occasions when papal legates can be attested in southern Italy. While William I recognised the right of the pope to send legates to the mainland provinces in the treaty of 1156, in practice this rarely if ever happened: the majority of legates who were sent to the kingdom were diplomatic envoys from the papal court, and exercised no magisterial role over the Church, apart from helping the court to browbeat the hapless canons of Palermo into choosing archbishops whom the government wanted. The treaty of 1156 anyway excluded legates from the island of Sicily, except at the specific request of the king. Between 1156 and 1192, when King Tancred surrendered most of the ecclesiastical privileges that the king had hitherto enjoyed, there were only five occasions when legates can be attested on the mainland, and in each of these cases the activity of the legate is attested only with regard to a single issue. In two cases, the consecration of Holy Trinity, Mileto, by Bernard of Porto and Manfred of St George *ad Velum Aureum* in 1166, and the dispute between the nuns of St Cecilia of Foggia and Pulsano, judged by Manfred (by now Cardinal Bishop of Palestrina) and two colleagues, these appear to have been mere by-products of diplomatic missions (above, p. 171). Apart from

¹⁹² *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.* ii.290–2 no. 350.

¹⁹³ Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, ii.572–4. *Catalogo illustrato del tabulario di S. Maria Nuova in Monreale*, ed. C. A. Garufi (Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia, Ser. I.xix, Palermo 1902), 10–11 no. 15. His predecessor at Bari, John, died on 31 August 1169.

these, legatine activity was as follows. Hubald of St Praxedis (the future Lucius III) and John of Naples judged a dispute between the bishop of Teano and some of the clergy of his diocese concerning payment of the *cathedraticum* due to the bishop, during the pontificate of Adrian IV and probably immediately after the treaty of Benevento. Hubald was one of the pro-Sicilian cardinals who had been responsible for negotiating the treaty, John was at this period the only member of the college who was a native of the kingdom.¹⁹⁴ Then John, cardinal deacon of S. Maria *in Porticu*, as a legate, wrote to the archbishop of Trani and the bishop of Bisceglie concerning matrimonial issues. This is known only from two marginal references in a canon law manuscript, which though separate may well come from the same letter. It is possible that John too was in fact merely passing through the *regno*: he went as legate to Dalmatia in 1163/4, presumably via southern Italy – was he therefore consulted while en route?¹⁹⁵ Finally, the dispute between Montecassino and St Nicholas at Tordino was settled by two cardinal bishops, Theodwin of Porto and Henry of Albano, in 1184. This is a thin haul indeed. A statement such as that by Marcel Pacaut, ‘de grandes légations cardinalices parcourent ainsi le pays’, is demonstrably untrue.¹⁹⁶ Before the treaty of Gravina legates in southern Italy were conspicuous by their absence.

On the other hand, a major contrast with the period before the 1156 treaty was that south Italian clerics once again played a role in papal service, even if not to quite the same extent as they had during the era of the Gregorian reform. Archbishop Henry of Benevento went on two legations to the Eastern Empire in 1161 and 1164, on each occasion accompanying a cardinal.¹⁹⁷ This was at the period when Manuel Komnenos was seeking an alliance both with the papacy, and subsequently also with the kingdom of Sicily, against Frederick Barbarossa. The ‘Romuald’ chronicle alluded to the ‘frequent envoys’ whom the regency government for the young William II sent to Constantinople, and one of these was Archbishop Bertrandus of Trani, who

¹⁹⁴ Known only from a later bull of Celestine III, MPL 206, cols. 1013–18 no. 132 (September 1193), at 1014 (*Italia Pontificia*, viii.257 no. 10). For Hubald and the treaty, *Liber Pontificalis*, ii.394–5.

¹⁹⁵ Holtzmann, ‘Kanonistische Ergänzungen zur *Italia Pontificia*’, 145 nos. 92–3; this must date from before 1167, when John was promoted to be a cardinal priest.

¹⁹⁶ Pacaut, ‘Papauté, royauté et épiscopat’, 60. For the 1184 case, above, n. 183.

¹⁹⁷ Alexander III announced his first legation in a letter to the archbishop and consuls of Genoa in August 1161, *Italia Pontificia*, vi(2).327–8 no. 25; in 1164 he was appointed about May, and was still absent in November, D. Girgensohn, ‘Documenti beneventani inediti del secolo xii’, *Samnium* 40 (1967), 302–4 no.9; *Italia Pontificia*, ix.68–9 nos. 65–6.

is known to have been in Constantinople in 1167, a mission which if not directly on papal service was certainly related to papal interests.¹⁹⁸

But a more striking instance of the links between southern Italy and the Curia during the pontificate of Alexander III and thereafter was the recruitment once again of south Italians to the college of cardinals. Among Alexander's electors in 1159 were two south Italians, John of Naples and the Beneventan Albert of Morra (subsequently pope himself as Gregory VIII in 1187), but these were the only two who had been appointed to the college, apart from by the anti-pope Anacletus, since the early 1120s, and both of them had spent some of their early career in France.¹⁹⁹ Rainald II, abbot of Montecassino 1137–66, seems to have been an honorary cardinal from 1141, but never an active member of the college. So, given that Albert's home town of Benevento was a papal possession, there was only one native of the kingdom of Sicily who was an active member of the college until Alexander III took up residence at Benevento in 1167. However, during his residence there he appointed three further south Italians as cardinals: the former Montecassino monk Rainald, bishop of Gaeta, Abbot Leonas of St Clement, Casauria, who had been a papal subdeacon before his election as abbot in the early 1150s, and John IV, Abbot of St Sophia, Benevento 1142–77, all appointed as cardinals during the years 1168–9.²⁰⁰ Admittedly, like earlier such appointments, Rainald seems no longer to have been deemed a cardinal after his translation to Bari, and Leonas and John were 'external cardinals', that is not normally resident at the Curia, although Leonas was certainly seated among the cardinals at the Third Lateran Council in 1179.²⁰¹ Both he and John of Naples died in 1182, but by then a further 'external' cardinal had been appointed from southern Italy, Roger of S. Severino, archbishop of Benevento, who came from one of the great aristocratic families of the kingdom. He was subsequently joined by Abbot Roffred of Montecassino in 1188; Albinus, cardinal priest of S. Croce 1185–9 and cardinal bishop of Albano 1189–96, from Gaeta; John of Salerno, cardinal priest of S. Stefano

¹⁹⁸ *Historia Inventionis Primae Sancti Mauri, Pantaleomonis et Sergii*, in *Acta Sanctorum, July*, vi. 368; Romuald, 255. J. Parker, 'The attempted Byzantine alliance with the kingdom of Sicily', *Papers of the British School of Rome* 24 (1956), 86–93.

¹⁹⁹ For their careers, B. Zenker, *Die Mitglieder des Kardinalskollegium von 1130 bis 1159* (Würzburg 1964), 73–7, 125–9. Albert had been a regular canon at St Martin, Laon; while John had close links with the canons of St Victor, Paris.

²⁰⁰ For Leonas, *Chron. Casauriense*, 907, Paris, BN MS Lat. 5411, fol. 267v (June 1169); for John, Girgensohn, 'Documenti beneventani', 306–7 no. 11 (September 1168). Ganzer, *Entwicklung des auswärtigen Kardinalats*, 119–21, 129–31.

²⁰¹ *Chron. Casauriense*, 914. He was also expressly identified as a cardinal by the *Chron. Carpineto*, 95.

in Celiomonte, another monk of Montecassino, in 1190; and Peter Capuanus, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Via Lata, from Amalfi, in 1193. These last three were active and prominent members of the Curia. Albinus was a key figure in relations with the kingdom of Sicily: he was one of the cardinals to whom William II took his oath of fealty in 1188 and the principal negotiator of the Treaty of Gravina in 1192. Peter was sent as general legate to the *regno* under the terms of the Gravina treaty. John of Salerno was one of the candidates at the papal election of 1198. Innocent III subsequently sent him as legate to the British Isles in 1201, and Peter Capuanus as legate to accompany the Fourth Crusade in 1202–4. When the canons of Amalfi tried to elect Peter as their archbishop in 1202, Innocent told them that he could not spare such a valuable and trusted adviser.²⁰² Therefore, by the end of the twelfth century south Italians were once again playing an important role at the papal court.

However, probably the most significant, and certainly the most ubiquitous, aspect of the increasingly close relations between the papacy and the kingdom of Sicily after 1156 was the number of legal cases where appeal was made to papal justice. Of course, this was hardly something confined to the *regno* – it was a general characteristic of Latin Christendom during the second half of the twelfth century. It was a process driven by litigants far more than by the popes themselves, who sometimes tried, unavailingly, to stem the flood of appeals that threatened to overwhelm the Curia. And, more and more, such cases were returned to the judgement of the local ecclesiastical hierarchy, acting as papal judges-delegate.²⁰³ But whereas elsewhere in Christendom this process had been gathering speed from the 1130s onwards, the vicissitudes of papal–Sicilian relations had largely hindered such contacts until the treaty of 1156. The case judged by the archbishop of Salerno and the abbot of Cava as judges-delegate in 1151/2 was exceptional. However, the Treaty of Benevento expressly allowed such appeals from the clergy of the mainland provinces. Admittedly, to begin with they were surprisingly slow to take advantage of the opportunity. But from the 1170s onwards such cases became much more common. A few examples will be sufficient to illustrate this process, and the sorts of cases appealed to papal judgement, and then usually delegated back to the local hierarchy.

²⁰² Ganzer, *Entwicklung des auswärtigen Kardinalats*, 141–4; W. Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalskolleg von 1191 bis 1216* (Vienna 1984), 76–7, 107–9, 117–24. *Register Innocenz' III. 5 Pontifikatsjahr 1202/1203*, 211–13 no. 105.

²⁰³ Morris, *Papal Monarchy*, 211–14.

There were five main issues over which litigation arose. First, there was the perennial tension between diocesan bishops and monasteries claiming exemption. While a number of such cases had been settled through the personal action of the popes in the period before 1130, and the status of the most important monastic houses was no longer in dispute, some other monastic establishments had now also been granted, or put forward claims for, exempt status, or sometimes used these as an excuse to resist diocesan authority. Thus in the late 1160s the nuns of S. Maria, Capua, claimed that they were exempt from the authority of the archbishop, who retaliated by excommunicating them and imposing an interdict on their church. The case was first investigated by Bishop Rainald of Aquino and Abbot John (VII) of St Vincent on Volturno, who reported directly to the pope at Benevento, and the pope ordered the abbess to promise obedience to the archbishop, even though the precise canonical status of the nunnery was still under investigation. The nuns then produced a number of ancient papal bulls that they claimed proved the exempt status of their house, but in a judgement issued at Tusculano in the Campagna in June 1171 Alexander rejected these out of hand as forgeries, on grounds of both style and content – ‘it is absurd to think that such a prudent and literate man would have such idiotic writers’, he remarked tartly of one alleged bull of Leo IV. The nunnery ought therefore to remain subject to the archbishop.²⁰⁴ In this case, the pope judged the issue personally – the validation of the papal bulls may well have required the expertise of the papal chancery. In a later case from the Abruzzi, where the bishop of Penne claimed authority over the monks of St Bartholomew of Carpineto in 1182, the dispute began at the papal court at Velletri, where the bishop tried to prevent the recently elected abbot from being blessed personally by the pope, but thereafter the case was delegated to the bishop of Aprutium and to a monk of Montecassino who was also a papal subdeacon, and who himself came from the Abruzzi. These two held a hearing at Catignano, not far from the abbey, where they tried to arbitrate a settlement. But when this broke down a further appeal went (in the pope’s absence in Lombardy) to his vicar in Rome, who sent two of his clerics to hear the case. It was then referred back to Rome again, and finally the bishop of Aprutium and a monk of St Clement, Casauria, were commissioned as yet a third set of judges-delegate, at which point the Bishop of Penne apparently gave up. In

²⁰⁴ W. Holtzmann, ‘Zum Proceß der Abtissin Mathia von S. Maria in Capua’, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 58 (Kanonistische Abteilung 27) (1938), 299–309; the sentence included and confirmed in a later bull of Innocent III, July 1208, MPL 215, col. 1439 no. 126.

this case, the evidence was on the monks' side, and it appears to have been the bishop who was raising a speculative case, although the account we have comes from the side of the monks.²⁰⁵

A second, related, type of case arose from episcopal claims to authority over the secular clergy of their diocese, particularly where these related to collegiate churches in secondary urban centres within the diocese. Two such cases from Apulia were especially notable: between the bishop of Troia and the canons of S. Maria at Foggia in 1174, and between the archbishop of Trani and the clergy of Corato which began about 1180. The former case may well have been encouraged by the growing size and prosperity of Foggia, which was beginning to outstrip that of Troia where the bishop had his cathedral. Alexander III appointed Archbishop Gerard of Siponto, the bishop of Salpi and the abbot of Monte Sacro (an important Benedictine abbey on Monte Gargano) as judges, and they eventually brokered a settlement, which for the most part preserved the bishop's authority and revenues, but also guaranteed the property of the canons, and imposed limits on their obligation to provide hospitality, which was to be confined to the bishop and his *familia* when he visited in person, but did not include his representatives.²⁰⁶ The dispute between Bertrandus of Trani and the clergy of S. Maria Corato proved difficult to resolve, and was entrusted to a succession of judges, first to the bishops of Bisceglie and Ruvo, then Archbishop Rainald of Bari and the bishop of Melfi, and thirdly, after being appealed once more to the papal court, which was unable to try the case because the clerics of Corato were unprepared, to the bishop of Venosa and the abbot of Holy Trinity, Venosa. However, Abbot Egidius of Venosa then died, and had to be replaced by Bishop William (III) of Troia. The issue was only finally resolved in December 1183, when the clergy of Corato abandoned their case.²⁰⁷

Bertrandus, archbishop of Trani (1157–87) was one of the most active figures in the expansion of papal legal jurisdiction, both as a judge-delegate and as a litigant. In the latter capacity he was involved in a long-running squabble with the Hospitallers of Barletta, about the latter's right to process solemnly through the town to their church with the dead for burial there (always a sensitive issue since it involved not just jurisdiction but also mortuary fees). This was originally entrusted by Lucius III to Archbishop

²⁰⁵ *Chron. Carpineto*, 102–7.

²⁰⁶ *Chartes de Troia*, 270–2 no. 89. For the rise of Foggia, Oldfield, 'Rural settlement and economic development', 341–5.

²⁰⁷ Prologo, *Carte di Trani*, 157–60 no. 74 (also *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, ix. 76–8 no. 67).

Rainald of Bari, but when he ruled in favour of the Hospitallers this led to a further appeal, and to the archbishop and canons inflicting various 'vexations' on the brothers, which culminated in Bertrandus excommunicating them. The archbishop of Bari, the abbot of St Stephen, Monopoli, and the bishop of Salpi were all ordered at various times to make Bertrandus and his canons cease and desist their hostility. But it seems that this dispute was only brought to an end by the archbishop of Trani's death.²⁰⁸

Relating to this exercise of episcopal rights were cases concerning dues and revenues accruing to bishops – indeed, it is probable, as said, that mortuary oblations underlay the case above. Bertrandus of Trani was once again involved, this time as a judge, with a dispute about tithes between the monks of S. Maria at Nardo and the Greek Bishop Theodosius of Gallipoli, which began in 1173. Alexander III had originally commissioned the archbishop of Otranto and Abbot Palmerius of St Stephen, Monopoli, to judge the case, but then decided that the archbishop, as the bishop of Gallipoli's metropolitan, might not be suitable, so he replaced him with Bertrandus of Trani. The case dragged on until May 1176, by which time Bishop Theodosius was dead. Eventually, with his successor proving contumacious, by refusing to attend the hearing, 'as his predecessor was so often', the judges ruled that the disputed tithes from should be paid to the monks.²⁰⁹

Fourthly, there were cases concerning the ownership of churches. In 1173, for example, Alexander III ordered Archbishop Alfano of Capua to hear a dispute between the archbishop of Amalfi and his suffragan bishop of Ravello about two subordinate churches and a nunnery – before eventually adjudging ownership to Ravello.²¹⁰ Almost as a rehearsal for their later quarrel about the monastery's own exemption, the monks of Carpineto and their diocesan, the bishop of Penne, were disputing the ownership of a church called S. Maria in Piano c. 1180/1. Alexander III deputed this case first to the bishop of Aprutium on his own, and then to the bishop and Abbot Leonas of Casauria. The bishop of Penne then tried to intimidate the monks by gathering a force of armed men, and uttering threats and 'insulting words', which greatly scandalised the judges, and led

²⁰⁸ *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de St. Jean de Jérusalem*, ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, i (Paris 1894), 508–9 nos. 816–17. The last reference to Bertrandus came in September 1187, when the chapter of Trani recorded that he was ill and unable to make a presentation to a vacant church, *Carte di Trani*, 167–8 no. 80.

²⁰⁹ *Le pergamene della curia e del capitolo di Nardo*, ed. M. Pastore (Lecce 1964), 52–3 no. 11; *Italia Pontificia*, ix.417–20 nos. 6–16.

²¹⁰ *Italia Pontificia*, viii.404 nos. 7–8.

to a fresh appeal to the pope.²¹¹ Similarly, a case between Archbishop Doferius of Bari and the Templars over a church in Bari was decided in favour of the archbishop by the judges commissioned by Clement III, the archbishops of Taranto and Otranto. But later, after the conquest of Henry VI, his chancellor Bishop Conrad of Hildesheim gave the church to the Templars, allegedly 'through violence' (although in this case the phrase may have meant simply 'without legal process'), and in 1200 Innocent III had to commission a fresh pair of judges-delegate, the bishops of Conversano and Bitetto, to settle the issue.²¹²

Finally, there were internal disputes and problems within churches. Thus in 1180 the bishops of Caiazzo, Suessa and Teano were commissioned by Alexander III to investigate and settle a dispute between the abbot and monks of St Vincent on Volturmo, which had arisen after the abbot had reduced the allowances of food for the monks.²¹³ Fourteen years later, in June 1194, Celestine III instructed the bishops of Conversano and Polignano to investigate a much more serious crisis that had arisen at the once-flourishing monastery of St Benedict at Conversano, which had declined to such an extent that only three or four monks were left there. These difficulties had been compounded by an administrator appointed by King Tancred, a bishop from Montenegro, Nicholas of Dulcignano, whose position the pope himself had earlier confirmed. He had plundered the monastery's property, and then fled. The two bishops were told to arrange the election of a new abbot, bringing in an outsider if necessary, to restore the abbey's fortunes. (It would seem that they failed in this, since four years later Bishop William of Conversano was still administering the monastery, and it was not until 1201 that there was an abbot once again.)²¹⁴

The growth of appeals and the extension of papal judicial oversight was not without its problems. The solution of cases could often be slow, and was vulnerable to obstructionism and sharp practice, especially on the part of defendants whose case was weak. Attempts to forbid appeals against judges' decisions were often ignored.²¹⁵ The endemic litigiousness of medieval clerics meant that the temptation to make further appeals, even when cases had seemed to be settled, proved irresistible, as for example in the long-running claims for the church of Oria to be considered a cathedral, despite consistent papal opposition (above, pp. 195–7). Similarly, the

²¹¹ *Chron. Carpineto*, 95–6. ²¹² *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.134–5 no. 69.

²¹³ *Chron. Vulturni*, ii.291.

²¹⁴ *Pergamene di Conversano*, 300–4 nos. 144–6, 314–15 no. 151 (no. 144 = *Tancred Diplomata*, 82–4 no. 34).

²¹⁵ For comparison, see also the excellent discussion of the papal judicial system by C. R. Cheney, *From Becket to Langton. English Church Government 1170–1213* (Manchester 1956), 62–75.

dispute about tithes between the bishop of Gallipoli and the monks of Nardo, apparently settled in the latter's favour in 1176, flared up once more and was entrusted by Celestine III to be heard by a fresh set of judges in 1194, to be decided once again in favour of the monks.²¹⁶ The claims of the clergy of Foggia against the Bishop of Troia were revived after 1194, and with greater intensity as they and the laity of Foggia sought to secure their own bishopric.²¹⁷

There could also be attempts to wear down the opposition by extra-legal means, as in the long-running hostility between the abbey of Carpineto and its diocesan bishop, although it may be that the remote Abruzzi province was more vulnerable to such strong-arm methods than other parts of the kingdom that were subject to tighter royal control, at least before 1189. The Carpineto chronicler Alexander commented at one point, with some weariness: 'these few instances among many will suffice to be told of the great injuries and grave persecutions with which the bishop of Penne afflicted this monastery.'²¹⁸ Cases might also be vulnerable to external circumstances. Thus, in another prolonged dispute between a cathedral and another church in the same diocese that coveted equal status, Urban III commissioned Archbishop Rainald of Bari and the bishops of Melfi and Troia to investigate claims by the canons of Monte Gargano that their rivals at Siponto had forged the privileges that had persuaded previous popes to support its case. But the pope's death and the conflict within the kingdom after the death of William II had prevented any resolution, and it was only in 1202 that Innocent III finally rendered judgement – upholding the rights of Siponto as his predecessors had done. By this time the three original judges were long since dead.²¹⁹ And in the disturbed conditions after 1189 even papal agents were not immune. So when, in 1194, Celestine III sent Bishop Robert of Bovino to order the people of Foggia to obey their bishop at Troia, he was promptly set upon and viciously beaten up for his pains.²²⁰

We usually know little or nothing about the background of those prelates commissioned as judges, although one may presume that those employed in this role either had some legal training themselves or had canon lawyers among their *familiae*. The regular appearance of the same figures, such as Archbishops Rainald of Bari and Bertrandus of Trani, and

²¹⁶ *Papsturkunden*, i.296–7. ²¹⁷ Oldfield, 'Rural settlement and economic development', 344–5.

²¹⁸ *Chron. Carpineto*, 107. For violence in the Abruzzi, see also Alexander III's order to the bishop and canons of Marsia to punish attacks on the Montecassino dependency of S. Cosmas, Tagliacozzo (1179–81), Kehr, *Bolle pontificie*, 84–5 no. 35 (also in *Papsturkunden*, ii.210–11).

²¹⁹ *Register Innocenz' III. 5 Pontifikatsjahr 1202/1203*, 74–8 no. 41. ²²⁰ *Chartes de Troia*, 334–6 no. 114.

Bishop James of Melfi, may suggest that the pool of those considered to be suitably qualified was not large. This could, in turn, pose problems of conflict of interest. Hence Archbishop Bertrandus and Abbot Palmerius of St Stephen, Monopoli, acted as the judges in the dispute between the monks of Nardo and the bishop of Gallipoli in 1174. But subsequently, in 1177 the archbishop was one of those deputed to investigate a complaint by the bishop of Conversano that Abbot Palmerius had infringed his jurisdictional rights at Putignano, on the southern edge of his diocese, a case that dragged on for more than a decade.²²¹ While the archbishop was doing this, he and the abbot were also acting as colleagues trying to persuade the laity of Nardo to pay tithes and other dues to the monks of S. Maria, as a consequence of the judgement of 1176. And finally, in the mid-1180s, Abbot Palmerius was appointed as a judge-delegate in the dispute between the archbishop and the Hospitallers of Barletta. One wonders quite how the various roles as judge and litigant were kept separate.

One might also note that, although this does not seem to have been a major problem, there were instances where the scope of papal jurisdiction was unclear. The earliest such instance of the use of papal judges-delegate came in 1151/2, in a dispute between the abbots of St Sophia, Benevento, and Venosa, but what was in dispute here was ownership of land – something that would normally have been heard in a royal court. The somewhat ambiguous nature of these proceedings was shown by the presence of secular judges from Salerno and Benevento.²²² This case was not quite unique, for towards the end of his pontificate Alexander III entrusted a dispute about land between the monastery of Tremiti and the Templars to the bishop of Termoli as his judge-delegate. (The abbot attributed his adverse verdict to bribery, and asked the pope to appoint another judge, a bishop or abbot ‘learned in canon law’).²²³ By contrast, a dispute concerning the census owed by the nunnery of the Holy Saviour, Goletto, to its diocesan, a purely ecclesiastical matter, was investigated by a royal justiciar on the instructions of the *Curia Regis* in 1174.²²⁴ Another hearing in the 1170s, by Archbishop Rainald of Bari and five of his suffragan bishops, of a dispute between Maraldus, bishop-elect of Minervino, and some of his cathedral clergy was also held on royal orders, even though it involved an accusation of simony, and the case ended with the conviction and

²²¹ *Papsturkunden*, i.319–20 nos. 20, 22.

²²² *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, x.208–10 no. 131 (Houben, *Venosa*, 362–4 no. 129).

²²³ *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, iii.333–7 no. 123.

²²⁴ A. Schlichte, *Der ‘gute’ König. Wilhelm II. von Sizilien (1166–1189)* (Tübingen 2005), 136.

deposition of the bishop-elect. At one point, when the case was in danger of becoming stalled through his pleas for delay, the accusers were pressing for an immediate decision to be made, while the assembled bishops were reluctant and offered to put the case directly before the king, for him to give judgement.²²⁵ Yet in 1168, while Alexander III was at Benevento, he had himself dismissed the bishops of Vieste and Caiazzo for simony.²²⁶ Perhaps the answer was that not only the papacy but also the royal court and the bishops were agreed that simony was unacceptable, and the exact procedure by which it was extirpated was considered less important than the result.

The growth of appeals and the extension of papal jurisdiction after 1156 therefore reflected a general trend within Christendom, but it cannot be seen as a deliberate extension of papal authority. The propensity of the clergy for litigation was the major factor, although bishops were sometimes also keen for guidance, on issues where they were aware that legal judgement was difficult. Marriage disputes were a case in point.²²⁷ The fact that most cases were either deputed to local judges-delegate, or were decided by the pope after a preliminary hearing and opinion by local prelates, must have made the growth of canonical justice that much more acceptable to the royal government. That the latter's attitude towards ecclesiastical justice was generally benevolent was also shown by the question of criminous clerics: the issue that in England had sparked the acrimonious six-year dispute between Henry II and Archbishop Becket. By contrast, William II of Sicily apparently surrendered his jurisdiction over such clerical miscreants without protest, and this seems also to have been one concession towards the Church that Henry VI and Constance were prepared to tolerate.²²⁸

One final point ought to be made concerning the relations of the papacy and south Italian churchmen during the second half of the twelfth century. Despite the very large number of bishoprics within the kingdom, the relevant surviving documentation is proportionately much less than for some other parts of Christendom. There are, for example, about five times as many decretals of Alexander III for English recipients as for those from the kingdom of Sicily.²²⁹ But this does not necessarily suggest less judicial or administrative contact, except insofar as the popes after 1156 were careful

²²⁵ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.103–7 no. 54 (undated, but 1171 × 1179). ²²⁶ *Liber Pontificalis*, ii.419.

²²⁷ Loud, *Church and Society*, 196–7, and cf. Cheney, *From Becket to Langton*, 49–50.

²²⁸ *Liber Augustalis*, I.45, in *Konstitution Friedrichs*, 204. Clementi, 'Calendar of Henry VI', 133–5 no. 41, in favour of the archbishop of Palermo.

²²⁹ Pacaut, 'Papauté, royauté et épiscopat', 51.

not to push their rights under the treaty too far, and as the island of Sicily retained its special status under royal control. Rather, it reflects other factors – not just the assiduity of English canonists in collecting material, although this has certainly skewed such comparisons – but above all, in terms of the survival of whole bulls rather than their use in decretal collections, the high proportion of south Italian cathedral archives that have been lost. The fact that we know nothing about the operation of judges-delegate in Calabria until after 1200 does not necessarily mean that they were not appointed there, but simply that our sources for that region are extraordinarily poor.

The concessions made by King Tancred in the Treaty of Gravina did not mark any great change in the relations of the papacy with the churchmen of southern Italy. Partly this must be attributed to the caution exercised by Celestine III. Hence, while he did use his powers under the treaty to send a general legate to southern Italy, the Amalfitan cardinal Peter Capuanus, the latter did relatively little, and appears to have confined himself to the affairs of Benevento and northern Apulia.²³⁰ Nor, of course, did Henry VI and Constance recognise the legitimacy of such concessions by Tancred, which severely limited papal action, at least until Henry was dead and his widow needed papal support.

However, the pontificate of Innocent III saw a marked increase in the level of papal control and the legal and administrative supervision of south Italian churchmen by the papacy. Acting as regent for a minor ruler after November 1198, he had every opportunity to extend his influence, and establish precedents for the future. Innocent sometimes appointed his own candidates as bishops, and often these were members of the papal court, beginning with his notary Master Rainald, whom he appointed as archbishop of Acerenza in 1199. He also favoured the Cistercian order, appointing Abbot Lucas of Sambucina as archbishop of Cosenza in 1203, and another Cistercian, and former papal chaplain and legate, John of Casamari, as bishop of Forcone in 1204. Archbishop Lucas was often employed as a papal judge-delegate in Calabria.²³¹ The number of

²³⁰ He heard a handful of legal cases, notably a dispute between the bishop of Dragonara and the abbey of S. Maria in Gualdo, over a number of minor issues, resolved at Benevento in March 1196, *Le Cartulaire de S. Matteo di Sculgola in Capitanate*, ed. J. -M. Martin (*Codice diplomatico pugliese*, xxx, Bari 1987), 111–13 no. 63. He also arranged a compromise settlement to a long-standing dispute between the bishop and canons of Vieste, known only from a later letter, *Register Innocenz' III. 1 Pontifikatsjahr 1198/1199*, 31–3 no. 21 (*Italia Pontificia*, ix.269 no. 3).

²³¹ Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, i.18–20, ii.774, 833–6. Kamp, 'Bishops', 204–5.

translations dramatically increased too – beginning with those of Bishop Gentile of Venafrò to Aversa in 1198 and Bishop Peter of Mazara to the archbishopric of Palermo in 1201, although here it should be noted that Peter had been a protégé of William II's minister, Archbishop Walter (1169–90).²³²

Innocent also intervened decisively in disputed elections. A few days after he became pope, he quashed the election of a Latin to the hitherto Greek see of Santa Severina, a man whom he claimed had been intruded by lay influence, instructing the canons to hold a new and canonical election, while also telling the archbishops of Capua, Reggio and Palermo to ensure that they did so, and asking the Empress Constance not to obstruct such an election.²³³ However, he also, more questionably, installed his chaplain Rainald of Celano as administrator of the archbishopric of Capua in December 1199, despite the opposition of a vociferous group among the canons, and notwithstanding the fact that he was some years below the canonical age for consecration. He justified his action by citing a canon of the Third Lateran Council of 1179. Rainald was eventually consecrated as archbishop in 1208.²³⁴ At Amalfi in 1202 Innocent rejected all three of the candidates suggested by the canons, and appointed the archdeacon of Chieti, who had earlier acted as a spokesman for his interest at the Capua election in 1199.²³⁵ In the same year he quashed the election of Gregory, the brother of Abbot Roffred of Montecassino, as archbishop of Trani, as being tainted with simony because of the promises the *electus* had made to the canons to secure his election, and appointed Master Bartholomew, one of his chaplains instead.²³⁶ He quashed the disputed election of the Cistercian abbot of Corazzo as abbot of the Benedictine abbey of St Euphemia in 1204, and appointed as abbot instead his chaplain John, a former monk of Cava.²³⁷ In 1207 he acted decisively to put an end to one long-standing dispute by splitting the bishopric of Isernia and

²³² *Register Innocenz' III. 1 Pontifikatsjahr 1198/1199*, 472–4 no. 326, at 474; *Die Register Innocenz' III. 6 Pontifikatsjahr, 1203/1204*, ed. O. Hageneder, J. C. Moore and A. Sommerlechner (Vienna 1995), 259–61 no. 158. Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, iii.1125. Other translations included the royal chancellor Walter of Pagliara from Troia to Catania in 1208, Archbishop Berard of Bari to Palermo in 1213, and Bishop Basuinus of Catanzaro to Aversa c. 1215.

²³³ *Register Innocenz' III. 1 Pontifikatsjahr 1198/1199*, 27–9 nos. 16–18.

²³⁴ *Register Innocenz' III. 2 Pontifikatsjahr 1199/1200*, 511–16 no. 265. Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, i.112–13.

²³⁵ *Register Innocenz' III. 5 Pontifikatsjahr 1202/1203*, 211–13 no. 105. Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, i.393–5.

²³⁶ *Register Innocenz' III. 5 Pontifikatsjahr 1202/1203*, 122–4 no. 67, 170–2 no. 87. Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, ii.550–2.

²³⁷ *Register Innocenz' III. 6 Pontifikatsjahr 1203/1204*, 393–5 no. 233.

Venafro into two separate dioceses, with the incumbent bishop to be based at Venafro, and ordering the canons of Isernia to elect a bishop for themselves forthwith.²³⁸ In 1211, after King Frederick had reached his majority, he quashed the election of the king's doctor to the see of Policastro, claiming that it was in breach of the concordat established in 1198, and instructed the metropolitan (the archbishop of Salerno) to ensure the election of the candidate whom he had chosen.²³⁹

Innocent sent out not just legates, whose concerns at this period were primarily political, given the problems within the kingdom, but other officials as well: one of the judges who in July 1199 assisted Archbishop Berard of Messina in hearing a legal complaint of the bishop of Patti about the illegal seizure of land belonging to his see was a papal cup-bearer.²⁴⁰ Meanwhile he used clerics from the kingdom in his service: the archdeacon of Brindisi was his representative at the court of King Kalojan of Bulgaria in 1202.²⁴¹ In another new development, he commissioned south Italian prelates to preach the Crusade within the kingdom: notably Bishop Laurence of Syracuse and Abbot Lucas of Sambucina, who were to proclaim the Crusade on the island of Sicily, in June 1198 – while Constance was still alive. The abbot of Montecassino was, at the same time, instructed to provide hospitality and assistance for the bishop of Lydda, whose see in the Holy Land was in Muslim hands.²⁴² Innocent's purview also extended to direct supervision of ecclesiastical resources, for example ordering an exhaustive investigation into the lease of a church by the prior of Bagnara – a transaction that he eventually condemned as simony, instructing his new archbishop at Acerenza to prevent the alienation of tithes and other property of the *mensa episcopalis*, and ordering the bishop of Polignano to investigate and cancel a loan taken out at interest by the archbishopric of Trani.²⁴³ What was also interesting about the Bagnara case was that it stemmed from the complaint to Rome of an individual priest: a type of appeal that hardly ever occurred before 1189, and testimony therefore of how much more effective papal justice was perceived to be. The defect of this tendency was that appeals became directed to the pope over minor issues, including those that ought more properly to have been directed to

²³⁸ MPL 215, cols. 8187–90 no. 91.

²³⁹ *Codice diplomatico salernitano del secolo XIII*, ed. C. Carucci (3 vols., Subiaco 1931–46), i.89 no. 31.

²⁴⁰ Girgensohn and Kamp, 'Urkunden und Inquisitionen aus Patti', 120–3 no. 2.

²⁴¹ *Register Innocenz' III. 5 Pontifikatsjahr 1202/1203*, 224–6 no. 114.

²⁴² *Register Innocenz' III. 1 Pontifikatsjahr 1198/1199*, 430–1 no. 302, 475–7 no. 326.

²⁴³ *Register Innocenz' III. 2 Pontifikatsjahr 1199/1200*, 282–4 no. 139, 305–6 no. 156; *Register Innocenz' III. 6 Pontifikatsjahr 1203/1204*, 28 no. 15.

the local secular courts: in 1212, for example, a layman appealed to Rome over a dispute with the archbishop of Salerno about a vineyard.²⁴⁴

All this papal activity was the consequence of a new and very different environment, of which the pope energetically took advantage, although to be fair the situation in the kingdom of Sicily urgently required a strong hand, and Innocent did his best to support the temporal interests of King Frederick during his minority. But while the political situation allowed much greater papal interference after 1198 than before, the prevailing disorder within the kingdom was hardly in the best interests of the south Italian Church. Innocent was, for example, unable for some years to secure the restoration of the exiled Archbishop Nicholas of Salerno to his see; in 1202 the best that he could do for him was to install him as administrator of the vacant suffragan see of Capaccio.²⁴⁵ His mandates to south Italian bishops were frequently concerned with the restoration of ecclesiastical property, stolen by laymen, and the latter all too often proved recalcitrant in making restitution.²⁴⁶

What happened after 1198 cannot necessarily be seen as the inevitable corollary to what came before, even though the extension of papal authority over the Church was a phenomenon that affected the whole of Christendom, and not just the kingdom of Sicily. The situation was, though, very different before 1189, and even the Treaty of Gravina did not in practice lead to much immediate change. Between 1156 and 1189, and especially after c. 1170, there was an expansion in the operation of papal justice, but this was still largely administered by the prelates of the kingdom. This was notwithstanding the relative proximity of Rome, and the southern part of the papal lands, which was where the late twelfth-century popes spent much of their time. There had, in fact, already been close contact with the papacy before 1130, facilitated by the frequent visits the popes paid to the south, and the existence of Benevento as a papal enclave within the region.

It is, however, hard to see the popes of this period as aggressively expanding their authority over the south Italian Church. They made some attempts at reorganisation, but these were slow and not always very effective, and their attitude towards the exemption of monasteries from

²⁴⁴ *Codice diplomatico salernitano del secolo XIII*, i.97–9 no. 36.

²⁴⁵ *Register Innocenz' III. 5 Pontifikatsjahr 1202/1203*, 117 no. 61. More genererally, Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, i.430–7.

²⁴⁶ As, for example, in the case of the bishopric of Isernia and Alexander of Collestefano, for which E. M. Jamison, 'Tre lettere pontificie del principio del secolo XIII', *Samnium* 3 (1930), 78–80 nos. 1–2.

diocesan authority and of bishoprics from that of metropolitans was hesitant and often contradictory. Honorius II was admittedly much more determined to exalt papal authority, but his pontificate was an isolated episode, and he was helpless to prevent Roger II's unification of the south. Anacletus II then returned to the practices and policies of his predecessors of the Gregorian Reform era. The legacy of the Anacletan schism then caused a hiatus, although there was never a complete cessation of relations between the papacy and south Italian churchmen, and there were periods of *détente*, especially during the later years of Eugenius III. Nor, for all their concern with their own rights, were the kings of Sicily necessarily hostile to papal justice, appeals to the Curia, and the routine contact of the papal administration. After 1156 the kings and the papacy were close allies, and worked harmoniously together. The popes were careful not to jeopardise this alliance, and did not fully exploit those powers that they had under the terms of the 1156 treaty, especially with regard to legations. Even Innocent III was careful to negotiate with the government of the Empress Constance, and stick to what he perceived as the terms of the concordat once his ward King Frederick had reached his majority. Between 1156 and 1192 the kings of Sicily had indeed enjoyed a privileged position in their relations with the Church, especially with regard to the island of Sicily. But it is not clear that this was inimical to ecclesiastical interests, for (as we shall see) the kings were also the benefactors and protectors of the Church within their dominions.

The kings of Sicily and the Church

John of Salisbury, that acute observer of Christendom in the middle of the twelfth century, recorded a decidedly unflattering opinion of King Roger. 'For the king, after the fashion of tyrants, had reduced the Church in his kingdom to slavery, and instead of allowing any freedom of election named in advance the candidate to be elected, so disposing of all ecclesiastical offices like palace appointments'.¹ Two or three years later, John wrote to Pope Alexander, soon after the latter had taken up residence under Sicilian protection at Benevento, advising him not to take 'the evil practices of the Sicilians and Hungarians' as a model in relations between Church and state. The contemporary German theologian Gerhoh of Reichersberg also linked the kingdoms of Sicily and Hungary, both of which, he argued, refused to allow appeals by churchmen to the papacy and limited access for papal legates.² Another contemporary from the Anglo-Norman world, Peter of Blois, was also very critical of the conduct of the Sicilian rulers, and more especially William II, towards the Church. In 1171 he wrote that the king 'has on the advice of sinners laid greedy hands on the treasures of the church', and in another letter, written some eight years later in the name of Archbishop Richard of Canterbury, he claimed that the Sicilian bishops were in the habit of neglecting their dioceses for years on end while frequenting the royal court.³

Both John and Peter knew the kingdom of Sicily at first hand. John had visited the south during the 1140s and become friendly with his fellow

¹ *Historia Pontificalis*, 65.

² *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, ii.376–7 no. 219; Gerhoh, *De Investigatione Antechristi*, MGH *Libelli de Lite*, iii.385.

³ *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, i. *The Early Letters (1153–61)*, ed. H. E. Butler and W. J. Millor (London 1955), 57–8 no. 33; Peter of Blois, *Epistola* no. 10, MPL 207, cols. 27–30; cf. MPL 200, cols. 1459–62 no. 96. Schlichte, *Der 'gute' König*, 14–15, would date the first of these letters to the early months of 1169; this, however, seems unlikely, since it implies that the bishopric of Agrigento, which is the principal subject of the letter, was vacant. Thus it can only have been written after the death of Bishop Gentile in March 1171.

Englishman the royal chancellor Robert of Selby (who died in 1151), while Peter was one of the household of Stephen of Perche, the cousin of Queen Margaret whom she appointed as chancellor in 1167. Indeed, Peter claimed that he had for a time been an important figure at the royal court, as keeper of the royal seal (*sigillarius*) – ‘the affairs of the kingdom hang to a considerable extent upon my decision’ – and he also alleged that he had been offered and declined the archbishopric of Naples. Meanwhile his brother William had been appointed abbot of the important monastery of S. Maria de Mattina in Calabria.⁴ This might, therefore, suggest that such criticism should be taken seriously (although it should be noted that we have no other evidence to support Peter’s claims as to his own prominence).

However, we have already seen that, whatever the case before 1156, and stories were certainly circulating about King Roger’s reluctance to allow contact between his churchmen and the popes, after the Treaty of Benevento appeals to the Curia and the operation of papal justice appear to have developed unhindered. While legations, apart from diplomatic ones to the royal court, were rare, there was no suggestion from the Curia that this was because the king prevented them. John of Salisbury’s view of ‘the evil practices of the Sicilians’ was therefore, at best, a reflection of what had once taken place, rather than an accurate depiction of the situation in his own day. Furthermore, while both these witnesses from the Anglo-Norman kingdom were well informed about the southern kingdom, and Peter continued intermittently to cultivate his high-level contacts there through the 1170s, both were also *partis pris*. John wrote his *History of the Papal Court* during the early years of his exile in France as the secretary of Archbishop Thomas Becket, and his jaundiced view of royal control over the Church reflected both the hard-line attitude on this subject in Becket’s circle and their unhappy experiences with Henry II. Moreover, Becket had hoped to enlist Sicilian support for his cause against the king and, at the time when John’s letter to Pope Alexander was written, he must already have realised that such hopes were going to be disappointed.⁵ John’s critical view of the rulers of Sicily was, therefore, readily explicable.

Meanwhile Peter of Blois had much more personal reasons for his very obvious dislike of the southern kingdom. His patron Stephen of Perche

⁴ *Epistolae*, nos. 72, 90, 131 (quote), MPL 207, cols. 224, 281–3, 390. See also, L. T. White, ‘For the biography of William of Blois’, *English Historical Review* 50 (1935), 487–90.

⁵ Loud, ‘Kingdom of Sicily and the kingdom of England’, 552–3; *Historia Pontificalis*, xxiv–xxx, for its date.

had been forced to flee Sicily at Easter 1168. Peter himself had left soon afterwards, 'fearing the evil of those who live there', travelling by sea to Genoa. His brother, so Peter claimed, had been 'fraudulently deprived' of the bishopric of Catania, to which he had apparently been elected, supplanted as bishop by a brother of the influential royal *familiaris* Matthew, the vice-chancellor. William had eventually resigned his abbacy, and also returned to France. In consequence Peter had the lowest opinion of Sicily and its inhabitants. It was, he told his brother, 'an infernal place, which devours its inhabitants'.⁶ 'Men are living in Sicily who foster treason and poison to official adulation, and who caress the ears of the great with the wind of vainglory, and make them itch with poisonous flattery.'⁷ Here Peter was reflecting upon the tensions and factional dispute at the Sicilian court that had destroyed the regime of Stephen of Perche within little more of a year of his arrival in Sicily, although he was also tapping into a common literary genre of criticism of the evils and worldliness of courts. But, in addition, he was expressing, as he did in another letter to Bishop Richard of Syracuse, his own loathing of the kingdom of Sicily.

Sicily is unpleasant because of its air, and it is unpleasant [also] through the evil of those who live there, so that it seems hateful to me, and almost uninhabitable, as does the frequent scourge of poison through the frightful cruelty, from which the naïve simplicity of our countrymen is there constantly endangered.⁸

Fond though Peter was of rhetorical embellishment, there is a distinctly personal element here. However, with regard to Sicily there was also another literary topos, which appears to have influenced both these observers, well read as they were in classical literature. This was the idea that Sicily was peculiarly the home of tyrants, both in the classical past and in their own day. This concept was enunciated by Otto of Freising and other German writers, who regarded the creation of the kingdom in 1130 as an infringement of the rights of their own emperor – tyrants were not just those who ruled cruelly or unjustly but also those who seized power to which they were not entitled. This idea underlay Gerhoh of Reichersberg's view of the Sicilian kings and the Church. But the fullest expression of such concepts came in the work of a native writer, the unknown author of the History of the so-called 'Hugo Falcandus': 'in Sicily', he claimed, 'there is nothing amazing about the performance of deeds of such extreme

⁶ *Epistolae*, nos. 90, 93, MPL 207, cols. 281–3, 291–3. ⁷ *Ibid.*, 293.

⁸ *Epistola* 46, MPL 207, col. 133.

wickedness.⁹ However, for all his lengthy denunciation of Sicily as the home of tyranny and, in particular, William I and his minister Maio of Bari as tyrants, pseudo-Hugo said little or nothing about their treatment of the Church.¹⁰

How much credence, therefore, should we give to the comments about the kings and the Church voiced by John of Salisbury and Peter of Blois? Given their backgrounds and underlying attitudes, one might suggest not a lot. Peter after all compared what he alleged was the oppression of the Church by William II and his ministers with Henry II of England, 'whose hand has avoided every reward, nor in appointing prelates of the Church has he allowed himself to be influenced by any bribe or favour' – hardly an opinion which Thomas Becket shared, or indeed Alexander III.¹¹ Peter was also prone to generalisation from isolated examples. Were many south Italian bishops in the habit of neglecting their sees while they lingered at court, or was this a specific reference to Peter's erstwhile friend Richard of Syracuse, an Englishman by birth, who famously only received consecration twelve years after his appointment, and that apparently unwillingly, under pressure from the papal legate John of Naples? One can hardly assume that this particular example of a royal *familiaris*, one of the inner council of ministers, however blatant it may have been, was therefore typical of the episcopate as a whole, especially since Richard's critics included a number of his fellow bishops from Sicily.¹² John of Salisbury may not have approved of Roger II's government of the Church, or have had a very high opinion of the Sicilian bishops. He suggested that they were prepared to commit perjury to please the king, in an attempt to persuade Eugenius III to annul the marriage of Count Hugh of Molise, which would then allow him to marry an illegitimate daughter of the king.¹³ But he admitted that when Eugenius was permitted to examine the elections of the kingdom's bishops in 1150, the canonical electors (that is the cathedral chapters) swore repeatedly that they had not acted under royal pressure. And, he also told the story of his friend Robert of Selby, who was in charge of the government of the mainland in the later 1140s, supervising the election of a bishop at Avellino. He refused

⁹ *Falcandus*, preface, 4 (*Tyrants*, 55). Cf. H. Wieruszowski, 'Roger II of Sicily. *Rex tyrannus* in twelfth-century political thought', *Speculum* 38 (1963), 46–78.

¹⁰ This is one among several reasons why a recent suggestion that the author of this history was Hugues, Abbot of St Denis, near Paris, 1186–97, appears improbable. Can the author really have been a churchman? For this suggestion, G. E. Hood, 'Falcandus and Fulcaudus, "Epistola ad Petrum, Liber de Regno Sicilie". Literary form and author's identity', *Studia Mediaevalia* Ser. III.40 (1999), 1–41.

¹¹ Peter, *Epistola* 10, MPL 207, col. 30. But cf. Cheney, *From Becket to Langton*, 23.

¹² *Falcandus*, 102 (*Tyrants*, 150–1). ¹³ *Historia Pontificalis*, 80–1.

to accept bribes from several ambitious clerics who desired the see, publicly exposed them as simoniacs, and then selected as bishop a monk of holy life (was he perhaps from the local eremitic house of Montevergine?), who had made no effort to secure the see for himself.¹⁴

The procedure for the election of bishops and abbots agreed at the Treaty of Benevento was as follows. The electors (the cathedral chapter or the monastic community) should agree on a suitable person, whose name they would keep secret until it had been communicated to the king. If he had no objection to the person selected, he would then give his assent, and the normal process of confirmation by canonical superior and consecration (or benediction in the case of abbots) would then go ahead. The king could object on grounds of 'national security': if the person chosen was 'among the traitors or enemies of us or our heirs', or was otherwise 'hateful' (*hodiosa*) to him.¹⁵ The information that we possess about such elections adds one further element; before proceeding to the nomination, the chapter or convent had first to notify the king, to receive his permission to go ahead. Thus in 1174 the king wrote to the convent of Montecassino acknowledging their notification of the death of their abbot.

By this same letter, you have begged our majesty that we provide for you a replacement for your pastor, foreseeing that if the monastery remains for a long time lacking a pastor, it could incur harm both in spiritual and temporal matters. We have [therefore] been mercifully minded that you should be provided with a pastor. Thus we instruct and order you that you gather together and, having discussed the matter among yourselves, invoking the grace of the Holy Spirit, by equal vote and unanimous wish, you name from among yourselves some person from your convent who is loyal and born from a family of our subjects, who is honest, religious, learned, and fitted and suitable for rule over the monastery. Making this secret nomination, rather than election, you will through three or four of your fellow brothers inform our majesty of that person. Once your request and unanimous wish is known, let it be decreed and ordained about the election as is properly fitting. However, those brothers of yours who shall come to our court for this matter shall come furnished with a letter of authorisation from you all, so that if perchance that person whom you have nominated shall not be admitted to election, it shall be permitted to them, acting on behalf of you all, to nominate in our presence another person to be elected. If the election of that person whom you shall have nominated is celebrated in the presence of our majesty, you will all treat that election as fixed and confirmed.

¹⁴ *Historia Pontificalis*, 67; *Policraticus*, ed. C. C. J. Webb (2 vols., Oxford 1909), ii.173–4. Whether this was Bishop Vigilantius, attested in July 1145, Cava, *Arca* xxvi.45, or his successor is unknown. We know relatively little about this see in the twelfth century.

¹⁵ *William I Diplomata*, 35 no. 12.

This letter also made provision for the temporary administration of the abbey until a new abbot was chosen: in this case the abbey's dean was left in charge, and as it turned out he was the person duly nominated, and confirmed by the king.¹⁶ In practice therefore, what took place, albeit under royal supervision, was a free and canonical election, unless the king should disagree with the person chosen, and since this was always technically possible (even if we do not know how often it may have happened), one assumes that the monks had discussed whom their second choice might be, should their envoys to the court be required to nominate another candidate.

An almost identical process occurred after the death of Abbot Oliver of St Bartholomew of Carpineto in 1180. The monks notified the king of his death: the king sent back permission to nominate a new abbot. The king's mandate was, once again, very clear on this point: 'you shall not, however, make an election of that person, but only a secret nomination, and you shall inform the court of the person nominated through two or three of the better brothers of the monastery.'¹⁷ On this occasion, the brothers were unable to agree, and sent their representatives with two names to put before the king, which did not please him. The brothers who had been sent to the court were then told to make a choice, which they did – Alexander, the Carpineto chronicler, emphasised 'with equal vote and common deliberation'. They chose a monk of Casauria, Bohemond de Luco (it is not clear from the account whether or not he was one of the original two candidates). His election 'was celebrated in the king's presence' – in other words the king gave his assent, and this was signified by letter both to the convent and to two of the local bishops, those of Valva and Aprutium. They then went to the abbey and witnessed the formal election of Bohemond by the brothers.¹⁸

The election of Abbot Bohemond was complicated, at first because the brothers could not agree – it can be seen from the earlier royal letter to the monks of Montecassino that the king expected to be presented with a single, unanimous nomination. It was also notable that the king did not entrust supervision of the formal election of his approved candidate to the diocesan bishop, Oderisius of Penne. The reason for this soon became clear. Carpineto was ecclesiastically an exempt abbey, whose canonical superior was thus the pope. After the formal election by the whole convent,

¹⁶ F. Chalandon, *La Domination normande en Italie et en Sicile* (2 vols., Paris 1907), ii.591–2.

¹⁷ *Chron. Carpineto*, 291–2 no. 140. This royal mandate is contained within the chartulary section of this combined chronicle-chartulary.

¹⁸ *Chron. Carpineto*, 97–8.

the monks therefore sent two brothers to the papal court with a letter requesting the pontiff's formal confirmation, which was duly granted. Bohemond then went to the Curia, and was granted his abbatial benediction at Velletri, in September 1182. The bishop, however, did his best to prevent this, sending some of his canons requesting the pope not to bless the abbot, for this was, they claimed, the bishop's right. While the pope disregarded this interference, and did bless the abbot, he later commissioned judges-delegate to investigate the whole issue of the abbey's canonical status. In all, from the death of the former abbot until the benediction of the new one, the whole process took fully two years, and the bishop's subsequent litigation dragged on until the pontificate of Clement III (1187–91).¹⁹

One would assume that such a lengthy procedure was not the norm, whatever the inevitable delays of travel from the mainland to and from the royal court, which would almost always be at Palermo. Carpineto was, of course, in the Abruzzi, almost on the northern frontier of the kingdom, and such travel would therefore be more protracted than for those churches that were closer to Sicily, and especially if they were within easy reach of a port from which they might travel by sea. We know, for example, that the journey from Rome to Palermo, presumably by sea, might be accomplished in two weeks.²⁰ But the long delay in the Carpineto case before the abbot finally received benediction was almost certainly down to the jurisdictional claims initiated by the bishop, and not to any desire by the royal court to keep the abbacy vacant. Abbot Oliver died on 31 August 1180: the royal *congé d'élire* was granted on 28 October. A two-month delay to communicate with Palermo and for the letter of permission to be issued was hardly excessive. For comparison, Abbot Dominic of Montecassino died in April 1174: his successor, the former dean Peter, was in office by 8 November of the same year, and apparently some time earlier since we know of this through a royal mandate that had been issued in response to a letter from the new abbot.²¹ Sometimes the process could be very speedy indeed. Abbot Marinus of Cava died on 14 December 1170; his successor was elected on 31 January 1171.²² While we have no further information as to how the election was carried out, it seems inconceivable that an abbey so

¹⁹ *Chron. Carpineto*, 101–7. Lucius III's confirmation of the election is *ibid.*, 293 no. 142.

²⁰ *Falcandus*, 103 (*Tyrants*, 152).

²¹ *Annales Casinenses*, MGH SS xix.312; Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, Aula III Caps. XXVII.38 (Leccisotti, *Regesto dell'archivio*, vi.308).

²² *Annales Cavenses*, MGH SS xix.192. Because the annalist began the new year in March, the annals' dating of the year can be confusing, but the charter evidence clears up any ambiguity: Marinus was still abbot in August 1170, his successor Benencasa was in office by the end of January 1171, Cava, *Arca* xxxiii.63, 80.

closely linked with the crown should not have observed the rules laid down at the behest of William I in the Treaty of Benevento (of which Abbot Marinus had been one of the royal negotiators).

Admittedly matters did not proceed so quickly when Abbot Peter of Montecassino died on 8 July 1186, for his eventual successor, Roffred *de Insula* was only formally installed as abbot exactly two years later, on 9 July 1188, although in this case we do not know why there was such a delay.²³ It seems unlikely, however, that the abbatial seat was intentionally kept vacant so that the crown might administer the monastery and enjoy its revenues, tempting as that might have been with what was almost certainly the richest monastic house in the kingdom. Whereas under Kings Roger and William I churches had been placed under the supervision of royal bailiffs during a vacancy, there had been a significant change of policy during the minority of William II. This is known from a letter of Queen Margaret, written in the name of her son, to the archbishop and chapter of Trani in March 1167, but which was probably one among a number of similar letters despatched to the more important churches of the kingdom. (Trani had not recently been vacant, and there appears to have been no special reason why it should have been singled out.) This accused the royal bailiffs of having often 'squandered and devastated the property of these churches', and decreed that in future on the death of an archbishop or bishop the administration of his church's property during the ensuing vacancy would be entrusted to two or three 'of the best, most faithful and wisest persons' from that church, and during this period the revenues should be used 'for the work of this same church'.²⁴ This same letter, more or less *verbatim*, was later included in Frederick II's law code, the *Liber Augustalis*, as a law of King William, showing that this did indeed become the custom of the kingdom.²⁵ It appears to have been generally observed during the reign of Frederick II, at least until his final breach with the papacy in 1239.²⁶ And, as we have seen from the example of Montecassino

²³ *Annales Casinenses*, MGH SS xix.192. ²⁴ *Carte di Trani*, 128–9 no. 57.

²⁵ *Liber Augustalis*, III.31, in G. M. Monti, *Lo stato normanno svevo. Lineamenti e ricerche* (Trani 1945), 176–7, and *Konstitution Friedrichs*, 398–9.

²⁶ Thus in 1208–10 the vacant bishopric of Troia was administered by its archdeacon, in 1223 the vacant archbishopric of Capua was under the administration of two of its canons, and that of Salerno similarly by three of its canons, two of whom at least were from important local families, while in 1226 Aversa was administered by Humphrey of Sessa, a canon of its cathedral from a local baronial family, apparently acting on his own. At Cefalù, where the bishop was in exile in 1222–3, one of the administrators was a lay notary, but the other was a local Cistercian abbot, and they were subsequently succeeded by a canon of Messina, Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, i.121, 348–9, 437–8, ii.517, iii.1061–2.

in 1174, where the claustral dean was granted the administration of the abbey during a vacancy, the same policy appears to have been adopted with regard to monastic houses. Obviously there may have been exceptions: we cannot be certain that the king and his ministers always obeyed their own precept. In 1178, for example, Alexander III reproved the king for granting the revenues of the vacant see of Catanzaro to the archdeacon of the neighbouring see of Cosenza. Bishopricks should not, the pope wrote, be kept vacant for more than three months, and their revenues should 'be zealously preserved' for the next bishop.²⁷ But it should be noted that the king himself was not enjoying these revenues.

Given the limitations of the sources at our disposal, we cannot know how often the king refused to accept a nomination from a chapter or convent, or indeed whether after 1156 this was ever more than a threat held in reserve to induce the electors to choose a candidate pleasing to the crown. Direct royal intervention may well have been more common during the reign of King Roger, as the king sought to consolidate his grasp on his dominions. The royal chamberlain of Capua forbade the monks of Montecassino to elect a new abbot without the king's permission in February 1137, but with an imperial invasion of the *regno* imminent the royal officials were more concerned with installing a garrison in the monastery than dictating the choice of its head. When the monks went ahead and elected a new abbot, the king's representatives were prepared to accept their choice, provided the abbot-elect swore fealty to Roger.²⁸ One consecrated prelate, Archbishop William of Siponto, was in exile at the German court in the years 1143–7, along with lay enemies of the king like the prince of Capua and Count Roger of Ariano.²⁹ Why he was exiled, and what happened to his see during this exile, or after his death, is unknown.

However, there was one instance where King Roger is known to have refused to accept the choice made by the canonical electors. This was at the abbey of St Clement of Casauria, in the Abruzzi, where on the death of Abbot Oldrius in December 1152 the monks chose as his successor Leonas, a member of the former comital family of Manopello, who had been driven from their county by the king when his forces took over the Abruzzi in 1140. Leonas was a monk of Casauria, who had been given to the house as a child oblate; he had then become a subdeacon of the Roman Church, so he was

²⁷ *Epistolae Pontificum Romanorum Ineditae*, ed. S. Löwenfeld (Leipzig 1885), 159–60 no. 279.

²⁸ *Chron. Cas.* IV.104, pp. 564–5.

²⁹ *Die Urkunden Konrads III.*, ed. F. Hausmann (MGH *Diplomatum* 9, Vienna 1969), 170–1 no. 95, 315–16 no. 175. William must have been appointed after October 1135, when his predecessor Gaudinus was still alive, *Colonia cassinesi in Capitanata*, ii. *Gargano*, 52–3 no. 11.

clearly acceptable to the papacy. But while his connection with the papal Curia is unlikely to have been a problem after the agreement at Ceprano in 1150, he was unacceptable to the king because of his family, and even more so to the latter's local representative, Bohemond of Tarsia, Count of Manopello, a Calabrian noble installed by Roger in 1140 to replace the existing counts, to whom Leonas was related.

He hindered every effort of the brothers to make him abbot, for he feared that Leonas might be led for love of his relations of the house of Manopello, whom the lord King Roger had disinherited and expelled from his kingdom, to use the power of the abbey to harm him, and even perhaps to drive him from the county.

The king therefore rejected the nomination, and a monk called Constantine was chosen instead 'from within the congregation'. However, this was unpopular enough with some of the monks to lead to an appeal to the papacy – Casauria was another exempt house, directly subject to the pope. Eugenius III promptly quashed the election. The chronology of the account in the Casauria chronicle is not altogether clear, but it would seem that King Roger, in the last months of his life (or at least the royal government in Palermo) then ordered a delegation of the brothers who had travelled to Sicily to choose an abbot from a short-list of three monks from other monasteries that was presented to them. The monks chose a brother of Monte Sacro, a Benedictine house on Monte Gargano, but the new pope Anastasius IV refused to consecrate him, and declared his election void, nor would he accept Constantine, even though the Count of Manopello, who knew the pope personally, continued to press his claims. Casauria thus remained without an abbot until 1155, by which time the new king, William I, was facing widespread revolt on the mainland and most of the Abruzzi was in the hands of the rebel leader, Count Robert of Loritello. The monks took advantage of this collapse of royal authority in their region to approach the pope once again, and Adrian IV approved the election of Leonas, and subsequently granted him benediction, when he was at Benevento, presumably in the summer of 1156 while he was negotiating with the king. Even then, the new abbot was still not entirely welcome to the king, and further papal intercession was necessary before William would finally accept him.³⁰

This particular case was complicated by the peculiar conditions of the Abruzzi region, only recently taken over by the king, and by the political problems on the mainland in the early years of William I. But one should

³⁰ *Chron. Casauriense*, 893–7.

note how similar the procedure adopted under King Roger for filling the abbatial vacancy was to what was subsequently enshrined as the norm in the Treaty of Benevento. The monks' original nomination proved unacceptable to the king, they were then asked to nominate another from within their own ranks. A delegation from the abbey went to the royal court, and the king expected them to have authority to choose an abbot. But although they were presented with a short-list of potential candidates, the chronicle makes clear that this was because, at this stage, the monks could no longer agree on an internal candidate who was acceptable to the king. And at no point during this protracted and painful process did the king ever simply impose his own candidate unilaterally. Eventually, albeit reluctantly and with the intervention of the pope, he was persuaded to accept the original candidate, who was the man the monks really wanted. Leonas in the end turned out to be a highly successful abbot, who remained loyal to the king despite continued invasion of the Abruzzi by the latter's enemies, and restored the fortunes of his somewhat battered house, while being so highly regarded by Alexander III that he was raised to the cardinalate in 1169.

Unfortunately, we have only one comparably detailed account of the customary procedure in an episcopal (as opposed to abbatial) election during the twelfth century. That relates to the election to the bishopric of Valva in the Abruzzi in 1172. Here matters were complicated because, as with a number of other south Italian sees (Brindisi, Siponto and Isernia/Venafro) there were two rival sets of canons, at Valva and at Sulmona, both of whom claimed the right to elect the bishop. A compromise arranged some years earlier, by Abbot Leonas of Casauria, stipulated that in future the two bodies would co-operate to make an election. Subsequently a delegation drawn equally from both chapters went to Palermo to seek permission to make an election, and the king requested that they provide him with a short-list of three candidates from which to choose a bishop. This was then presented to him at Taranto, again by a delegation drawn from each chapter, during his visit to the mainland in the spring of 1172. The choice fell on Oderisius of Raino, the provost of the Valva chapter, and the king then instructed the bishops of Marsia and Forcone to confirm that he was the unanimous choice of the two chapters, and to supervise the formal election.³¹ The procedure appears therefore to have been more or

³¹ Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, i.61–2 (largely drawn from the later recollections of one of the canons in 1206). The agreement of 1168: *Codice diplomatico Sulmonese*, ed. N. F. Faraglia (Lanciano 1888), 48–9 no. 37.

less identical with what we know of abbatial elections, and in accordance with the Treaty of 1156, apart from the complications caused by having two electing bodies, which may explain why the king sought to have more than one name presented to him. However, he still hoped that the eventual choice would be unanimously agreed, and it may be that the short-list was no more than a precaution if the earlier disputes, which according to Abbot Leonas had caused scandal and expense, were to resurface.

All three of these narrative accounts of elections come from the Abruzzi, a province that only became part of the kingdom of Sicily in 1140. That we lack other similar detailed information relating to sees in other regions is primarily because south Italian bishoprics did not develop the tradition of composing collective episcopal biographies, the *Gesta Episcoporum*, that developed in some sees north of the Alps. Only the very brief Troia chronicle, which simply lists the bishops of that see and the dates of their installation and deaths, dates from before 1200, and as we have seen (above, p. 209) even the relatively exiguous information therein is not entirely reliable. The earliest other such document from the kingdom of Sicily, the *Libellus de Successione* of the bishops of Agrigento, dates only from the mid-thirteenth century, and again that says almost nothing about how bishops were chosen.³² Furthermore, while for the period of the Norman conquest a few, very short, individual hagiographic episcopal *vitae* survive, these cease after c. 1130. However, what is otherwise a largely secular narrative, the History of the so-called 'Hugo Falcandus', does give some quite detailed information about two successive elections to the archbishopric of Palermo during the years 1167–9, although in neither case does it appear that pseudo-Hugo's account was entirely trustworthy, or at least told the whole truth of what took place. But it *is* clear from his account, mediated by the other evidence at our disposal, that neither election was strictly canonical.

Stephen of Perche, the French cousin of the queen-dowager, Margaret, arrived in Sicily in the summer of 1167. He was first recorded as royal chancellor in a charter in favour of the archbishopric of Salerno in August of that year.³³ According to Pseudo-Hugo:

Not long afterwards, when the archbishop of Salerno had ordained him sub-deacon, messengers were sent to tell the canons of Palermo that the king and queen

³² Kamp, 'Bishops of southern Italy', 187. The *Libellus* is edited by Collura, *Carte di Agrigento*, 300–12.

³³ G. Paesano, *Memorie per servire alla storia della Chiesa salernitana* (4 vols., Naples 1846–57), ii.175–6. Chalandon, *Domination normande*, ii.321, antedated his arrival on the basis of an eighteenth-century forgery.

had heard the pleas they had so often uttered, and were allowing them full freedom to choose a shepherd for their church. They should come to the palace and give the court the name of the man whom they thought suitable for themselves, in accordance with custom. There was no disagreement among the canons (a thing which rarely happens) and with one heart and mind they elected the chancellor, to the pleasure of the population. The choice was made with the approval of William of Pavia, cardinal of the Roman Church, who had recently come to Palermo on his way to Gaul.³⁴

This account would therefore suggest both that there was a free and canonical election (albeit that the choice made was clearly one pleasing to the ruler), and that the procedure followed – permission to elect followed by a delegation bringing the name of the person nominated to the court – was that prescribed by the Treaty of Benevento. Since the direct canonical superior of the archbishopric was the papacy, the cardinal might be considered as giving preliminary approval from the pope, even though he was not formally legate to the kingdom (he was on his way to France to mediate in the dispute between Thomas Becket and Henry II).

However, ‘Falcandus’ did not say directly, although he implied by his reference to the frequent requests to make such an election, that the archbishopric had been vacant for some considerable time, and perhaps for several years. That would be explicable if Archbishop Hugh had died not long before King William I.³⁵ With the regency government bitterly divided by personal feuds and factional strife, the appointment of a new archbishop for the capital may have been too politically sensitive to undertake. The appointment of a native candidate, or the promotion of someone who was already a prominent bishop, might well have upset the fragile political balance at court: ‘Falcandus’ said expressly that two of the bishops most involved in the disputes at court, Gentile of Agrigento and Richard of Syracuse, eagerly coveted the archbishopric.³⁶ Stephen had the advantage of being an outsider who, at least at first, was not a party to the court factions. Secondly, there are problems with the chronology of the account in the History. Cardinal William arrived in southern France from

³⁴ *Falcandus*, III (*Tyrants*, 161–2).

³⁵ Archbishop Hugh may still have been alive in April 1165, if Garufi was correct to date a donation to the archbishopric, surviving only in a Latin translation of a Greek document, to that year, *Documenti inediti*, 91–3 no. 39. No archbishop was mentioned by name in this, but the charter suggests that there was still an archbishop in office at that time. However, if the archbishopric was vacant in May 1166, this would explain why Archbishop Romuald of Salerno presided at the coronation of William II (see below, p. 273).

³⁶ *Falcandus*, 91–2 (*Tyrants*, 140). Both of these were foreigners by birth, but were already significant political figures at court.

Sicily in August 1167, while Stephen was only attested as archbishop-elect in November of that year – and in the previous month was described in a royal charter only as ‘chancellor’.³⁷ The cardinal’s contacts with the canons must therefore have occurred some time before the formal election of Stephen in late October or early November 1167, and they had clearly been told in advance whom they were expected to nominate. Even if the façade of the agreed and canonical procedure was maintained, in reality Stephen was appointed by the Queen Mother. Furthermore, until shortly before his election he can only have been in minor orders, or may even still have been a layman, and it is also probable that he was not yet of the appropriate canonical age, which would explain why he was never consecrated.³⁸

If the choice of Stephen of Perche as archbishop was a political one, there was at least some attempt, according to the account of pseudo-Hugo, to pay attention to the outward proprieties of canonical election. His replacement by Walter, dean of Agrigento, in 1168/9 was an altogether more dubious and disorderly affair. Stephen’s government was overthrown by an uprising at Easter 1168, which began with a riot at Messina, and soon escalated with the involvement of various nobles and officials whom Stephen had excluded from power, and in some cases imprisoned. Stephen was forced to leave the kingdom and sail to the Holy Land, where he died relatively soon after his arrival from a skin infection. But before his departure the canons of Palermo asked him, according to pseudo-Hugo, ‘to release them from the oath of loyalty they had taken to him’, or in other words to release them from any obligation of recognising him as archbishop-elect. When Stephen ignored this, the court officials exerted more and more pressure on him, culminating in threats of violence, ‘that he should renounce his election and give the canons the opportunity to choose a new pastor . . . he renounced his election under the pressure of fear.’³⁹ Subsequently, and according to our account ‘only a few days later’, Walter, dean of Agrigento, now one of the council of *familiares* in charge of the government,

³⁷ White, *Latin Monasticism*, 266–7 no. 26; Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vii.121. For William, F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (London 1986), 170.

³⁸ Stephen was born at the earliest in 1137/8, which would have put him just under the canonical age of 30, but quite probably somewhat later: his eldest brother Rotrou was only born c. 1135, and there was another intervening brother also. He was undoubtedly named after King Stephen of England, with whom his father concluded an alliance in 1137. K. Thompson, *Power and Border Lordship in Medieval France. The County of the Perche, 1000–1226* (Woodbridge 2002), 76, 79–80.

³⁹ *Falcandus*, 160 (*Tyrants*, 213). His subsequent death was reported by William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis, Turnhout 1986), XX.3, pp. 914–15, and Peter of Blois, *Epistola* no. 93, MPL 207 col. 293.

hired a mob and by frightening the canons, with the consent of the court, took over the administration of the church of Palermo, more as a result of violent occupation than election.⁴⁰

What might be seen as the official version of what happened, that purveyed in the chronicle of Archbishop Romuald of Salerno, claimed that, 'rejecting the chancellor, the canons of Palermo unanimously chose Walter as their pastor'.⁴¹ But if we are to believe the account of 'Falcandus', which is much more detailed and circumstantial, even if the author had some sympathy for Stephen and appears to have disliked the new archbishop, it was blatantly uncanonical. Although since he had not been consecrated, Stephen could, if he wished, resign the see, he had done so not willingly, but because his life was in danger. 'No judge would consider what had happened as a result of force or threats as legitimate.' However, the papal Curia was reluctant to offend those who were all too clearly in control of the Sicilian government – Alexander III was of course in exile in Benevento under Sicilian protection at this time, and a large bribe secured its assent. (With most of the papal lands round Rome in the hands of Frederick Barbarossa's supporters, the papacy was notably short of money.) Hence, according to 'Falcandus',

after taking a few days to consider the matter, so that his decision would not appear precipitate, the pope finally declared the election valid, and ordered the archbishop-elect [Walter] to be consecrated by his suffragans.⁴²

It was with this last passage that pseudo-Hugo was misleading, for as with his account of Stephen's election, but to a considerably greater extent, he was telescoping the chronology. While Walter's election took place, if not perhaps immediately after the coup but by the autumn of 1168, in fact, Pope Alexander only issued the order for his consecration on 22 July 1169. Almost certainly, he only did this once he was informed of Stephen's death – in other words, the pope was well aware that the circumstances of Stephen's resignation and Walter's election were uncanonical, but he was prepared to overlook this once there was only one candidate. Walter was eventually consecrated on 28 September 1169, and received his *pallium* from the papal legate, John of Naples, although the pope made clear that this was a special concession, and was not to set a precedent – normally the archbishop would be expected to come to Rome to receive consecration personally from the pope.⁴³ By this stage Walter had emerged as the

⁴⁰ *Falcandus*, 163 (*Tyrants*, 215). ⁴¹ *Romuald*, 257. ⁴² *Falcandus*, 163 (*Tyrants*, 216).

⁴³ MPL 200, col. 591 no. 620 (*Italia Pontificia*, x.232–3 no. 32); *Romuald*, 257; Pirro, *Sicula Sacra*, i.105.

undoubted head of the royal council, and was unable, or certainly unwilling, to leave Palermo.

These two appointments were clearly the product of particular circumstances, and therefore can hardly be seen as a model for the usual practice in selecting bishops. Stephen was, effectively, appointed by the *de facto* ruler, the Queen-regent, while Walter was one, and eventually the leader, of the oligarchy that had seized control of the government in 1168; the king at that time being still only fourteen. He remained as the principal royal *familiaris* – effectively the executive head of the government – throughout the reign of William II. But these appointments, and particularly that of Stephen of Perche in 1167, raise a significant question. The appointment of Stephen, at least, appears to have obeyed the outward letter, if hardly the spirit, of the provisions laid down at Benevento in 1156. How many more appointments were there where the king (or perhaps his ministers) suggested to the canons the candidate whom they then elected, whether initially or after the first choice had been rejected, as the king was entitled to do?

At first sight such a question is unanswerable, because we possess so little information about the conduct of episcopal elections. But we do know something about at least a minority of the bishops, and their background and careers may well imply something about the extent of royal activity in selecting the kingdom's episcopate. Furthermore, we need to remember certain salient facts about the structure of the secular Church in the *regno*, especially in comparison to other contemporary kingdoms. In the Anglo-Norman realm, for example, there were relatively few bishoprics (21 sees in England and Wales during the twelfth century, and seven in Normandy), but most of these dioceses were large and, apart from those in Wales, well endowed, and often had significant military resources. This last point applied to an even greater extent in Germany, where most bishoprics were major territorial lordships whose military vassals were as numerous as those of all but the greatest secular princes. Here too, while there were more sees than in England in what was, after all, a considerably larger kingdom, there were still not, relatively speaking, all that many.⁴⁴ It was thus vital for the ruler to ensure that most of these bishops were men on whom he could rely, and if possible whom he had himself chosen, and the numbers involved meant that this was feasible. (Even if the German rulers were never able to supervise all the sees in their kingdom, they controlled the appointments to a substantial proportion thereof.) By

⁴⁴ There were forty-five sees in Germany during the twelfth century, and three more in Bohemia.

contrast, there were in the twelfth-century kingdom of Sicily 144 dioceses, and many of these were very small and very poor, particularly in inland Apulia and in Calabria. Apart from the difficulty of finding such a large number of suitable candidates known to the king and his advisers, what possible interest could the king have, for example, in appointing one of his own men to a minuscule bishopric like Bitetto, limited to a tiny hill town with a single parish based on the cathedral, and an annual income in the early fourteenth century (the first time that this was recorded) of a mere 40 *unciae*?⁴⁵ And we should note that there were other sees, in Calabria, inland Apulia (both in the Murge and in the Capitanata) and – more surprisingly perhaps – in the principality of Salerno, that were worth even less than Bitetto, while those on the Amalfitan peninsula were even smaller.

On the other hand, there was a real point in ensuring that there was an able and politically reliable incumbent in, for example, the archbishopric of Capua, the metropolitan of a province whose seat was situated on a key strategic river crossing on the Via Latina, the main potential invasion route of the kingdom, and enjoying substantial revenues (in 1310 these totalled 1,000 *unciae* a year, ten times as much as even the richest of its suffragan sees).⁴⁶ It was precisely in the metropolitan sees of the mainland, and in the bishoprics on the island of Sicily (or some of them) that we find prelates whose background and connections suggest that they may well have been royal appointees rather than the products of free and unfettered capitular election. These included a small number of immigrants: for example William of Ravenna, archbishop-elect of Capua in 1135, and subsequently archbishop of Salerno, and the Englishmen Richard, bishop of Syracuse 1157–82/3, and archbishop of Messina (died 1195), and Herbert of Middlesex, archbishop of Conza 1169–81. Meanwhile Gerard, archbishop of Siponto 1170–9, was a north Italian from Verona.⁴⁷ We know nothing of how this last man may have been appointed, although given the tension between the two rival chapters of Siponto and Gargano in this see one can see how the king might well seek to impose his own candidate if they failed to agree – as the case of the abbey of Carpineto in 1180 shows, William II disliked electors who failed to achieve unanimity – but this is speculation only. However, the election of William of Capua in

⁴⁵ R. Brentano, *Two Churches. England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century* (Princeton 1968), 63–4, 219–20. *Rationes Decimarum Italiae, Apulia–Lucania–Calabria*, ed. D. Vendola (Vatican City 1939), 75.

⁴⁶ *Rationes Decimarum Italiae, Campania*, ed. P. Sella, M. Inguanes and L. Mattei-Cerasoli (Vatican City 1942), 181.

⁴⁷ *Ex Thomae Historia Pontificum Salonitanorum et Spalatinorum*, MGH SS xxix.573.

1135 was clearly stage-managed by King Roger, and was an integral part of his takeover of the hitherto independent principality.

Some of the clergy and laity of Capua came there [to Caiazzo, which his troops had recently captured] and with the advice of the king elected a cleric named William, a man well endowed with both Divine and secular knowledge, to the office of archbishop; his predecessor had been guilty of the sin of simony and had been sentenced to deposition. After this, the king returned to Capua and the clergy and people of the city each processed out and introduced into the city, first the archbishop-elect and then the king's son Anfusus. Then all the magnates of the principality of Capua who were gathered there made submission to the new prince, and swore fealty and did homage to him.⁴⁸

William was subsequently one of the two royal justiciars appointed to govern the principality; he accompanied the royal chancellor Guarin in his attempt to seize the abbey of Montecassino in January 1137, and he also acted as a justiciar in the principality of Salerno in the early 1140s.⁴⁹

Herbert of Middlesex became archbishop of Conza, 'with the assent of King William', which could of course mean simply that he approved the chapter's choice – but why should they choose an immigrant?⁵⁰ We are, however, on surer ground with Gentile, bishop of Agrigento c. 1154–71, a Tuscan by birth, who became chancellor of the King of Hungary, came to Palermo as a diplomatic envoy and was subsequently chosen as bishop. He was very much the epitome of the 'political bishop', an ambitious careerist who was one of the main protagonists in the factional disputes at court during the minority of William II, a member of the enlarged royal council after the downfall of Stephen of Perche, and who subsequently died in 1171 at Palermo. His successor at Agrigento, Bartholomew, was also a royal appointment, being elected while he himself was absent as an ambassador to Constantinople, and (crucially) being a brother of the king's principal minister Archbishop Walter. He was a royal *familiaris* from 1171 to 1176 and again from 1184 to 1194, by which time he had been translated, surely at King Tancred's wish, to Palermo.⁵¹

Prelates who had close family links with the royal administration were also notable in some metropolitan sees. Thus Archbishop Alfanus of Capua (1153–80) was the uncle of Florius of Camerota, a lay baron who had a long

⁴⁸ *Al. Tel.* III.31–2, pp. 76–7.

⁴⁹ *Chron. Cas.* IV.98, 100, pp. 558–9, 561; Cava, *Arca* xxxv.3, 40 (January and March 1142). C. H. Haskins, 'England and Sicily in the twelfth century', *English Historical Review* 26 (1911), 643.

⁵⁰ Radulf de Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, ed. W. Stubbs (2 vols., Rolls Series, London 1876), ii.37.

⁵¹ *Libellus de Successione Pontificum Agrigenti*, 308; *Falcandus*, 161 (*Tyrants*, 214). Takayama, *Administration*, 120–2, and above, p. 238.

and varied career as a royal official. He was a justiciar, both in the principality of Salerno from 1150 onwards and latterly in Calabria in the 1180s, was a member of the royal court which imprisoned Count Richard of Molise early in 1168, and one of the envoys who went to England to arrange the marriage of Princess Joanna to William II in 1176.⁵² The archbishop also had a niece who was, according to 'Falcandus', no better than 'a whore of high birth', who in 1166 married Richard de Say, a royal constable and justiciar, and subsequently count successively of Fondi and Gravina, and master justiciar of Apulia and Terra di Lavoro from 1168 to 1172, a man who during the troubles of William I's reign 'had remained unshakeably loyal and never deserted the king'. The annulment of his first marriage, to enable him to marry the archbishop's niece, came about, so pseudo-Hugo claimed, through pressure from the royal court, bribery and perjured testimony, and the eagerness of the papal legate John of Naples to please the courtiers.⁵³

Romuald II, archbishop of Salerno 1153–81, was the son of a former *strategotus* (town governor) of Salerno, whose cousin, Lucas Guarna, was a justiciar in the principality of Salerno from 1172 until 1189. Romuald was highly regarded at the royal court for his medical skill – he was summoned, albeit unavailingly, to the deathbed of William I – and he was also one of the enlarged council of ministers of 1168. He himself claimed, or at least the chronicle attributed to him did, that he presided at the coronation of William II, two days after his father's death.⁵⁴ He was also the chief Sicilian negotiator at the peace conference with the German empire in 1177, of which he left a detailed account in the chronicle.⁵⁵ His successor at Salerno, Archbishop Nicholas (1182–1222), was one of the sons of the royal vice-chancellor and *familiaris* Matthew, and from the length of his pontificate, must have been a quite young man when chosen as archbishop.⁵⁶

Meanwhile Samarus, archbishop of Trani 1192–1201, was the son of a royal chamberlain of the same name, active in the Abruzzi during the 1160s,

⁵² *Falcandus*, 140–1 (*Tyrants*, 193–4); *Romuald*, 268, 296. Jamison, 'Norman administration', 365–6, 368, 478–80. The relationship was noted in a letter of Alexander III in 1165, MPL 200, col. 332–3 no. 303.

⁵³ *Falcandus*, 105–6 (*Tyrants*, 153–5). She was presumably the Theodora, countess of Gravina, who sent one of her vassals to beg forgiveness for an offence he had committed from the abbot of Monreale in April 1179, *Documenti inediti*, 169–70 no. 70.

⁵⁴ *Falcandus*, 122, 161; *Romuald*, 253–4 (*Tyrants*, 173, 214, 238). The claim that he crowned and anointed William II could well have been true. The archbishopric of Palermo was vacant, and Romuald may well have been the senior churchman present at court. For his family, see the genealogical chart in Loud, *Age of Robert Guiscard*, 305. For Lucas, Jamison, 'Norman administration', 366–7; E. Cuozzo, *Catalogus Baronum. Commentario* (FSI, Rome 1984), 150–2.

⁵⁵ *Romuald*, 269–70. ⁵⁶ Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, i.425.

who was well regarded both at Casauria and Carpineto for his protection of these abbeys' property. Archbishop Samarus was also related by blood or marriage to two other justiciars in northern Apulia during the reign of William II. Despite his appointment under Tancred, he was successful in switching to the side of Henry VI, who rewarded his 'loyalty and outstanding merit' with two privileges for his see in April 1195, and a year later sent him as his envoy to Cyprus to convey his offer of a royal crown to its ruler Aimery de Lusignan.⁵⁷

The promotion of prelates from within the royal administration itself would seem to have been rare, although the royal chaplain Henry, archdeacon of Palermo, who became archbishop of Messina in 1137, appears to have assisted in the royal chancery.⁵⁸ Peregrinus, bishop of Umbriatico c. 1179, had been a royal notary and had carried out a diplomatic mission in the March of Ancona.⁵⁹ However, since many of the chancery staff were laymen, notably the two great ministers Maio of Bari and Matthew of Salerno, both of whom began their careers in the writing office, this was not the obvious source for future bishops that royal *scriptoria* in northern Europe so frequently were. Nor were bishops often employed in the provincial administration. Apart from Archbishop William, who functioned as a justiciar during the period when the local administration was first being developed, only Bishop Leonard of Capaccio (1159–74) can be found in this role, in the duchy of Amalfi.⁶⁰ However, from the death of Maio of Bari in 1160 onwards, churchmen did play an increasingly influential role in the central royal government. First, there was, albeit briefly, Henry Aristippus, archdeacon of Catania as royal chancellor, until his disgrace and imprisonment in 1161, and then Richard of Syracuse as one of the three *familiares* entrusted with the day-to-day running of the government in the last years of William I. Of the enlarged royal council of ten *familiares* established in 1168 half were churchmen. This group was soon reduced in size, and from 1170/1 onwards there were only three, or late in the reign of William II four, *familiares*, but these invariably included two, and latterly three prelates: the

⁵⁷ *Chron. Casauriense*, 900; *Chron. Carpineto*, 82–3. Clementi, 'Calendar of Henry VI', 164–6 nos. 77–8. Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, ii. 548–9. It is most unlikely that he had been a Staufen supporter from the first, since both the city of Trani and its archbishopric had been favoured by Tancred, *Tancred Diplomata*, 29–9 no. 11; 122, deperditum no. 18.

⁵⁸ He wrote Roger's important privilege for the Pierleone family in January 1134, and as archbishop-elect dated the king's privilege to the town of Salerno in November 1137, *Roger II Diplomata*, 98–101 no. 35, 129–31 no. 46. N. Kamp, 'I vescovi siciliani nel periodo normanno: origine sociale e formazioni spirituali', in *Chiesa e società in Sicilia. L'età normanna*, ed. G. Zito (Turin 1995), 74.

⁵⁹ Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, ii. 911. ⁶⁰ Jamison, 'Norman administration', 369.

archbishop of Palermo, the vice-chancellor Matthew, and either the archbishop's brother Bartholomew of Agrigento or Richard of Syracuse, joined from 1184 onwards by the archbishop of Monreale. Hence, under William II the government of the kingdom was largely in the hands of a small group of Latin bishops from the island of Sicily.

The king therefore sought to make appointments to some, at least, of the Sicilian bishoprics. The archbishop of Palermo would seem always to have been selected by the ruler, either persuading the canons to elect a royal nominee, as in 1167, or requesting the pope to translate a suitable bishop, as in 1123, 1150 and 1192. Peter of Blois ascribed the choice of Bishop John of Catania in 1167, in preference to his own brother Abbot William, to bribery, and that was certainly possible given the factional disputes, and jockeying for advantage, at court at that time. But the rulers appear to have disliked simony, and prelates found guilty of this were deposed, either by the pope or through royal auspices (above, p. 249). Furthermore Catania had a monastic chapter, whose members were presumably less susceptible to personal bribes than secular canons. It is equally possible that the convent wanted, or were persuaded, to elect a bishop with close connections with the court – for Bishop John was the brother of the *familiaris* Matthew the vice-chancellor.⁶¹ Agrigento had a succession of political appointments, and the way that this was done could be blatant. The thirteenth-century historian of the see complained that in 1192: 'When Bartholomew was made archbishop, Urso succeeded; he was unknown to the church, and from the court of King Tancred.' By implication, he contrasted this with the election of his successor under Frederick II.

The canons all gathered in the cathedral, and by invocation of the Holy Spirit, and the common consent and wish of all, Rainald of Aquaviva, deacon and dean of Agrigento, was elected. This was announced to the Emperor Frederick, and confirmed by decree of the canons, and similarly confirmed by Archbishop Berard.⁶²

The similarity with twelfth-century procedure should also be noted here. This was how a canonical election was supposed to happen in Sicily.

However, one should note that, even on the island of Sicily, by no means all the bishops were *curiales* intruded by court pressure. Lipari and Cefalù, the two sees promoted to be bishoprics by Anacletus and King Roger, both had monastic chapters, and throughout the twelfth century their bishops were elected from within the chapter, or in the case of Cefalù sometimes

⁶¹ *Epistolae*, 46, 93, MPL 207, cols. 134, 293. ⁶² *Libellus de Successione*, 309–10.

from its daughter house of Bagnara in Calabria, from which its original Augustinian canons had come, and which Roger had made definitively subject to his new foundation in 1146.⁶³ Arduin, the prior of Bagnara who had recognised the subordination to Cefalù in 1146, became its bishop-elect in 1150 (even if, because of the legacy of the schism, he was unable to secure consecration).⁶⁴ Guido, bishop of Cefalù 1175–93, may have been born outside the *regno* – he came from Anagni in the papal states – but he had previously been a canon and cellarer of the cathedral priory.⁶⁵ At Catania Bishop John was the exception: all his predecessors were monks, as were three of the next four incumbents of that see.⁶⁶ At Monreale, William II had laid down in his foundation charter that the abbot should be elected from within the monastic community.⁶⁷ After the creation of the archbishopric in 1183, the promotion of Abbot William to be the first archbishop, and then the long pontificate of Archbishop Carus, from 1194 until some time after 1222, ensured that a Benedictine remained at the head of the see until well into the reign of Frederick II, although despite this relations between the archbishop and his monks were by no means happy.⁶⁸ Nor were the bishops of those sees with secular chapters always *curiales* either. At the beginning of the twelfth century another prior of Bagnara, Drogo, was chosen as the second bishop of Agrigento; it would appear that he had been designated by his predecessor, a man noted for his sanctity, as a suitable bishop.⁶⁹ The significant change came with the Staufen rulers, who ended the independent elections by the monastic chapters. Henry VI appointed a secular cleric, whose family were committed Staufen supporters, as bishop of Cefalù in 1195: his brother subsequently commanded the royal bodyguard and was given comital rank, and a number of other relatives served as royal officials. His successor, in 1217, was a royal notary. The royal chancellor Walter of Pagliara was translated from Troia to Catania in 1208, and a royal notary was appointed to Patti in 1221, while Monreale remained vacant for many years after the death of Archbishop Carus.⁷⁰ But before 1194 the Sicilian sees with monastic chapters remained free from royal interference.

⁶³ *Roger II Diplomata*, 271–3, appendix II.6 (*Documenti inediti*, 59–62 no. 15).

⁶⁴ *Documenti inediti*, 62–5 nos. 26–7, 76–7 no. 31. White, *Latin Monasticism*, 194–5.

⁶⁵ Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, iii.1046–7.

⁶⁶ Kamp, 'I vescovi siciliani', 74; *Kirche und Monarchie*, iii.1204–7.

⁶⁷ *Documenti inediti*, 175–83 no. 73, at 177.

⁶⁸ *Catalogo illustrato del tabulario di S. Maria Nuova in Monreale*, ed. C. A. Garufi (*Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia*, Ser I.19, Palermo 1902), 38–9 no. 82.

⁶⁹ *Libellus de Successione*, 307.

⁷⁰ Kamp, 'I vescovi siciliani', 75; *Kirche und Monarchie*, iii.1049–52, 1083–4, 1195–6, 1210.

Furthermore, whereas a number of mainland archbishops had close connections with the royal administration, even that does not necessarily mean that they owed their appointment to royal pressure on a reluctant chapter. Romuald II of Salerno, for example, came from a prominent local family, and had previously been one of the cathedral clergy.⁷¹ His uncle, John (d. 1133) had been the archdeacon of Salerno. He may have been a politically active and important archbishop, a significant figure at the royal court, and latterly on the European stage, but he was also deeply imbedded within the life of his native city. For example, in 1155, not long after he had become archbishop, he, along with his father and one of his brothers, gave the abbey of Cava permission to build a staircase to some of its houses within the city that encroached upon a courtyard that they owned as a family group.⁷² He was therefore just the sort of candidate whom a cathedral chapter might well have elected anyway. Similarly Samarus of Trani may have been the son of a senior royal official, and related to various others, but others among his relatives had been judges at Trani, going back to the early twelfth century, while he himself had served his predecessor Archbishop Bertrandus as notary, and then become archdeacon of Trani from c. 1174. In 1182 he went to the papal court to act as his church's spokesman before Lucius III in its long-running legal dispute with the clergy of Corato.⁷³ Thus his tenure of the see may well have stemmed from normal capitular election, even if his powerful connections may also have assisted his candidature, while his shrewd political instincts were shown by his later willingness to support the cause of Henry VI and Constance.⁷⁴ He was one of several politically active metropolitans who had previously been members of the chapter of their see. Archbishop Matthew of Capua (1183–99), who was a key Staufien supporter within the kingdom after 1189, was another. And while Henry VI was anxious to replace Archbishop Nicholas of Salerno, who had been one of his rival Tancred's most loyal supporters, and who was one of the Sicilian notables arrested in December 1194 and despatched to imprisonment in Germany, the candidate whom he intruded into the see was a long-serving member of the

⁷¹ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vi.255: the cleric Romuald Guarna was one of the witnesses when Archbishop William presided over a legal dispute between the bishop of Nola and the abbot of Cava, while Romuald's brother Peter was among the lay witnesses.

⁷² Cava, *Arca* xxviii.117.

⁷³ A Samarus *index* witnessed a charter in 1104, *Carte di Trani*, 69–70 no. 26. Documents written by the future archbishop: *ibid.*, 118–22 no. 52, 126–7 no. 55; as archdeacon, *ibid.*, 148–9 no. 69, 152–4 no. 71, 160–3 no. 85. At the papal court, *ibid.*, 157–60 no. 73, at 158. See also, Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, ii.548–9.

⁷⁴ Henry praised his loyalty in a diploma of April 1195, *Carte di Trani*, 173–4 no. 83.

cathedral clergy of Salerno, from a prominent local family, and indeed a distant relative of Archbishop Romuald II.⁷⁵ Here Henry appears to have been more sensitive towards local loyalties than he was, for example, at Taranto, to which see he appointed, within a few days of his coronation, an Augustinian canon from Lucca who was a protégé of his close adviser Bishop Heinrich of Worms.⁷⁶

Hence, although there is some evidence for royal interference in the normal process of canonical election, and the treaty of 1156 enshrined a royal right of supervision, and if necessary veto, in practice direct royal intervention took place only in a few cases. A number of metropolitans on the mainland were linked with the royal administration, but even in these cases we cannot always be sure that appointments to them were due to royal pressure. Nor did such considerations apply to all the archbishoprics on the mainland: there is no evidence, for example, that *curiales* were ever appointed to either Brindisi or Naples. Some prelates from the island of Sicily played an increasingly important role in the central royal administration and the political direction of the kingdom, and their appointments were often the result of royal direction. But this still did not apply to every see on the island. Most of the bishops in the twelfth-century kingdom of Sicily were local men, usually elected from within the chapter (see below, chapter 7). Indeed, there was strong pressure from the towns for this to happen. When King Roger was trying to win the loyalty of the citizens of Bari in 1132, one of the various pledges that he made to them was that no outsider should be appointed as archbishop.⁷⁷ Kings might not always respect such feelings, but it seems that they often did so. The process by which bishops and abbots were elected may have been under strict royal supervision, but (insofar as our limited evidence, especially for the secular Church, permits us to observe) in most cases chapters were allowed to elect the candidate whom they wanted.

The kings of Sicily also prided themselves upon their sponsorship and protection of the Church. One of King Roger's laws, placed at the head of the two versions of the law code attributed to him, proclaimed: 'Let all those subject to our power know that it shall always be our intention to protect, defend and augment in every way the churches of God.'⁷⁸ Similar sentiments

⁷⁵ Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, i.109–10, 432–4. For John Princeps as clericus salernitani archiepiscopii, Cava, *Arca* xxxvi.79 (April 1179).

⁷⁶ Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, ii.692–3. ⁷⁷ *Roger II Diplomata*, 54–6 no. 20 (clause 4).

⁷⁸ Vatican MS. assize ii, Montecassino MS. assize 1: in Monti, *Lo stato normanno-svevo*, 117.

were expressed in the *arengae* to royal charters. 'There remains nothing more glorious to catholic kings and princes than to fear God, that holy places be venerated, and to provide needful foodstuffs for the poor of Christ who, despising their own interests, have given themselves to God [i.e. monks].'⁷⁹ 'It pertains to our duty to defend the churches of God [and] by that defence to increase their possessions, and to repress those who disturb them with our powerful arm.'⁸⁰ 'We believe that there is no other way of rightly administering the government of our kingdom that has been committed to us by God, except to exalt and strive to magnify in every way the holy Church, which is the mother of faith and religion.'⁸¹ 'We intend that the current rights of the places of veneration in our kingdom should suffer no detriment, but should remain completely inviolate under the protection of our rule.'⁸² 'The more grateful we show ourselves for the favours of Divine grace and we have rendered devoted thanks to God, how much the more should we extend the hand of our munificence to holy churches, and look with a pious eye to provide for their sustenance.'⁸³ Such proclamations might be considered formulaic, or at least no more than the formal rhetoric of Christian kingship, expressed with considerable art in variants of the rhyming *cursus* that had been developed first of all by papal notaries. But the royal chancery took a great deal of trouble with these introductory passages to its diplomas, and employed a large number of different *arengae*, often carefully tailored to the particular concerns of the recipients, with a frequent stress on legal principle, and sometimes reflecting the precepts of royal legislation. They were more than just a routine element in the document.⁸⁴ The pious concerns for the welfare of churches and the administration of justice expressed in the elaborate formal *diplomata* issued by the kings of Sicily were an important part of royal *Selbsverständnis* – not just how the rulers projected themselves to others, but of how they viewed themselves.

There are some indications too that this was how they were indeed seen by others. The kings of Sicily may have had a bad press from contemporary German commentators, and also from some domestic critics; notably

⁷⁹ Roger II *Diplomata*, 140 no. 49. ⁸⁰ William I *Diplomata*, 8 no. 2.

⁸¹ William I *Diplomata*, 62 no. 22.

⁸² *Cartulaire générale de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers*, 397 no. 584 (William II, June 1180).

⁸³ *Tancred Diplomata*, 39 no. 16.

⁸⁴ H. Enzensberger, 'Chanceries, charters and administration in Norman Italy', in *The Society of Norman Italy*, ed. G. A. Loud and A. Metcalfe (Leiden 2002), 143–4. For the influence of the papal chancery on the royal one, T. Kölzer, 'Kanzlei und Kultur im Königreich Sizilien 1130–1198', *QFIAB* 66 (1986), 29–30, 37.

Falco of Benevento, who saw Roger II as a threat to the independence of his native city, and from the acid pen of 'Falcandus'. Others begged to differ. Although King Roger, according to his biographer Alexander of Telese, deliberately cultivated a stern and dignified demeanour, 'since familiarity generally breeds contempt', and 'so that he never ceased to be feared', when he visited the abbey of Telese, he was kind and friendly to the brothers, and he promised to provide silver to replace the sacred vessels that his rebellious brother-in-law Count Rainulf had stripped from the high altar to help finance his campaign against the king. To Alexander, the king's sternness was necessary, that peace and justice might be maintained.⁸⁵ When the king came to the Abruzzi in 1140, the abbot of Casauria was afraid that his abbey's links with the exiled counts of Manopello might prejudice the king against him, and was understandably nervous as to his reception when he visited the royal camp. In the event he need not have worried.

The lord abbot Oldrius went to the king, and exercising his humility, he found such grace from him, a man so terrifying that he could even force mountains to tremble before his face, that the latter spoke to him with great kindness, not so much as a lord but rather as though a servant, and as a son to his father. Without delay he gave him what he sought, not for money but out of good will.⁸⁶

The king then visited the monastery, complimented the monks on the painting of their patron saint above the altar, had his privilege of protection read out to them, and asked for a fragment of the relics of Saint Clement to take away with him. He also assured the abbot that if the monastery needed his protection against somebody molesting it, he should immediately send a messenger to the king. Afterwards, when the new count of Manopello, whom the king had appointed, made demands on the abbey, the king, according to the chronicler, sent him a stern letter of reproof for his 'wickedness'. Admittedly, the text of this letter, as reproduced in the chronicle, was a fabrication by the chronicler – 'the product of monastic wishful thinking' as the modern editor of King Roger's charters described it.⁸⁷ But it is nevertheless testimony to the king's posthumous reputation, a generation after his death.

Even though Roger later proved to be reluctant to accept Leonas as abbot of Casauria, he was well regarded at the Abruzzi monastery because his rule brought peace to a region hitherto notoriously unstable. 'From now on the church of St Clement could concentrate on the religious life in

⁸⁵ *Al. Tel.* III.29–30, IV.4, pp. 75–6, 83. ⁸⁶ *Chron. Casauriense*, 889.

⁸⁷ *Roger II Diplomata*, 144 no. †51: *Chron. Casauriense*, 892.

[a time of] abundant peace, [and] its temporal property was increased by the care of a good shepherd [Abbot Oldrius].⁸⁸ The Carpineto chronicler was also complimentary about William I, 'a magnificent king', 'the generous king', whom he saw as a force for peace and stability whose officials protected the abbey from the forces of disorder. After the rebels had been expelled from the kingdom in 1156, 'the land was still for a couple of years, and rested in peace, and the monastery breathed the liberty it desired.'⁸⁹ When the leading exile troubling the realm, Count Robert of Loritello, was finally reconciled with William II and Queen Margaret in 1169, 'fortune began to show itself favourably in this happy time.'⁹⁰ This view of the king as the bringer of peace and the protector of churches was that enunciated earlier by Alexander of Teles, in what must surely be seen as at least a semi-official biography of the king, intended to show that Roger was God's agent in pacifying mainland south Italy.

It was given, or at least permitted, to Roger by Heaven to coerce the immense malice of these regions by means of his sword. For what sin was not exercised among these people? Having thrown away all fear [of God], they did not hesitate to slaughter men, steal, commit sacrilege, adultery, perjury, even the oppression of churches and monasteries, contempt for men of God and many other things similar to these.⁹¹

Exaggerated though such a picture was, it represented also a real concern for churchmen – that without a strong central authority, churches and their property were vulnerable to the acquisitive instincts of their less scrupulous neighbours. The king was their protector. They might still face legal challenges, have problems with royal officials, and often had to resort to litigation to protect their interests, but as the monastic chronicles from the Abruzzi show, this was infinitely preferable to the situation before the coming of the king, when, for example, the abbot of Casauria came within an ace of decapitation by a count angered by his defence of the monastery's interests.⁹²

The Casauria account of King Roger's relations with that abbey raises another significant point as well. For all the exotic reputation of the king, the superficial orientalised of the royal court, and the slanders of his and his successors' detractors, there is no evidence that the kings of Sicily were other than conventionally pious. The chronicle attributed to Archbishop Romuald indeed suggested that Roger became more so in his later years.⁹³

⁸⁸ *Chron. Casauriense*, 888. ⁸⁹ *Chron. Carpineto*, 83, cf. 80–1 for William I.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 88. ⁹¹ *Al Tel.*, *proem.* 3. ⁹² *Chron. Casauriense*, 887.

⁹³ *Romuald*, 234 (*Tyrants*, 220).

Both this work (the last part of which was almost certainly by Romuald himself) and the later chronicles of Richard of S. Germano and S. Maria de Ferraria similarly stressed the piety of William II: 'the Church's assistant and defender in its time of tribulation', 'a lover of justice and equity', a 'most Christian king . . . upholding the ideals of law and justice', and 'pious, just, peaceful, and kindly'.⁹⁴ He was also a defender of orthodoxy, forcibly suppressing a nascent heretical movement, the *vendicosi* (Waldensians?), in 1186, and having their leader executed and some of his adherents branded.⁹⁵ Even William I, whose harsh rule was noted not just by 'Falcandus', who loathed him, but even by Ibn al-Athir in far-away Mosul, was 'assiduous in listening to the Divine office and greatly respected churchmen'.⁹⁶ Alexander III praised him after his death for his 'strict enforcement of righteousness'.⁹⁷ William was even reputed to have founded a hermitage after receiving a Divine revelation 'that delighted our soul with spiritual sweetness', while he was hunting wild boar. Sadly, the diploma that reveals this is a mid-thirteenth-century forgery, albeit probably based upon a genuine original.⁹⁸ But the posthumous reputation of the king was thus not just that of the idle and capricious tyrant portrayed by pseudo-Hugo. Similarly, while that historian stigmatised the king's minister, Maio of Bari, whom he hated, as a treacherous and sexually depraved intriguer, other evidence, notably a commentary that he wrote on the Lord's Prayer, suggests that he was both devout and, for a layman, well versed in both the Bible and the works of Gregory the Great.⁹⁹

The protection of the Church and a conventional religious sensibility were the central components of the law code attributed to King Roger, issued probably in the early 1140s, although not, as was once thought, the so-called 'Assizes of Ariano' of 1140, and contained in the Vatican manuscript of the king's assizes.¹⁰⁰ This, for example, legislated against the sale of relics (assize v), respect for right of sanctuary and the privileges of churches (vi and vii), the privileged position of clergy in legal cases, and the freedom

⁹⁴ Romuald, 269, 296; *Ryccardi de Sancto Germano Chronica*, 3; *Chron. Ferrariae*, 31.

⁹⁵ *Annales Ceccanenses*, MGH SS xix.287; *Annales Casinenses*, *ibid.* 313.

⁹⁶ Romuald, 253–4; *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, ed. M. Amari (2 vols., Turin 1880), 1.122.

⁹⁷ Holtzmann, 'Kanonistische Ergänzungen', 22–3 no. 158. ⁹⁸ *William I Diplomata*, 55–8 no. 120.

⁹⁹ D. J. A. Matthew, 'Maio of Bari's commentary on the Lord's Prayer', in *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages. Essays Presented to Margaret Gibson*, ed. L. Smith and B. Ward (London 1992), 19–44; see also the introduction to *Tyrants*, 16–18.

¹⁰⁰ For discussion, H. Houben, *Roger II of Sicily. A Ruler between East and West* (Cambridge 2002), 135–47. Edition in Monti, *Lo stato normanno-svevo*, 114–57. Although Falco, 234, claimed that he dealt with 'innumerable matters' at his court at Ariano in 1140, the only legislation that he specifically mentioned was to do with the coinage, something not even touched upon in the surviving texts of Roger's assizes.

of priests from servile dues (viii), the prevention of religious gatherings in private houses (ix), regulations for when and how it might be appropriate for serfs to become clerics (x), the rape or kidnap of nuns, which would usually incur the death penalty, even if marriage was intended (xi), apostasy and proselytism by Jews (xii and xiii), that jesters should not use religious vestments, on pain of flogging (xiv), simony (xvi), sacrilege (xvii), the legitimate celebration of marriage, which was to involve priestly blessing (xxvii), and moral issues that related to it: notably adultery and prostitution (xxviii–xxxiii). Another issue that might well concern the Church, although it was not expressly connected with ecclesiastics in these laws, was forgery and tampering with documents (xxii–xxiv). A law contained only in the later Cassinese manuscript of King Roger's legislation regulated those occasions on which prelates might exact a fiscal levy (*adiutorium*) from their men: these included, interestingly, when they were summoned to a council by the pope, which suggests that this may date from the king's last years when relations with the papacy had improved.¹⁰¹ This legislation has rightly been described as a patchwork, heavily dependant upon the Roman Law of Justinian, but also drawing on some instances of Lombard law and with some elements of original thinking, but with no clear organisational principle behind the compilation.¹⁰² Modern discussion has tended to concentrate on the concept of kingship and authority contained therein, one heavily influenced by the exalted view of the sovereign in Roman Law. But while not denying the importance of this element, one should also note the religious sensibility underlying this legislation. If the king sought to regulate issues that were already considered to be the prerogative of canon law, notably those relating to marriage, he strove throughout to protect and uphold the Church and Christian values.

Subsequent regulation tended to redress the balance with regard to what was properly the concern of royal law, and what pertained to canon law. During the minority of William II, cases of adultery were surrendered to the ecclesiastical courts, and the latter's jurisdiction over criminous clergy was also recognised. One of the spurs to this decision was a complaint by Archbishop Bertrandus of Trani, who was later to be so active as a papal judge-delegate. In response the king (or more probably his mother) ordered that adultery was in future to be a matter for the Church courts, unless

¹⁰¹ Monti, *Lo stato normanno-svevo*, 160. For these later 'novels', Houben, *Roger II*, 138.

¹⁰² E. Caspar, *Roger II. (1101–1154) und die Gründung der normannische-sicilischen Monarchie* (Innsbruck 1904), 251, 255–8, 274.

assault and violence were involved – in which case the adultery should be judged by the Church and the violence by a secular court. Churchmen should in future be judged in ecclesiastical courts, unless treason or a similar major offence against the king be involved. Cases involving property were still to be judged in the appropriate secular court, but clerics were not in future to be arrested in such cases.¹⁰³ The provisions of this mandate, of March 1170, were repeated more or less *verbatim* in documents issued for other churches over the next few years, for the bishopric of Valva and the abbey of St Clement at Casauria, and perhaps most significantly, for the archbishopric of Palermo, whose incumbent was after all the king's chief minister, all of these during 1172.¹⁰⁴ As with the earlier provision about the administration of ecclesiastical property during a vacancy, these decisions were subsequently confirmed by Frederick II and included in his legal code as laws enacted by King William.¹⁰⁵ It would seem, however, that a general principle was decided, which was then announced as and when it was needed, rather than there being any public, generally distributed legislation. Otherwise it is difficult to explain why Archbishop Richard of Messina was complaining that his jurisdiction over these types of case had been infringed by royal officers as late as 1195.¹⁰⁶ However, compared with the crisis that the issue of criminous clerks unleashed in England in 1163–4, and the obstinate refusal of Henry II to surrender his jurisdiction, the Sicilian government appears much more tractable, or it did not see this as a significant issue of principle. Similarly, William II was happy to repeat, and expressly acknowledge, the papal strictures concerning usury enacted at the Third Lateran Council, once again in a law attributed to him in the *Liber Augustalis*.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ *Carte de Trani*, 134–5 no. 61.

¹⁰⁴ H. Enzensberger, *Beiträge zum Kanzlei- und Urkundenwesen der normannischen Herrscher Unteritaliens und Siziliens* (Kallmünz 1967), 143–4 no. 4; *Chron. Casauriense*, 906–7; Pirro, *Sicilia Sacra*, i.109. Adultery had been one of the crimes over which the bishop of Troia was granted jurisdiction by William I in 1156, but this appears to have been a particular privilege to a favoured prelate, and not part of any more general surrender, *William I Diplomata*, 38–41 no. 14.

¹⁰⁵ The privilege to the archbishop of Trani concerning jurisdiction over adultery was confirmed in June 1225, *Carte di Trani*, 218–20 no. 107, cf. *Liber Augustalis*, I.45, III.83, in Monti, *Lo stato normanno-svevo*, 165, 183–4, and *Konstitution Friedrichs*, 204, 444–5. Schlichte, *Der 'gute' König*, 62, would seem to be correct in suggesting that most of the legislation ascribed simply to 'King William' in the *Liber Augustalis*, comes from the reign of William II.

¹⁰⁶ *Diplomi della cattedrale di Messina*, 38–9 no. 26 (Clementi, 'Calendar of Henry VI', 145–6 no. 54).

¹⁰⁷ *Liber Augustalis*, I.6, in Monti, *Lo stato normanno-svevo*, 164, and *Konstitution Friedrichs*, 155. H. Enzensberger, 'Der "böse" und der "gute" Wilhelm. Zur Kirchenpolitik der normannischen Könige von Sizilien nach dem Vertrag von Benevent (1156)', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 36 (1980), 430.

Nor does the papacy seem to have been involved in such matters, except afterwards to assist in resolving some of the practical complications that arose. Thus c. 1179 Alexander III replied to what had obviously been a request for guidance by Archbishop Romuald of Salerno as to suitable punishment for criminous clerics, and when it might be appropriate to dismiss them from their offices.¹⁰⁸ A number of his decretals to recipients in the kingdom of Sicily dealt with marriage cases, now firmly within the jurisdiction of clerical judges; but these were usually in response to problems on which these churchmen had sought guidance, as Archbishop Romuald had done. Should, for example, the abbot of Montecassino force a man to take back his wife, whom he had caught *in flagrante* in her bedroom with another man? (Alexander III said no, although if they were not reconciled the husband should live chastely in future.)¹⁰⁹ Judgements such as this were a product of a jurisdiction that the ruler had freely surrendered, and not in any way part of an aggressive extension of papal or clerical authority.

The protection and fostering of the Church was in the eyes of ecclesiastics the primary function and justification for lay rule. To do this, the ruler had to uphold justice and enforce it effectively. Alexander of Teleso recorded that in 1129, before he became king, Roger II had already banned private warfare and made the barons of Apulia swear to observe his peace. He also told them that:

they should keep and observe the peace for all ecclesiastical persons . . . and for all peasants, villeins and all the people of the land under his rule and their property, as well as for pilgrims, travellers and merchants, nor should they molest them, nor permit them to be molested on their land. Therefore it is no wonder that he was able with the help of God to bring all these lands under his power, since everywhere he ruled he promulgated such mighty and thorough justice that continuous peace was seen to endure. As the Psalmist says, 'His place is made in peace.'¹¹⁰

While the king had to fight yearly campaigns against rebellious barons and towns, this remained an ideal, and was certainly very far from the reality of southern Italy in the 1130s. But by 1140 King Roger had overcome his domestic enemies on the mainland and was, at last, unquestionably in charge of his kingdom. The means by which he consolidated his rule over the mainland provinces was through the creation of an effective local

¹⁰⁸ Mansi, *Concilia*, xxii.367–8.

¹⁰⁹ Holtzmann, 'Kanonistische Ergänzungen', 126–7 no. 166. For other such cases, Loud, *Church and Society*, 196–7.

¹¹⁰ *Al. Tel.* I.21, pp. 18–19, quoting Psalm 76.2.

administration. According to Archbishop Romuald (or whoever wrote this section of his chronicle):

King Roger, however, established peace and good order in his kingdom, and to preserve that peace he instituted chamberlains and justiciars throughout the land, promulgated laws which he had newly drafted and removed evil customs from their midst.¹¹¹

These officials, first found in the principality of Capua in 1135 – even before the conclusion of the civil war, and throughout the mainland by the early 1140s – gave the crown the means to enforce its will, and put the rhetoric of its documents into practice. Admittedly, that administrative structure underwent modifications, and was not completed in its definitive form until the early years of William II. But the presence of these royal officers maintained law and order, and meant that when churchmen complained about molestation or injustice, either to them or directly to the king, there was an effective procedure to bring them redress. However, it also ensured that the king had the means, if he so wished, to maintain his authority over the churchmen of his dominions. Nevertheless, most ecclesiastics regarded royal justice as unquestionably a benefit, and the king as their shield from the forces of disorder.

The presence of this royal administration affected the Church in a number of different ways. Most obviously, churchmen whose property had been invaded, or stolen, could turn to the king and his officials for assistance, even against powerful local barons. In the reign of William I, for example, the restoration of order on the mainland after the crisis of 1155–6 led to a number of such cases as ecclesiastics whose churches had suffered during this period of temporary confusion appealed to the king's mainland governor, Simon the Seneschal, for redress. The abbot of St Sophia, Benevento, had complained to the king concerning a certain Geoffrey of Pietrabaldi, a minor Molise baron who had seized the church of St Peter *in Balneo*, which lay in the territory of his fief of Gambatesa. The case was eventually heard, on Simon's instructions, by the royal justiciars Florius of Camerota and Aymeric of Monte Morcone at Capua in October 1158. Possession of this church had clearly been in dispute for a long time – Abbot John claimed that it had been illegally alienated in the 1130s, restored to his monastery on the orders of the king and his chief minister Maio early in William I's reign, and then Geoffrey had seized it once again in defiance of royal orders. Geoffrey, by contrast, claimed that it was rightfully his, and

¹¹¹ *Romuald*, 226.

had been legally restored to him by the late Count Hugh of Molise, acting on the orders of King Roger. However, he was unable to prove this, and had to admit that the church had indeed been restored to St Sophia a few years previously; the justiciars therefore awarded possession to the abbey. There was still, however, a further legal wrangle about the return of animals, crops and equipment from the church's lands, once again decided in the abbey's favour.¹¹²

However, this period of recovery after conflict could also pose problems for churches. At about the same time as the legal case at Capua, the Abruzzi monastery of St Bartholomew, Carpineto, was faced by claims from a baron called Berard of Vicoli, who had apparently just been given the property of the lords of Brittolli, the descendants of the abbey's founder, who had been outlawed for their participation in the recent rebellion. Berard now claimed that his new lordship included the *castella* of Carpineto and Fara, which were the core of the abbey's landed endowment. Abbot Oliver, in turn, tried to head off these claims by going to Simon the Seneschal in person, asking him to defend his church. The result was an inquiry by the local chamberlain, Samarus of Trani, in which the testimony of the witnesses unanimously vindicated the abbey's claim. The chronicler, however, admitted that the abbot had paid 300 *bizantei* to the royal treasury for royal confirmation of the monastery's possession, and for this to be recorded in the *quaterniones* (the official registers of fiefs and property).¹¹³

While a period of confusion, even if relatively short-lived, as was the crisis at the start of William I's reign, obviously encouraged disputes and unilateral action, such appeals were not confined to the aftermath of rebellion. Both these abbeys had to take further action during the reign of William II. As a sign of his formal assumption of direct authority as king, after an extended minority, King William made a lengthy visit to the mainland in the spring and summer of 1172. He was also expecting to meet the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel Komnenos, whom the latter had promised to him as his wife. As he waited at Barletta (in the event unavailingly, for the emperor changed his mind), Abbot John of St Sophia made a formal complaint in the king's presence against Robert of Mignanello, another Molise landowner whose petty lordship was near

¹¹² Pergamene Aldobrandini (consulted in 1990 in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, now in Frascati), Cartolario II no. 13. For Geoffrey, *Catalogus Baronum*, 144–5 art. 795. For Simon the Seneschal, Jamison, 'Norman administration', 288–9.

¹¹³ *Chron. Carpineto*, 79–83.

Boiano. Robert had levied various unjustified exactions on the lands and men of the abbey's church of St Agnellus of Pietrafinda. The details of these exactions were presented to the king on a written schedule. In this case, before judgement could be made against him, Robert was persuaded to renounce all his claims and beg the abbot's forgiveness, to secure which he seems to have granted the monastery's men hunting, wood-gathering and pasture rights (the document is quite extensively damaged, but this appears to be the sense).¹¹⁴

If the direct involvement of the king in such a hearing was unusual – and William II only visited his mainland dominions three times during his reign – appeals to royal officials were much more common. Less than a year later the monastery of St Sophia was complaining to the Master Justiciar Count Robert of Caserta, first at Alife and then at a formal hearing in the citadel at Capua, about the depredations allegedly committed by William Marescalcus on the lands of the abbey's *castellum* of Toro, another of its Molise properties. The monastery produced a number of witnesses; William retaliated by demanding trial by battle, first with the abbey's representative and then with one of the witnesses. The court, a heavyweight gathering including not just the master justiciar (one of the king's two mainland governors), but two local justiciars and the chamberlain of the Terra di Lavoro, was clearly not happy about sanctioning a judicial combat, and eventually the count of Caserta persuaded both parties to a peaceful settlement.¹¹⁵ In another case, in May 1180, the abbot of St Sophia used a formal complaint to one of the master justiciars (in this case Count Tancred of Lecce) as a means of officially registering the surrender of claims over the men in one of its villages by the grandson of the original donor of this property. The offender, Richard de Marchia, had already begged the abbot's forgiveness: the latter went to the master justiciar's court, held in the episcopal palace at Aversa, to secure official recognition of this renunciation.¹¹⁶

In all three of these cases involving the abbey of St Sophia, the dispute was less about the actual ownership of property, or about the illegal seizure of land, but rather concerning what residual rights a local landowner may

¹¹⁴ Pergamene Aldobrandini, Cart. II no. 25 (12 May 1172). For the proposed Byzantine marriage, *Romuald*, 261. Chalandon, *Domination normande*, ii.370–4; Schlichte, *Der 'gute' König*, 239–43. Manuel seems to have abandoned the project of a Sicilian marriage when faced with a counter-offer from the western emperor Frederick Barbarossa.

¹¹⁵ Pergamene Aldobrandini, Cart. II no. 27 (March 1173).

¹¹⁶ Benevento, Museo del Sannio, Fondo S. Sofia, vol. 13 no. 18, ed. G. A. Loud, 'A Lombard abbey in a Norman world: St. Sophia, Benevento, 1050–1200', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 19. *Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1996* (1997), 304–5 no. 7.

have possessed within church property. The 1180 case concerned a village attached to the abbey's church of St Peter de Laurito, in Irpinia, the mountainous region along the border of the duchy of Apulia to the east of Benevento. Richard de Marchia's grandfather, Gerard, had given St Sophia the church of St Peter in March 1126. Subsequently, however, a *casale*, an open village, had developed around this church, and the problem in 1180 appears to have been that Richard had claimed jurisdiction over one of the men in this *casale*, whom he unilaterally arrested (*de quodam homine quem ego iniuste ceperam, in quodam casale predicti monasterii*). The creation of the village since the original donation of the church, more than half a century earlier, had led to rival claims not envisaged in 1126.¹¹⁷ The abbot had gone to the master justiciar to secure a formal judgement, not to make Richard submit – he had already been persuaded to seek pardon for his offence by relatives and friends – but to have a record for posterity, in case similar problems surfaced once more, and to secure the surrender of Richard's claims over a hill next to the village.

Where there was an actual seizure of land, and especially if the culprit was a man of more consequence than Robert de Marchia (whose lordship at Reino was only one knight's fee),¹¹⁸ a prelate might well seek direct recourse to the royal court, to ensure that local officials did take action. So in 1173 the canons of St Nicholas, Bari, complained to the king about a church and other lands near the *casale* of Fressenito, in the hinterland of Bari, that had been taken from them by its lord, Thomas. The king then instructed the justiciars of the Terra di Bari to hold an inquiry, which they duly did in March 1174. Thomas requested a delay, but when he failed to attend a later meeting of the court, and ignored further summonses, he was adjudged to have lost the case by default, and the abbey was confirmed in possession of the disputed property. In fact, the church in question had been given to St Nicholas by Thomas's grandfather, Count Robert of Conversano, and the abbey possessed not only his original donation charter of April 1111, but also a confirmation issued by his son, and Thomas's father, Hugh.¹¹⁹ In this case a minor baron of distinguished descent, whose

¹¹⁷ Gerard's original donation of 1126, Pergamene Aldobrandini, Cart. I no. 56, one of several donations he made to the abbey. For discussion, Loud, 'A Lombard abbey', 285, 290–1, 296 (with a genealogical chart of the family).

¹¹⁸ *Catalogus Baronum*, 59 art. 346.

¹¹⁹ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, v.232–4 no. 133. Count Robert's original donation, *ibid.*, v.101 no. 56. He died between 1113 and 1119; for the family, Martin, *Pouille*, 737–9. Jamison, 'Norman administration', 344–5, pointed out that although the justiciars in the region were rarely accorded a territorial title, and this was first used only in 1177, in fact there seems to have been a consistent jurisdictional circumscription from the 1130s onwards.

fortunes did not match those of his powerful ancestors, clearly regretted the generosity of his forefathers. After the court had judged against him, Thomas then acquiesced, and on 16 June 1174, in a ceremony held in the church of St Nicholas, he formally confirmed the disputed church of St Peter *Novicius* to the canons.¹²⁰

This was not the only occasion on which the church of St Nicholas had recourse to the royal court. In May 1180 its prior went to Palermo to complain about illegal alienation of the property of another of its subordinate churches by Godfrey Gentile. After some delay, the latter was summoned to a court held at Bari in February 1181 by the master justiciar Count Tancred – ironically one of the ‘royal barons’ attending this court was the abbey’s former opponent Thomas of Fressenito. In this case the defendant claimed that he ought to be exempted from answering the charge since he had been summoned to Sicily ‘for the service of our lord king’, although the abbey’s representatives responded that he had already been issued with a summons to the court before he was ordered to go to Sicily. In the event, the court decided that a full hearing should be postponed until his return, but in the meanwhile he should restore seisin of the property to the abbey, and compensate it for the harvest that had been lost.¹²¹

The rule of law appears to have been well established in the Terra di Bari, even if churchmen still had on occasion to appeal to Palermo to ensure that their complaints were heard. A factor that may well have enhanced the effectiveness of the royal administration in this area was the absence of substantial seigneuries. It was a region of relatively small lordships directly dependent on the king.¹²² Matters were, however, more uncertain in the Abruzzi, where for reasons of defence powerful counts predominated, often acting as justiciars within their lordships, or exercising jurisdiction in a way that cut across that of the royal justiciars.¹²³ The abbey of Casauria, for example, had a series of disputes with Count Bohemond II of Manopello (1157–69), just as it had had with his predecessors. Admittedly matters improved after his death, but Abbot Leonas still had to complain to the king about the ‘many injustices’ that the bailiffs of the count of Loreto were inflicting upon the abbey’s men in 1172.¹²⁴ If churchmen had recourse

¹²⁰ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, v.234–6 nos. 134–5.

¹²¹ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, v.249–51 no. 145. The church and its property had originally been given to St Nicholas by Richard the Seneschal, son of Count Drogo of Apulia, in 1108, *ibid.*, v.91–3 no. 50, a document that was read out during the 1181 hearing.

¹²² Martin, *Pouille*, 734–5. ¹²³ Jamison, ‘Norman administration’, 377–9.

¹²⁴ *Chron. Casauriense*, 903, 913.

directly to the king, it might be because they had little confidence in his local agents. Alexander, the Carpineto chronicler, claimed that even after Count Robert of Loritello had made peace with the king in 1169 and been restored to his county, 'he strove with evil and envious intent to enslave this monastery', and 'had an inextinguishable hatred for this church'.¹²⁵

We need not assume this to have actually been true; in fact the real problem was with the count's vassals, the lords of Brittoli, who had also been restored to their fiefs. As with other descendants of pious founders, they had cause to regret their ancestors' generosity, not least because they and other vassals of the count were saddled with the obligation of military service for properties held, or claimed, by the monastery.¹²⁶ This almost guaranteed friction, and the count undoubtedly felt a duty to support his own men, especially since they had shared his exile under William I. His first move was to try to persuade the abbot to allow Gentile of Brittoli to have a house in which to live in the *castellum* of Carpineto, 'with the intention', so the chronicler claimed, 'that from this little dwelling he would stealthily and little by little obtain lordship over the whole of the *castellum* and its church for himself'. The abbot was too shrewd to fall for that ruse, but soon afterwards, facing problems with several other local barons as well, he decided to seek the help of the royal court at Palermo. (The queen mother was still acting as regent at this time, so this took place c. 1170/1.) The count asked the abbot to carry a letter with him for some of his men whom he had previously sent to the court to look after his affairs.

But, guided by Divine inspiration, his companion brother Britius, a monk of the monastery whom he had taken with him, secretly opened this letter, and there he realised the snake hiding in the grass and the snares of treachery that had been prepared. For this same count had instructed his barons that if the lord abbot raised anything in the court of the lord king against Gentile of Brittoli they were to obstruct it as much as they could.

What they then did with the offending letter is decently ignored. After the abbot had outlined his problems to the *Curia regis*, the queen mother, and more especially the vice-chancellor Matthew, to whom the resolution of the case was delegated, proved sympathetic, and a series of royal mandates were issued in the abbey's favour. The count of Loritello was told to do

¹²⁵ *Chron. Carpineto*, 88–9. For the date of his restoration, *Annales Ceccanenses*, MGH SS xix.286.

¹²⁶ Thus while the abbey of St Bartholomew held the *castella* of Carpineto and Fara, listed among its possessions in papal bulls of 1138 and 1149, *Chron. Carpineto*, 281–3 no. 33, 287–9 no. 136, in the *Catalogus Baronum*, the service for these was ascribed to Richard of Brittoli and Reynaldus Librayt, *Catalogus Baronum*, pp. 201–3 arts. 1067, 1072.

justice concerning the abbot's complaints against vassals of the counts of Manopello and Aprutium, and the count of Manopello to do the same with regard to a vassal of the count of Loritello.¹²⁷

This was not, however, the end of the abbey's problems. Count Robert did indeed follow the royal mandate and initiate court proceedings against the other counts' vassals (which suggests that, *pace* the chronicler, he was not simply motivated by prejudice against the abbey). But one of those against whom complaint had been made, Annibale of Civitaquana, delayed proceedings by demanding a judicial duel against the abbey's champion, although in the end, doubting the justice of his case (or so the chronicler claimed), Annibale failed to appear. However, the count of Aprutium resented that he had not been consulted in matters that concerned his vassal, and there were scuffles with his men. When the king came to Apulia in 1172, the abbot once again sought him out in person and made further complaints, about another baron.¹²⁸ In 1180 the next abbot, Bohemond, had to go to Palermo again, to seek help against Richard of Padula, one of those of whom his predecessor had been complaining to the court a decade earlier, who was still trying to build a *castellum* on the abbey's property. Once more Matthew the vice-chancellor did his best to assist, sending orders to the count of Manopello to investigate and to render justice, and (crucially) to report back to the court what had taken place – a precaution that would, presumably, encourage the count to discipline his own vassal. Nonetheless, there were still delays, and the reluctant count had to be spurred into action once more. Richard, whom the chronicler stigmatised as a 'lover of delay' (*amator dilationis*), even claimed that the king had given him the offending *castellum* as a gift.¹²⁹ Alexander's account is a notably well-informed one, not least because he himself was one of the abbey's proctors sent to the royal court during the later stages of this case. It certainly suggests that royal justice was less effective in the Abruzzi than in some other areas. If a church was involved in serious legal problems with its neighbours, its best bet might well be to cultivate a powerful friend at court, as Carpineto did with the royal *familiaris* Matthew, or in the mainland administration as Casauria did with Count Godfrey of Lesina, the long-standing royal justiciar in the northern Capitanata.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ *Chron. Carpineto*, 89–91. ¹²⁸ *Chron. Carpineto*, 92–4.

¹²⁹ *Chron. Carpineto*, 107–9, and 306–7 no. 151.

¹³⁰ *Chron. Casauriense*, 900; *Additamenta ad Chronicon Casauriense*, RIS II(2), 1010–11 (January 1165), 1013–14 (June 1177).

In other regions, the operation of royal justice was more effective. Indeed, churchmen might resort to justiciars, who were after all senior officials who had cognisance of the most serious civil and criminal cases, over quite minor issues. So in November 1148 the justiciars of the principality of Capua held a court in the bishop's residence at Aquino where they heard a complaint by the abbot of St Matthew *Servorum Dei*, a small monastery in the hills overlooking the town, that Lord Pandulf of Aquino had seized the property of two men of the monastery because they had refused to do service to him.¹³¹ In this instance, the abbot probably resorted to the justiciars not so much because of the seriousness of the case as because of the importance of the other party, who was the lord of the town. But four years later a very similar case, between the abbot of St Matthew and Pandulf's son, also about the service of a peasant, was heard by Abbot Rainald of Montecassino in his seigneurial court at S. Germano.¹³² In the autumn of 1155 a justiciar's court met twice, first at Bari and then at Barletta, to hear a complaint by the abbot of Monte Sacro about some olive trees belonging to the abbey in the territory of Molfetta, that were being held illegally by a certain Leontius. It was probably due to the minor importance of this case that the task of settling it was eventually devolved to a local judge from Barletta.¹³³ In Sicily, in January 1186, Bishop Guido of Cefalù cited a man before the master justiciars of the central royal court, that is the principal specialist legal officers of the kingdom, for the seizure of a mill, threshing-floor and garden belonging to his see's dependent church of St Lucy at Syracuse.¹³⁴ Interestingly, two months later a Sicilian local justiciar handled a much more serious charge against an important aristocrat: a claim that the countess of Collesano had prohibited the church exercising its pasturage and hunting rights in her lands, thereby infringing King Roger's original endowment of the see, although the bishop had made his original complaint direct to the king.¹³⁵ No doubt a Sicilian prelate in charge of a royal foundation had privileged access to important figures within the royal administration, but these two cases may back up the suggestion of Mario Caravale that the duties of legal officials on the island were not very carefully defined.¹³⁶

¹³¹ *Regesto di S. Matteo di Castello o Servorum Dei*, ed. M. Inguanez (Montecassino 1914), 34–6 no. 17 (also edited by Jamison, 'Norman administration', 462–3 appendix no. 7).

¹³² *Regesto di S. Matteo*, 87–9 no. 42. ¹³³ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, viii. 104–6 no. 72.

¹³⁴ *Documenti inediti*, 207–9 no. 85.

¹³⁵ *I diplomi inediti relativi all'ordinamento della proprietà fondiaria in Sicilia sotto i normanni e gli svevi*, ed. G. Battaglia (Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia, Ser. I.16, Palermo 1895), 120–1 no. 40.

¹³⁶ M. Caravale, *Il regno normanno di Sicilia* (Rome 1966), 245–6.

Of course, by no means all the legal cases involving churches with the new royal administration concerned redress for illegal seizures of property or other high-handed actions in defiance of their rights. Sometimes the question was rather ultimate ownership or the rents and services owed from a property rather than actual possession, as with a dispute involving the Cassinese dependency of S. Angelo in Formis, outside Capua, and a man called Peter son of Gerard in May 1149. The question at issue here was whether Peter owned a piece of land that had been held by his father and grandfather before him in his own right, or held it as a tenant of the monastery to which he owed rent. The issue was complicated because the service of one sergeant was also owed from this land, which Peter claimed had been a condition of the original grant of the land to his grandfather by Prince Richard II of Capua. This case was actually begun before the local judges of Maddaloni, in the territory of which *castellum* the land was. However, during a brief adjournment so that the defendant could prepare his arguments, Ebulus, the royal chamberlain of the principality of Capua, heard about the case and ordered that it be heard before him at Capua. No doubt this was because it involved military service owed to the crown. But in addition, Peter *Girardi* was a man of some substance, of at least knightly status, who in addition to the disputed land at Maddaloni also held two knights' fees from the crown at Aversa, and had three subtenants there, albeit only with *pauperrima feuda*, and also held a small fief as a subtenant of another man near Mignano. But there was no dispute that he was rightfully in seisin of the land, only on what terms he held it. (In the end he found himself saddled both with paying rent to the church and the sergeant's service.)¹³⁷ Similarly, a dispute between the nuns of S. Maria, Brindisi, and a husband and wife from Oria, whom the nuns claimed had illegally alienated land belonging to their house, derived from a claim that the nunnery owed the 'service of a young ox' (presumably for ploughing). This had apparently been acknowledged in writing by a previous abbess. Eventually, in November 1175, the justiciar of the Terra d'Otranto arranged a deal, whereby the nuns bought out the rival claim for the considerable sum of 15 *unciae*, in return for freehold possession of the property.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ *Regesto di S. Angelo in Formis*, 207–12 no. 73 (summary in Jamison, 'Norman Administration', 426–7 no. 29). *Catalogus Baronum*, pp. 157–8, 178, arts. 872–5, 994. Cuozzo, *Commentario*, 247–8.

¹³⁸ G. Antonucci, 'Miscellanea diplomatica I. Il Giustizierato normanno di Basilicata', *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 8 (1938), 16–19. Jamison, 'Norman administration', 346, suggested that this document might be a forgery; however, all three of the justiciars named therein can be attested from other sources at this date, and the editor considered it genuine. Since the original was destroyed in 1943, a definitive verdict may be impossible, but the balance of probability seems that it is genuine.

Royal officials might also be called on to act as witnesses to validate the property arrangements of churches, as when in November 1163 Count Godfrey of Lesina, justiciar of the region that later became known as the 'Honour of Monte Sant' Angelo', as well as another justiciar, a royal chamberlain and the Bishop of Dragonara, were among the witnesses to the lease of a church and its *casale* belonging to St Sophia, Benevento, on the northern part of the Gargano massif. This was in fact the renegotiation of an existing lease, concluded some years earlier, to allow for the succession of the nieces of the (apparently childless) holder and their descendants. Although there was considerable stress in the lease on the ultimate rights of ownership of the abbey, and its power to reclaim the property if the rent was unpaid, these provisions were also present in the previous lease of May 1152. This does not therefore necessarily explain the involvement of the royal officials in 1163, when none had witnessed the earlier lease. It may be that it was the knight who was the original lessee who was keen to involve them, to safeguard the rights of his nieces. That the younger of the two was married to the son of another official, a former royal chamberlain Bonusmirus of Siponto, who was also among the witnesses to this lease, may also explain the strong official presence here – a gesture of solidarity among the office-holding class.¹³⁹

If churchmen looked to the king and his officials to protect the property of their abbeys or sees generally, they might be seen as particularly concerned with safeguarding rights over their subordinate churches, especially where these were challenged by laymen. So in 1150 Archbishop William of Salerno took advantage of King Roger's visit to Salerno to complain that Landulf son of Count Ademarius had seized the property of three churches at Nocera in an attempt to force the priests to pay various dues they allegedly owed him. The justiciars to whom this case had been delegated had ruled in favour of the archbishop, and had defined the (strictly limited) proprietary rights to which Landulf was entitled. Nonetheless he continued to try to exact more extensive dues, ordering his men to distrain on the wine harvest from the churches' property. The archbishop complained again, and October 1151 a second court held by the same justiciars (one of

¹³⁹ Pergamene Aldobrandini, Cart II no. 15. The earlier lease, *ibid.*, Cart. II no. 8, is edited by Loud, 'A Lombard abbey', 301–2 no. 4, and both are discussed in the context of the abbey's administrative policy, *ibid.*, 293–4. A significant difference may be that the earlier 1152 lease was issued by the abbot of St Sophia, at Benevento (not technically part of the *regno* therefore), whereas the 1163 one was issued at Lesina, which was. There is an interesting discussion of this document, and a number of others relating to the same church and *casale*, in relation to the local aristocracy, by J.-M. Martin, 'A proposito del *casale* di Sfilzi nel Gargano', in *Studi in onore di Giosuè Musca*, ed. C. D. Fonseca and V. Sivo (Bari 2000), 355–64.

whom was Florius of Camerota, whom we have already come across) ruled once more in favour of the archbishop, threatening Landulf with a substantial fine if he offended again. This case may well have been a consequence of the evolution of rights of ownership over churches by laymen into the more limited right of patronage (*ius patronatus*): the archbishop was prepared to allow Landulf's right to some token renders from the church, and that the priests had to say mass for him whenever he wanted, but nothing more.¹⁴⁰ In another case, heard at Vieste on the Gargano peninsula in July 1153, the justiciars persuaded someone with claims over a church to a settlement whereby the ecclesiastical proprietor, the abbey of Tremiti, received the church itself and the tithes and mortuary dues of its parishioners, along with various vineyards and gardens, and a third share of its other lands, leaving the remaining two-thirds to the layman.¹⁴¹

Yet with churches, as with other properties, the dispute could sometimes be, not just a question of dues and services but of actual possession, and the process to secure such possession could be protracted. The abbey of Casauria faced this problem with regard to three churches in the territory of the nearby *castellum* of S. Valentino. King Roger restored these churches to the abbey in 1140, but very soon afterwards Richard *Turgisii*, to whom the king had granted the *castellum*, persuaded the monks to make him a lifetime grant of the churches, promising to encourage settlement on their lands, to provide two substantial renders of fish every year and, expressly, that they would be returned to the abbey when he died. Perhaps predictably, after his death the abbey had to complain to the king to force his son to return these churches, which restitution was eventually secured after a hearing by the chamberlain Samarus at Loreto in September 1163.¹⁴²

It should not, however, be assumed that legal cases where churches had recourse to the new royal judicial structures always involved a church seeking protection against lay aggression or claims. There were indeed a considerable number of cases that pitted one church against another. So, for example, in February 1146 the Cava dependency of St Maria *in Domno* was in dispute with the monastery of St Benedict, Salerno, over a piece of land, part arable and part wooded, to the south of the city before

¹⁴⁰ *Roger II Diplomatum*, 274–6, appendix II no. 7 (summary, Jamison, 'Norman administration', 429–30 no. 32).

¹⁴¹ *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, iii.297–9 no. 107 (summary, Jamison, 'Norman administration', 430–1 no. 34).

¹⁴² *Additamenta ad Chronicon Casauriense*, 1008–9; Paris BN, MS Lat. 5411, fol. 261r. The royal letter to which the record of this case referred was omitted by Enzensberger from his list of *deperdita* in *William I Diplomata*.

Atenuulf, royal chamberlain of the principality of Salerno.¹⁴³ The canons of St Leonard, Siponto, successfully, sued Bishop Campo of Dragonara for return of lands belonging to the church before the justiciars Henry de Ollia and Bohemond the Breton in October 1149.¹⁴⁴ Seven years later a dispute about a mill between the abbots of Tremiti and St John in Piano was eventually settled by a compromise before Henry's son and successor as justiciar in the Monte Sant' Angelo region, Count Godfrey of Lesina, in what was expressly described as a royal court.¹⁴⁵ In Sicily the master justiciar of the royal court, Rainald of Tusa, on orders from the king, settled a boundary dispute between the bishops-elect of Cefalù and Lipari/Patti in January 1159.¹⁴⁶ A dispute between Abbot Leonas of Casauria and a priest at Sulmona over a holding confiscated from the latter for failure to fulfil the terms of the lease escalated until it eventually came before the court of the chamberlain Samarus at Sulmona in February 1163.¹⁴⁷ In 1178 a dispute about a mill between Bishop Bartholomew of Ariano and a priest, who subsequently sold his interest to the monastery of S. Angelo, Ariano, led to the parties appearing before the master justiciar, Count Robert of Caserta, before an agreement was brokered.¹⁴⁸

Although these cases were between churchmen, they all concerned the secular property of these churches, and were thus clearly within the purview of the royal courts. In the case involving Casauria in 1163, the chamberlain became involved after the priest forcibly seized the disputed tenement, despite previous prohibition, and in spite of a promise by the abbot that he would receive justice; by doing this he was considered to have 'brought shame on the lord king and the church'. It seems to have been this breach of the peace that drew the case to the chamberlain's attention, and it cost the priest a fine for committing it. But the administration was not always consistent in how such disputes were treated. Thus a quarrel between the monks of St Euphemia and the Augustinian canons of Bagnara, that had begun as a dispute over the boundaries of their lands and had escalated into a violent confrontation, was brought before the royal court, then at Messina, early in 1168. Although this was a dispute about secular property, about which there had apparently been an earlier hearing during the reign

¹⁴³ Jamison, 'Norman administration', 420–1, 456–7 appendix 3.

¹⁴⁴ *Regesto di S. Leonardo di Siponto*, 18–19 no. 28.

¹⁴⁵ *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, iii.300–3 no. 108 (also edited in Jamison, 'Norman administration', 471–3 appendix no. 13).

¹⁴⁶ *Documenti inediti*, 81–3 no. 34.

¹⁴⁷ *Additamenta ad Chronicon Casauriense*, 1009–10 (incomplete summary in Jamison, 'Norman administration', 447–8 no. 55).

¹⁴⁸ Pergamene Aldobrandini, Cart. II no. 31.

of William I by the justiciars of Calabria, and the canons accused the men of the monastery of breaching the king's peace, the court commissioned Archbishop Roger of Reggio and three other bishops to hear the case, albeit in the presence of the master justiciars of the royal court. Here the queen-mother, or perhaps her minister Stephen of Perche, decided that 'it is unsuitable for the servants of God to litigate', and that this was therefore a matter for churchmen to settle.¹⁴⁹ Most other, very similar, cases were, however, dealt with by royal officials.

There were, in addition, other cases where a legal dispute between churchmen, heard before royal officials, or in which they formed part of the court, involved the possession of churches, or even issues of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Thus in April 1148 the bishop of Aprutium charged the abbey of Montecassino with having dispossessed him of the abbey of St Nicholas of Trontino, in a case heard before the royal justiciars of the counties of both Chieti and Aprutium, along with no fewer than four bishops. The actual decision was entrusted to the bishops, who eventually ruled in favour of Montecassino, but the justiciars played an integral part in the case, not least in that they took control of the monastery while its fate was being decided.¹⁵⁰ In March 1159 a court that sat on royal orders to hear charges by the archimandrite of the Greek monastery of Carbone against the bishop of Marsico about the possession of a church was similarly composed of both ecclesiastics – the formidable duo of Archbishop Romuald of Salerno and Abbot Marinus of Cava – and royal officials – the justiciars Tancred of Hauteville and William of Pistiglione – as well as a number of local judges. Unfortunately the record of this assembly is incomplete, and we do not know how the judgement was made.¹⁵¹

Another such dispute, between Bishop Roger of Melfi and the abbot of St Peter on Montevulture was settled by King William I in person at Salerno in March 1155. This concerned three churches in or near Melfi, which seem to have been owned by the abbey. However, so the bishop charged, not only had the customary *census* due to him not been paid, but his episcopal rights of jurisdiction over their clergy, for example that they

¹⁴⁹ E. M. Jamison, 'Judex Tarentinus', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 53 (1967), 509–13 no. 2.

¹⁵⁰ Jamison, 'Norman Administration', 423–5, 458–61, appendix no. 5. For the history of this monastery, which was originally given to Montecassino in 1004, Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, i.292–5.

¹⁵¹ Robinson, 'Carbone' (1930), 68 no. 45. The document does not say where the case was held, but the justiciars would seem to have been those of the principality of Salerno rather than of Lucania; and should therefore be added to the list of the former in Jamison, 'Norman administration', 368. William of Pistiglione was noted as 'justiciar and constable' when he witnessed a will in November 1159, Cava, *Arca* xxx.46.

should attend his synods, were being ignored.¹⁵² Here the king was judging a purely ecclesiastical issue, which a generation later would almost certainly have been decided by papal judges-delegate. It has been suggested, with direct reference to this case, that the king would not have intervened in such a manner after the Treaty of Benevento.¹⁵³ Yet the treaty said nothing explicitly about such a case, and it may be rather that as time went on clergy would have tended to look to papal instead of justice royal in such a case. The impetus in such matters often lay with the litigant rather than with the judge. Nor was the crown necessarily consistent with regard to these cases either. A few years earlier there had been an appeal to the king in a dispute between the archbishop of Brindisi and the nuns of S. Maria in that city. In that case Roger II had delegated judgement to three prelates: the archbishop of Taranto, Bishop Roger of Melfi (one of the protagonists in the 1155 dispute) and the abbot of Venosa.¹⁵⁴

Admittedly, as we have seen, the volume of appeals to the pope concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction grew substantially from the 1160s onwards. Nevertheless some clerics continued to appeal to the king over questions of ecclesiastical administration and discipline, and the ruler sometimes issued orders about such matters. The canons of Troia cathedral asked William II in 1170 if he would provide them with further revenues to make up for those his father had assigned them, the income from which had diminished catastrophically; the king (or his advisers) told the bishop to make up the shortfall, which he duly did.¹⁵⁵ (Given that William I had been generous to the bishopric, the government had a point.) A dispute between the archbishop and canons of Messina was brought before the royal court in the summer of 1172; the case, a complex one, concerned both the canons' revenues and appointments to capitular posts, as well as liturgical matters. Here the king did not become involved: at the suggestion of the archbishop of Palermo (who was the king's chief minister as well as the senior churchman on the island) the matter was deputed to two bishops, both from mainland sees (the bishops of Cassano and Aprutium, presumably both at the court at this time), two other clerics and a lay judge, with instructions to arrange a settlement so that 'as father and sons, the bond of peace should be

¹⁵² *William I Diplomata*, 20–3 no. 7.

¹⁵³ H. Enzensberger, 'Der "böse" und der "gute" Wilhelm', 420.

¹⁵⁴ Caspar, *Roger II.*, 578 no. 252. Unfortunately the seventeenth-century historian from whose work this reference was drawn did not give further details as to the nature of this case, but it might well have been an exemption dispute, since the nuns of S. Maria had been exempted from the archbishop's authority by Paschal II (although this itself is only known from a later confirmation of 1233), *Italia Pontificia*, ix.396.

¹⁵⁵ *Chartes de Troia*, 263–5 no. 87.

re-created between pastor and flock'.¹⁵⁶ And in October 1188 the king confirmed, at the request of the two parties, an agreement between Bishop Stephen of Patti and his own chaplain, Benedict, who had been in dispute as to whether certain properties belonged to the bishop's dependent church of St Lucy at Milazzo or to another church in the same vicinity that formed part of Benedict's prebend. As part of the arrangement, the bishop bought out some of the chaplain's claims, the money to be used to buy property for his church 'where it should be pleasing' to the king.¹⁵⁷ The king might well have taken a particular interest in a dispute involving one of his chaplains. But it should be stressed once more that in cases such as these, it was the litigants who looked to the king for redress, and it is hard to see such disputes, as some scholars have done, as part of a consistent royal policy of limiting papal jurisdiction.¹⁵⁸

There were, however, two aspects of the extension of the royal administration and the operation of royal justice that may not have been as welcome to south Italian churchmen. While they could appeal to the crown for redress against laymen, or fellow churchmen, there were also cases where laymen appealed to the crown or its officials against churchmen who they claimed had wronged them. Thus in January 1133 the men of Patti complained to the king about an increase in their traditional dues imposed by their lord, Bishop John of Lipari, although on investigation it appeared that the bishop was in the right.¹⁵⁹ Perhaps more usual were grievances of individuals. In 1144, for example, a plaintiff charged Abbot Hilarion of Carbone before the justiciars of the Val di Sinni in northern Calabria with using forged charters and bribing witnesses to win a previous legal case against him, although on inspection the documents in question turned out to be genuine and the charge malicious.¹⁶⁰ In March 1164, in a court held by a royal chamberlain at Trani, on the orders of the master chamberlain of Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro, a priest and his brother from Noia (15 km south-east of Bari) charged the hospital attached to the church of St Nicholas at Bari with illegal possession of land that had previously been given to them by their late uncle. In this case the hospital's representatives were able to produce a charter from a former lord of Noia, settling an earlier dispute between him and the hospital in 1133, that justified their possession. Not only did this antedate the charter of the

¹⁵⁶ *Documenti inediti*, 103–6 no. 45 (for the correct date, Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, ii.940).

¹⁵⁷ K. A. Kehr, *Die Urkunden der normannisch-sicilischen Könige* (Innsbruck 1902), 456–7 no. 30.

¹⁵⁸ As, for example, claimed by Enzensberger, 'Der "böse" und der "gute" Wilhelm', 419.

¹⁵⁹ *Roger II Diplomata*, 62–6 no. 23. ¹⁶⁰ Robinson, 'Carbone' (1930), 39–42 no. 38.

men's uncle, it showed that the latter was himself a vassal of the hospital. However, the hospital's advocate also claimed that property belonging to it could not be alienated without royal permission.¹⁶¹ Whether this was simply a cynical lawyer's argument designed to appeal to the royal court, or whether the king was deemed to have succeeded the earlier rulers of Bari as the patron of the church of St Nicholas is not clear, although since there were no royal privileges granted to this church from either Roger or William I one tends to suspect the former.

Two other such cases both involved Greek churches. Peter, lord of Calavra in Lucania, brought an action against the abbey of Carbone before the justiciars of the Val di Sinni in May 1169 accusing it of illegally holding vineyards and other property belonging to his men. In this case the problem appears to have been primarily a boundary dispute. Although one of the documents produced as evidence against the abbey turned out to have been forged, it seems that both sides were anxious to negotiate a compromise.¹⁶² But early in 1189 an inhabitant of Rossano, from his name (Gerard) not a Greek, went directly to the royal court in Palermo, and there charged the abbot of S. Maria *Patiron*, a monastery much favoured by the royal family in the early twelfth century, with having 'unjustly and without reason' dispossessed him of a teniment that both his father and his grandfather had held before him. The king remitted the case back to the justiciars of Calabria (one of whom was our old friend Florius of Camerota), ordering them to summon the abbot to their court, inspect the evidence, and do justice to Gerard, 'so that we hear no further complaint about this'.¹⁶³ What the eventual judgement was in this last case is unknown. We should not assume, however, that Greek churches were more vulnerable than Latin to such complaints. Both Carbone and the *Patiron* were deemed to be royal monasteries; they were therefore prestigious and respected houses, and only a few years later the *Patiron* was to emerge victorious in a land dispute with the archbishopric of Monreale heard at the royal court in Palermo.¹⁶⁴ The royal administration treated Greek churches, and especially such distinguished ones as Carbone and the *Patiron*, no differently from Latin ones, even if the justiciars hearing such cases were Latin-rite Christians. Where the sources may be

¹⁶¹ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, v.211–12 no. 164; the earlier charter of Thomas, lord of Noia and Rutigliano, is *ibid.*, 139–41 no. 81, by modern reckoning to be dated to September 1133.

¹⁶² Robinson, 'Carbone' (1930), 75–9 no. 47.

¹⁶³ F. Schneider, 'Neue Dokumente vornehmlich aus Süditalien', *QFIAB* 16 (1914), 30 no. 9.

¹⁶⁴ W. Holtzmann, 'Die ältesten Urkunden des Klosters S. Maria del Patir', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 26 (1926), 344–6 no. 4 (June 1196).

misleading, however, is that the documents preserved in ecclesiastical archives (which are the ones that survive) record cases where the churches were successful. We do not possess records of legal disputes where lay plaintiffs were victorious against churches, yet surely this did sometimes occur. However, there are records of such cases where the property in question was adjudged to a church, but only through buying out the claims of an aggrieved layman, sometimes at considerable expense.¹⁶⁵

The second area where the creation of the royal administration was far from being an unmixed blessing was when local officials seeking to defend the king's rights and to maximise his revenues levied dues from church property or services from ecclesiastical dependants, or in some cases may have used their official position to their private advantage. The latter was probably the case when in March 1155 Abbot Rainald of Montecassino complained directly to William I about the actions of a royal justiciar Hervey de la Bolita, lord of Rocca Guglielmo, a *castellum* that lay just outside the southern boundary of the *Terra Sancti Benedicti*. This was partly a boundary dispute, and in part also one about pasturage, in which Hervey was acting in his private capacity, but also related to dues levied from crops and animals of the monastery's pilgrim hospice that the abbot claimed had been exempted from all public obligations by King Roger (*rex Roggerius . . . ab omni publica et iniusta exactione illud quietasset*). Hervey claimed that these dues were owed for protection of the animals, but this was given short shrift by the court – the whole kingdom was under the protection of the king.¹⁶⁶ This judgement was cited in another legal case 12 years later, when further problems concerning these lands of Montecassino at Pontecorvo led Abbot Theodwin to travel to Palermo to complain to the minority government.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ So in February 1181, a dispute between a layman and the priory of St Egidius of Pantano, on Monte Gargano, over a house in Siponto, heard before a justiciar, concluded with the prior securing the plaintiff's acknowledgement of the church's ownership in return for two ounces of gold and 30 *solidi de moneta francigena*, *Les Actes de l'abbaye de Cava concernant le Gargano* (1086–1370), ed. J.-M. Martin (*Codice diplomatico pugliese*, xxxii, Bari 1994), 141–3 no. 49.

¹⁶⁶ *William I Diplomata*, 16–19 no. 6 (summary, Jamison, 'Norman Administration', 437–8 no. 42). Hervey was one of the 'barons of Aversa', where he held a fief of three knights' fees, and he had another, also of three knights' fees, at Sessa Aurunca, *Catalogus Baronum*, 157, 166, arts. 867, 933. He was probably therefore of Norman descent. His family had been closely connected with the princes of Capua. Hugh de la Bolita (perhaps his father) had been the *oeconomus* of Prince Robert II, *Pergamene di Capua*, i.61–3 no. 24 (January 1129). The family remained prominent at Aversa in the thirteenth century. His lordship of Rocca Guglielmo was not, however, recorded in the *Catalogus*, although it continued to be held by his family – King Tancred confiscated it from Robert de la Bolita in 1193, *Ryccardi de Sancto Germano Chronica*, 16.

¹⁶⁷ Gattula, *Accessiones*, 262–4.

More usual were cases where churches complained about exactions by minor officials: the catepans or bailiffs who oversaw royal property and rights in a localised area. Thus the prior of St Lawrence, Aversa, charged the catepan of Modugno (10 km south-west of Bari) with the illegal seizure of animals belonging to its Apulian dependency of S. Angelo at Frassenito, in a case heard in a royal court, convened on the orders of Simon the Seneschal, in January 1158. The catepan retorted that he was distraining the animals because the priory had failed to pay the render of 12 *staria* of oil owed to the state from one of its properties, an obligation that derived from the previous owner, before he had given this olive grove to the church. In the end, after exhaustive inquiry and testimony from local witnesses, the church won its case.¹⁶⁸ St Sophia, Benevento, was in dispute with the royal bailiffs of Montefusco about the grazing fees exacted from its flocks at Leocubante, one of the most important among the abbey's estates, in 1168, although this problem was settled locally, without for once involving the senior ranks of the administration.¹⁶⁹

Not all churches, however, were able to achieve their aims so painlessly. In 1172 the abbot of the monastery of St Dominic at Sora went to Palermo to complain that the bailiffs of Sora had confiscated various revenues payable to his church that had been granted to it by King Roger, and in the subsequent court case in September 1173 it became clear that the bailiffs had also levied various food renders from other churches at Sora that the king had remitted when he had taken Sora into the royal demesne c. 1140.¹⁷⁰ Similarly, a year later the abbot of Montecassino charged the bailiffs of Teano with levying the sales tax on wine bought for the abbey, from which it had been exempt since the time of King Roger.¹⁷¹ The monks of Sts Severinus and Sossius at Naples complained to the royal court about the 'vexations' of royal bailiffs towards its holdings at Aversa and a wood on the slopes of Monte Vesuvio – a case eventually settled in the abbey's favour by a royal chamberlain, on instructions from the king's *familiaries*, in November 1182.¹⁷² Cava had problems with the bailiffs of Sarno over its

¹⁶⁸ *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 122–4 no. 71 (summary, Jamison, 'Norman administration', 442–3 no. 47).

¹⁶⁹ Benevento, Museo del Sannio, Fondo S. Sofia, vol. 10 no. 35. Such problems were not specifically with royal officials – these were seigniorial dues. Hence the canons of St Leonard of Siponto complained about the exaction of grazing fees and water dues by the bailiffs of the countess of Fiorentino in 1184, to her chamberlain, *Regesto di S. Leonardo di Siponto*, ed. F. Camobreco (Rome 1913), 61 no. 96.

¹⁷⁰ G. Tescione, *Caserta medievale e i suoi conti e signori* (3rd edn, Caserta 1990), 162–4, appendix no. 3.

¹⁷¹ Montecassino, *Aula II Caps.* 27 no. 38 (unpublished); summary in *Abbazia di Montecassino. Regesti dell'archivio*, ed. T. Leccisotti and F. Avagliano (Rome 1964–77), vi.308 no. 38.

¹⁷² *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 222–6 nos. 119–20.

demesne land, mill and dependent peasants there, which led to the involvement of the Master Justiciar Count Robert of Caserta in 1182. The dispute was eventually settled in the abbey's favour by a royal chamberlain, Alfano Joncata, acting on orders from the court at Palermo, in March 1183.¹⁷³

St Sophia, Benevento, fought a long and complex legal action, which involved hearings before the master justiciars at Sulmona, a pair of royal justiciars, and finally Count Roger of Molise at Boiano in May 1185, before securing the exemption of its men at Campolieto in Molise from the royal taxation (*adiutorium*) that had recently been levied (presumably for the expedition against the Byzantine Empire that captured Thessalonica in August of that year).¹⁷⁴ St Sophia was able to maintain its immunity after the Staufen conquest: in August 1197 Henry VI ordered the officials collecting taxation for his forthcoming Crusade not to molest the lands, villages and obediences of the monastery. But the price of such a privilege was continued vigilance to ensure that it was observed. St Sophia faced renewed problems with royal bailiffs exacting taxation in the 1220s, as indeed did other churches as Frederick II ordered a much more stringent supervision than hitherto of clerical immunities.¹⁷⁵

Nevertheless, while such difficulties were doubtless galling and time-consuming for churches, and journeys to Palermo for prelates or their representatives were expensive, the consolidation of royal authority on the mainland ensured much greater stability than hitherto, and more effective protection for clerical rights and property than had been the case in the decentralised, and often disordered Mezzogiorno before 1130. The justice dispensed by the officials of the king of Sicily might sometimes be slow, but by the (admittedly far from perfect) standards of medieval legal systems it was relatively effective. Sometimes, indeed, the mere threat of royal intervention was enough to bring an offender to heel. Thus, Abbot Peter of Montecassino complained to William II in 1174 about the exactions levied on his church of S. Angelo at Barrea (in a remote location on the northern slopes of the Monti della Meta) by a certain Oderisius of Aversa, who may have been one of the Borell family whose branches stretched so widely through the mountains of Molise and the southern Abruzzi. On receipt of

¹⁷³ Cava, *Arca* xxxviii.34, xxxix.13.

¹⁷⁴ E. M. Jamison, 'The administration of the County of Molise in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', *English Historical Review* 44 (1929), 557–9 no. 3.

¹⁷⁵ F. Bartoloni, 'Due documenti per la storia della terra santa', *Bullettino dell'archivio paleografico italiano*, n.s. 1 (1955), 137–8. *Ryccardi de Sancto Germano Chronican*, 117–19. Cf. G. A. Loud, 'Monarchy and monastery in the Mezzogiorno: the abbey of St. Sophia, Benevento, and the Staufen', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 59 (1991), 292–3.

the royal mandate, Oderisius presented himself at the abbot's court at S. Germano on New Year's Day 1175, 'spontaneously' to renounce all his previous exactions, injustices and interference with the affairs of this church.¹⁷⁶ That was how, in an ideal world, the king's name would protect his churches, even in the distant and mountainous southern outreaches of the Apennines. But matters did not always proceed so smoothly. As in all systems of medieval justice, there was a problem of enforcement, however sympathetic and well-intentioned the ruler might be. As the Abruzzi abbeys discovered, when those who were supposed to enforce judgements were themselves hostile, or tied by bonds of mutual loyalty to the culprits, the king's support was necessary, but the implementation of royal mandates was difficult.

Even in areas where the rule of law was stronger, and the royal officials more determined, churches could still find the workings of justice frustratingly slow. A judgement of April 1155, in favour of the monastery of All Saints, Cuti, just outside Bari, told a cautionary tale. The monastery had been in dispute with a man called Richard Turgisius and his wife over a church belonging to it in Gioia, on the Murge ridge almost 40 km south of Bari. A court at Bari, presided over by the city's senior judge, Leo de Reiza, had ruled in its favour. The abbey had then obtained letters first from King Roger, and then from King William, to the justiciars of the region, ordering that the abbey 'should not suffer through defect of justice'. Richard had then been summoned to appear before a court at Barletta presided over by the leaders of the mainland administration, the vice-chancellor Asclettin, the constable Count Gilbert of Balbano and Count Richard of Andria. He pleaded lack of preparedness and was granted a delay before a new hearing. This was probably late in 1154 or very early in 1155, and at this point the new king's all-powerful chief minister, the Emir of Emirs Maio, took an interest. Not only was Maio himself from Bari, but the judge Leo was his father. He despatched peremptory orders to the justiciars to put his father's judgement into effect. Richard was summoned to a new court, failed to appear, and ignored a letter sent to him. Then, and only then, did the justiciars finally come to judgement, and in Richard's absence award the disputed church to the abbey.¹⁷⁷ The case had clearly begun some time before the death of King Roger in February 1154, and by the time of the eventual judgement

¹⁷⁶ Gattula, *Accessiones*, 264. 'Aversa' was probably Anversa degli Abruzzi (10 km west of Sulmona, and 25 km north-west of Barrea), rather than the Normans' original base in the Campania.

¹⁷⁷ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, v.190-2 no. 112 (summary, Jamison, 'Norman administration', 437-8 no. 42).

in April 1155 the original judge, Leo de Reiza, was dead. Unfortunately we do not know when he died, and thus how long the abbey may have been waiting for the enforcement of his decision, although the implication of the justiciars' account, with its reference to the 'frequent' complaints of Abbot Nicholas, is that it was some considerable time. The process dragged out even though the king's chief minister was intimately involved, and despite the fact that the monastery had clear evidence of its rights, for the disputed church was listed among the abbey's property in a papal bull of 1144.¹⁷⁸ This case shows, therefore, how far a recalcitrant defendant could delay the implementation of justice. Such a case was far from unique, either in the kingdom of Sicily or elsewhere in medieval Europe. As we have seen, the workings of papal justice among churchmen might be equally, if not more, protracted. In this particular case, the church did succeed in the end. And, whatever its defects, the system of royal justice was better than what came before, and the peace enforced by the kings of Sicily worked in the Church's interests.

If the king acted as the protector of the Church, and to some extent anyway as its governor, the other facet of his role was that of its benefactor. The ruler was a principal source of patronage, not just for the careers of (some) individual churchmen, but for the churches and monasteries of his kingdom. Yet it must be admitted that tracing the benefactions and patronage of the twelfth-century kings of Sicily is a frustrating task. The problem, once again, is the survival of the sources. Although the kings of Sicily possessed one of the most advanced administrative systems of contemporary Christendom, remarkably little of the substantial amount of parchment that it must have generated has survived. There are also significant difficulties even with the relatively small number of royal documents that remain. Thus Roger II ruled, first as count of Sicily and then as king, for a total of 48 years. Some 200 documents issued in the king's name survive, of which 86 are written in Latin, 114 were originally written in Greek – although quite a few of these now survive only in later Latin translations – and in addition there are 11 *ḡarīda* (lists of serfs) in Arabic. Furthermore, of the Latin charters only 17 genuine documents survive in the original, and a further five in more-or-less contemporary (pre-1200) copies. (Two more originals perished in the destruction of the Archivio di Stato in Naples in 1943, and are now known only from photographs.) Only 16 genuine Greek

¹⁷⁸ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, v.167–8 no.98.

documents survive in the original. But, in fact, the sample is considerably smaller even than these figures suggest, for of the 86 Latin documents that are known, no fewer than 37 are forgeries (43 per cent). (Thirteen Latin and eight Greek 'pseudo-originals', that is forgeries that purport to be original charters, also survive. Another Latin pseudo-original perished in 1943.)¹⁷⁹

The overall numbers of documents for the later kings are similarly disappointingly few. There now survive only 35 documents of William I (30 Latin and 5 Greek), of which seven are forgeries. Here the proportion of surviving originals is somewhat higher: 13 of the genuine documents, including two bilingual Latin and Greek charters, and three pseudo-originals. There are 156 documents known from the reign of William II, but this still gives an average of not quite seven documents issued for each year of the reign, and the proportion of forgeries is still high: these number 34 (21.7 per cent of the total).¹⁸⁰ Only seven of these documents are in Greek, most of which are in fact bilingual Greek/Latin. For the reign of Tancred there are 35 documents known, only one in Greek, 11 of which survive in the original. There is, however, only one forgery attributed to Tancred. Since the Staufers considered his rule to be illegitimate and his actions therefore to be without legal force, there was little reason to manufacture documents attributed to him as precedents or title deeds. Retrospective mentions have also allowed scholars to identify a considerable number of *deperdita* that once existed (see the table below), but there is little doubt that the total of existing documents and known *deperdita* is still only a relatively small proportion of the documents issued in the king's name that once existed. Indeed, it has been suggested that for the reign of King Roger the number of surviving documents may be no more than 10 per cent of the total of those issued.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ C-R. Brühl, *Urkunden und Kanzlei König Rogers II. von Sizilien* (Cologne 1978), 11–35, with some modification of his figures to take account of more recent discoveries. For the Greek documents, V. von Falkenhausen, 'I Diplomi dei re normanni in lingua greca', in *Documenti medievali greci e latini. Studi comparativi* (Atti del seminario di Erice, 23–29 ottobre 1995), ed. G. de Gregorio and O. Kresten (Spoleto 1998), 253–308. Prof. von Falkenhausen has also furnished me with some updated statistics on the Greek documents. The figures quoted ignore a small number of post-medieval forgeries.

¹⁸⁰ H. Enzensberger, 'Il documento regio come strumento di potere', in *Potere, società e popolo nell'età dei due Guglielmi* (Atti delle quarte giornate normanno-sveve 1979) (Bari 1981), 111–12. We are still awaiting the modern edition of the documents of William II by Prof. Enzensberger, who has, however, kindly supplied me with the figures quoted here and in the table below. For discussion and a list of all the documents of William II, H. Enzensberger, 'Note di storia amministrativa e giuridica e di propaganda politica nell'età di due Guglielmi', *Atti dell'Accademia di scienze, lettere e arti di Palermo*, Ser. V.1 (parte 2 lettere) (1981/2), 23–61.

¹⁸¹ Brühl, *Urkunden und Kanzlei*, 34.

Documents of the Norman kings of Sicily

| | Documents | Originals (and pseudo-originals) | Forgeries | <i>Deperdita</i> |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| Roger (as count and king 1105–54) | 200 | 33 (21) | 37 Latin, ? Greek | 91 |
| William I | 35 | 13 | 7 | 60 |
| William II | 156 | 47 (8) | 34 | 84 |
| Tancred | 35 | 11 | 1 | 37 |
| Constance | 66 | 19 (2) | 7 | 73 |

The number of surviving royal documents is disappointing not just in absolute terms, but also in comparison with other contemporary European kingdoms. There are, for example, only 139 documents surviving from the 23 years and two months that Roger II ruled as King of Sicily, an average of six documents a year. This ratio only marginally increased under his two successors. Yet some 300 documents issued in the name of the French king Louis VI (1108–37) survive, a ratio of 10.3 per year, and for the German emperors Lothar and Conrad III (who ruled between them from 1125 to 1152) there are almost 400 documents, with a combined ratio of about 14 charters issued per year. These figures are still not very high, but neither the French nor German rulers had a particularly active or effective administration in the first half of the twelfth century; and their administrative structures were far less sophisticated than those developed in the kingdom of Sicily by the later 1140s. The issue is rather the rate of survival – there are now, for example, 119 original documents of Conrad III extant, as opposed to 33 of King Roger – and the proportion of forgeries among the French and German royal documents is also much less.¹⁸²

The other obvious feature of the Sicilian royal documents to which attention should be drawn was the change in the proportion of Latin to Greek documents. The Christian population of the lands ruled by the counts of Sicily was overwhelmingly Greek, and the counts issued almost all their charters, even to Latin Christian churches, in Greek, until Roger II's takeover of the duchy of Apulia in 1127/8. Even where documents were issued in Latin, these were often accompanied by a Greek text. Since the language of the central administration was Greek, details such as the boundaries of land donated or confirmed, or the number of serfs included, needed to be

¹⁸² Brühl, *Urkunden und Kanzlei*, 17–19.

recorded in Greek. (For western and south-eastern Sicily, such information was sometimes in Arabic, but here the main document would invariably be in Greek, not Latin.)¹⁸³ However, the incorporation of Apulia and Capua, both areas with an overwhelmingly Latin culture, and apart from in the Salento peninsula with only a small number of Greek inhabitants, led to the development of a Latin section of the chancery. This remained for a time still the subordinate section of the *scriptorium* – throughout the 1130s there was only one main notary writing Latin documents for the king, although very occasionally assistants might be used if that notary was not available.¹⁸⁴

This situation changed dramatically from the 1140s. This was a consequence of the growing importance of the mainland dominions; it also reflected the Latin immigration that was beginning to change the demographic balance in Sicily, and the increasingly significant role of Latin Christians from the mainland in the central royal administration, above all Maio of Bari. Maio was attested as *scrinarius* (senior notary/archivist?), dating and formally attesting documents in the absence of the chancellor, from October 1144.¹⁸⁵ He was probably promoted to the post of the vice-chancellor in 1149; though this is attested in a forgery, it is one that seems to have been carefully modelled on a genuine original.¹⁸⁶ He may well have succeeded to the post of chancellor after the death of the Englishman Robert of Selby in 1151, and was certainly chancellor at the accession of William I, and subsequently as ‘emir of emirs’ was that king’s all-powerful chief minister.¹⁸⁷ But since Robert of Selby, for all his title as chancellor, was mainly employed as a governor of the mainland dominions, Maio was probably the *de facto* director of the royal writing-office from the mid-1140s onwards. While relatively few genuine royal documents in Latin survive from the last years of King Roger, the survival of only four in Greek from the years 1145–54, all for recipients on the island of Sicily, compared with the considerably larger number from before 1145, tells its own story.¹⁸⁸ By the late twelfth century the royal chancery was an overwhelmingly Latinate institution, and operating on a considerably greater scale than before. There were six notaries writing documents in concert there during the brief rule of the Empress Constance.¹⁸⁹ The growing proportion of executive mandates among the surviving documentation (and seemingly the *deperdita* too) also suggests a more developed administrative process and a more active administration of justice.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸³ von Falkenhausen, ‘Diplomi in lingua greca’, 254–9. ¹⁸⁴ Brühl, *Urkunden und Kanzlei*, 38–42.

¹⁸⁵ *Roger II Diplomata*, 183–97 nos. 64–7. ¹⁸⁶ *Roger II Diplomata*, 224–8 no. 178.

¹⁸⁷ *Falcandus*, 8 (*Tyrants*, 60). ¹⁸⁸ von Falkenhausen, ‘Diplomi in lingua greca’, 264–5.

¹⁸⁹ Kölzer, ‘Kanzlei und Kultur’, 25. ¹⁹⁰ Enzensberger, ‘Il documento regio’, 112–14.

The loss of such documents began very early. The abbot of a Greek monastery in the Val Demone petitioned the young Roger II in 1109 asking that the bounds of his church's lands be re-surveyed, since the document recording this information had been lost in the troubles that had recently afflicted Sicily (which suggests, incidentally, that Roger's minority had not been trouble-free). A privilege of the king concerning the Sicilian possessions of St Mary of the Latins at Jerusalem was destroyed in a fire at its daughter house of St Philip at Agira during his lifetime, while some of the privileges of Bari cathedral were recorded as having been stolen in 1152.¹⁹¹ Some of the central government's *dafātir*, or records of lands, their boundaries and the services owed from them, were lost or destroyed during the attempted coup of 1161. The royal notary Matthew of Salerno owed his return to favour, after a period of disgrace and imprisonment, to his unrivalled knowledge of these archives, so that at least some of what had been lost could be replaced.¹⁹²

Some recipients could be remarkably careless in safeguarding such valuable documents. A later inquest, held on the orders of King Manfred in 1260, into the affairs of the bishopric of Agrigento makes instructive reading. According to one very elderly witness, who claimed to have heard the story directly from Bishop Bartholomew (1171–91), a prominent royal official, the castellan Ansaldus, had given the church of St Mary at Rifesi to the bishopric (probably not long before his death c. 1171/2). Since Ansaldus had no direct heirs, his property escheated on his death to the crown, and William II subsequently gave this church to the court monastery of St John of the Hermits. The bishop could do nothing about this, for the privilege recording the original donation by Ansaldus to Agrigento had been mislaid. Subsequently, it was discovered and presented to the king, and he then cancelled his gift to the monastery and gave the church to the bishopric. But, during the course of the crisis which overcame western Sicily after 1189, with widespread revolt among the Muslims of the region, the bishopric of Agrigento was hard hit, and Bishop Ursus was several times driven from his see. Both the original donation charter of Ansaldus and the subsequent royal privilege were lost, this time for good, and as a result the ownership of the church was thrown into doubt once again.¹⁹³ There

¹⁹¹ Cusa, *Diplomi*, 403–5; Kehr, *Urkunden*, 430–4 no. 14; *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.94–5 no. 49.

¹⁹² *Falcandus*, 69 (*Tyrants*, 120–1). For discussion of these records, Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, 115–18.

¹⁹³ *Più antiche carte di Agrigento*, 155–71 no. 78, especially 158–60. For Ansaldus, *Falcandus*, 84–5, 155–6 (*Tyrants*, 134–5, 208–9). He was last attested in April 1171, when he gave his house in Messina to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, *Le Cartulaire du chapitre de Saint Sépulchre*, ed. G. Bresc-Bautier (Paris 1984), 306–7 no. 57.

does, in fact, now survive a privilege of William II granting this church to the see of Agrigento, but this document, of 'December 1171' (a date that is far too early to fit the tale told at the inquiry of 1260) is a forgery – known only from a transcript made in 1252, and confected shortly before that date.¹⁹⁴

This tale of mishap illustrates both why so many documents have been lost and why there is such a high proportion of forgeries among the extant charters. Even in archives that have fared better than did that of Agrigento, there have been losses. When the bishop of Cefalù charged the countess of Collesano with infringement of his church's rights, as previously established by King Roger, in 1186, the relevant charter of the king was publicly read out, and 'many times' reread by the royal justiciar entrusted with the case. Whatever document was in question, it must undoubtedly have existed and have concerned the particular hunting and pasture rights in question; yet no such document now survives among the Cefalù charters, although several other documents of King Roger do.¹⁹⁵ Similarly, a St Sophia, Benevento, charter of 1172 referred to the privileges of King Roger in favour of the monastery (in the plural), yet we now possess only one such document, although a large number of other charters from this particular abbey have survived.¹⁹⁶

In addition, the problem of forgery is especially marked for several of the great mainland abbeys whose archives are otherwise among our most important sources of contemporary documentation. Thus all four of the pre-1194 royal privileges for Montevergine (two purporting to come from King Roger and two from William II) are in fact forgeries, which were probably created soon after 1220. Three of these depend, to a greater or lesser extent, upon the model of a privilege of Henry VI of March 1195; it is possible, however, that one of the 'William II' documents may have drawn upon a genuine original of that king, although not necessarily one drawn up in favour of Montevergine.¹⁹⁷ Of the four 'Roger II' privileges for Montecassino, only the first, issued on 30 December 1129, is genuine, and it was this document that was in turn confirmed by William I in

¹⁹⁴ *Più antiche carte di Agrigento*, 56–60 no. 23, 151–2 no. 75.

¹⁹⁵ *Diplomi della proprietà fondiaria*, 120–1 no. 40 (above, n. 135). White, *Latin Monasticism*, 200.

¹⁹⁶ Pergamene Aldobrandini, Cart. II no. 25; *Roger II Diplomata*, 106–8 no. 38 (21 July 1134).

¹⁹⁷ H. Enzensberger, 'I Privilegi normanno-svevi a favore della "congregazione" verginiana', in *La società meridionale nelle pergamene di Montevergine. I normanni chiamano gli svevi* (Montevergine 1989), 71–89. Clementi, 'Calendar of Henry VI', 152–3 no. 65. However, I would be more sceptical than Enzensberger that the reference to men of the abbey *sub protectione et defensione gloriosissimi regis Wilhelmi* in a charter of Abbot John of January 1178, *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, vii.80–6 no. 621, suggests an earlier royal privilege.

1158. Two of the other three were forged probably towards the end of the twelfth century, the other perhaps a generation later. The modern editor suggested that a genuine, now-lost original may lie behind one of these forgeries, purporting to date from 1132, although most of the diplomatic formulae appear to have been adapted from an earlier charter of Duke Roger Borsa.¹⁹⁸ Since Montecassino fell out of favour with the king after 1137, to such an extent that he confiscated some of the fortresses of the *Terra Sancti Benedicti* in 1140 and removed much of the abbey's treasure in 1143, the absence of genuine diplomas is hardly surprising.¹⁹⁹

Similarly, while Roger did concede two genuine diplomas to Cava, one giving the abbey a church in Sicily in 1131, and the other a more general confirmation of its property and rights in October 1133, two other royal documents for this abbey, one (undated) attributed to Roger, and the other to William I in April 1154, are both forgeries. The 'William I' forgery was one of a large number of falsified documents produced under Abbot Leo II in 1285–6. However, the 'Roger' document may have been manufactured surprisingly early, for both it and the charter of Count Nicholas of the Principate that it purported to confirm (itself a forgery) were copied in a transcript of February 1167. The problem is whether that transcript may not itself be a forgery.²⁰⁰ If it is genuine, then this Cava charter was perhaps the earliest forgery of a document of the kings of Sicily, but a number of other extant forgeries, in addition to those from Montecassino noted above, probably also date from before 1200.²⁰¹ Furthermore, forgeries could sometimes replace a genuine original. Thus, the alleged privilege of King Roger confirming the property of the monastery of S. Maria, Elce, near Conza, from '1149', which purports to be an original charter of the king, was actually forged c. 1240. But both a genuine original privilege of William II from November 1183, and an earlier document of his father from May 1157, known only from a later transcript from the chancery of Frederick II in 1227, refer to a privilege of King Roger that they are renewing.²⁰² So there

¹⁹⁸ Brühl, *Urkunden und Kanzlei*, 164–72. For the '1132' document, *Roger II Diplomata*, 57–9 no. †21. *William I Diplomata*, 66–7 no. 24.

¹⁹⁹ *Annales Casinenses*, MGH SS xix.309–10.

²⁰⁰ *Roger II Diplomata*, 45–8 no. 16, 87–9 no. 31, 123–4 no. †44; *William I Diplomata*, 3–6 no. 1. Cava, *Arca xxxii.64*. Brühl, *Urkunden und Kanzlei*, 143–5; C. Carlone, *Falsificazioni e falsari cavensi e verginiani del secolo XIII* (Altavilla Silentina 1984), especially 41–2.

²⁰¹ E.g. *Roger II Diplomata*, nos. †8, †13, and †18.

²⁰² *Roger II Diplomata*, 224–8 no. †78; *William I Diplomata*, 53–5 no. 19; R. Volpini, 'Diplomi sconosciuti dei principi longobardi di Salerno e dei re normanni di Sicilia', in *Contributo dell'Istituto di storia medievale*, i. *Raccolta di studi in memoria di Giovanni Soranzo* (Milan 1986), 481–544. 529–31 no. 10, 539–42 no. 11.

can be no doubt that Roger II did issue a privilege for this abbey. Either this was somehow lost, or the thirteenth-century monks could not resist the temptation to improve its terms. And while two of the supposed royal charters for Cava are forgeries, another genuine diploma, produced as evidence in a court case in 1151, has now been lost.²⁰³

All this somewhat lengthy preamble serves simply to warn the reader that any remarks about the scale and scope of royal patronage and benefactions are more than usually impressionistic, and cannot reveal the true picture of such policy. Nonetheless, what indications we have are not without interest. For example, donations of real property to churches were surprisingly rare, and most of those that did take place were made to churches on the island of Sicily. Roger II granted the bishopric of Catania lands between Catania and Lentini in December 1125.²⁰⁴ He favoured the church of Lipari, which his father had founded, granting it, for example, the *casale* of *Rahulzuchar* and more than thirty villeins attached to it in April 1132, for the soul of his mother, whose remains lay in its mainland dependency at Patti. In December 1142 he added to this an estate at Focerò, to the west of Patti, a gift that apparently fulfilled a bequest intended by his mother.²⁰⁵ He gave the Greek monastery of S. Maria of Campogrosso lands at Msilmeri, near Palermo, in January 1134.²⁰⁶ He also gave the mainland abbey of Cava the church of St Michael at Petralia (25 km south of Cefalù), with its lands and mills, and 13 Christian and 10 Muslim villeins, in February 1131, and at some unknown period he gave the Leper Hospital of St John at Palermo three villages, one of which was in the territory of Mazara.²⁰⁷ Similarly, William I gave the canons of St George of Gratteri land in the territory of Petralia in July 1155. This house (the only Praemonstratensian one in the kingdom) had been founded by William's elder brother, Duke Roger of Apulia (d. 1149). In 1191 the latter's son, King Tancred, gave the canons a village called *Amballut*, which had once been part of the property of Simon the Seneschal, the master captain of Apulia, and had been forfeited to the crown after the death of his brother-in-law Maio and

²⁰³ Jamison, 'Norman administration', 463–4, appendix no. 8 (*Roger II Diplomata*, deperdita no. 25).

²⁰⁴ Cusa, *Diplomi*, 554–6.

²⁰⁵ Cusa, *Diplomi*, 513–15, 525–7; C. A. Garufi, 'Censimento e catasto della popolazione servile. Nuove studi e ricerche sull'ordinamento amministrativo dei normanni in Sicilia nei secoli XI e XII', *Archivio storico siciliano* 49 (1928), 90–1, appendix no. 2, which records the subsequent fixing of the boundaries of Focerò.

²⁰⁶ Cusa, *Diplomi*, 13–15.

²⁰⁷ *Roger I Diplomata*, 45–8 no. 16; *William I Diplomata*, 23–6 no. 8 (which confirmed his father's gift).

the disgrace of the latter's family in November 1160.²⁰⁸ William I also gave lands at Paterno and Caltagirone to the hermit Stephen of Etna. William II added a mill near Paterno and a village in the territory of Lentini to this last donation in 1170.²⁰⁹ The most important territorial donation of William I on the island was his gift of the lordship of Broccato, near Termini Imeresi on the north coast, a fief owing six knights' service, to the archbishopric of Palermo in December 1157.²¹⁰

The king was by far the greatest landholder on the island, and his rule there was far more secure than on the mainland – Calabria perhaps excepted. King Roger had after all fought a series of campaigns over almost a decade before fully consolidating his regime in Apulia and Capua, and William I faced serious rebellions on the mainland in both 1155–6 and 1161–2. The border provinces were indeed not entirely secure until Queen Margaret's pacification of Robert of Loritello in 1169. The government may well have felt that it could not afford to alienate much of its real property on the mainland, at least up to the reign of William II. Even he, for all his reputation for piety, was not in fact generous with his mainland property. By contrast, Roger I's prudence in his territorial settlement of the island after the eventual completion of the conquest in 1091, reserving much of the island for himself, allowed his successors to devote some of the royal resources there to the endowment of churches – although until the reign of William II such benefactions remained prudent and measured.²¹¹

Certainly donations of real property to mainland churches were extremely few. Where they did take place, the reason was often political, as with the donation of the *castellum* of Montecorvino to the archbishopric of Salerno in August 1167. This surely reflects the prominence of Archbishop Romuald at the royal court at this period, and in particular his involvement in the election of Stephen of Perche as archbishop of Palermo. However, since this *castellum* was according to the donation charter derelict at this time, this may not have been that generous a gift

²⁰⁸ *William I Diplomata*, 26–8 no. 9; *Tancred Diplomata*, 34–46 no. 14. Cf. *Falcandus*, 45, for the arrest of Maio's family. Although Simon was not expressly named here, one assumes that he was included; certainly he disappears from the record thereafter.

²⁰⁹ *William I Diplomata*, *deperdita* no. 31; *Documenti inediti*, 124–6 no. 54 (which notes the earlier donation).

²¹⁰ *William I Diplomata*, 60–4 no. 22. (The earlier edition by Pirro, *Sicilia Sacra*, i.97–8, is not very accurate.)

²¹¹ For Roger I and landholding in Sicily, see S. Tramontana, 'Popolazione, distribuzione della terra e classi sociali nella Sicilia di Ruggero il Granconte', in *Ruggero il Gran Conte e l'inizio dello stato normanno* (Relazioni e comunicazioni nelle Seconde Giornate normanno-svevi, Bari, maggio 1975, Rome 1977), 213–70; and Loud, *Age of Robert Guiscard*, 173–85.

either.²¹² Around the same time the minority government also gave a *castellum* near Benevento to the bishop of Aversa, but such grants were otherwise very unusual.²¹³ With regard to some other churches, the apparent lack of royal benefactions is surprising. Thus in 1182 Countess Sybilla of Lesina noted, while making a donation to one of the Apulian dependencies of Holy Trinity, Cava, that 'our most glorious lord king seems to love it [Cava] above almost all other [monasteries]',²¹⁴ and that this was not mere rhetoric is shown by the staffing of William II's cherished foundation of Monreale with monks from Cava, who continued to follow the customs of that abbey. A very substantial part of the medieval archive of Cava has survived (including more than 3,500 documents from the twelfth century), and yet there are no extant donations of William II towards it.

One of the few apparent property donations to mainland churches (other than during the minority of William II) was that of King Roger giving the nuns of S. Maria, Brindisi, 80 villeins from his demesne land at Mesagne (13 km south-west of the city along the Via Appia), made in September 1133, towards the end of his military campaign on the mainland in that year. Yet the full details of that gift also illustrate certain more common features of royal policy towards churches, especially on the mainland. The king's diploma in fact placed this donation as an addition to a general confirmation of the property of the nunnery, and of the gifts previously granted by others, notably Bohemond I of Antioch and Count Geoffrey of Conversano. Secondly, lordship over the peasants was expressed in terms of fixing what they should render, in both money and kind, each year to the nuns. It was really a grant of revenues rather than actual ownership of these unfree peasants.²¹⁵ Most of the extant royal diplomas are in fact confirmations of existing property and rights, taking churches under royal protection, which was no doubt useful and valuable to them, especially where their properties were recorded in some detail, but did not contain any grants of extra property.

Quite frequently such diplomas confirmed specific earlier gifts or documents. So, for example, in October 1144, as part of his inquest into existing privileges carried out in that year, King Roger confirmed to the bishop-elect

²¹² Paesano, *Memorie della chiesa salernitana*, ii.175–6, where we are told *quod olim castrum fuit et nunc dirutum est*; for Romuald at court, *Falcandus*, 88, 92, 94, 111, 122 (*Tyrants*, 137, 139–40, 143, 161). It is possible too that Queen Margaret wanted to repay the archbishop for his ministrations to her dying husband, above, p. 273.

²¹³ Kehr, *Urkunden*, 437 no. 18.

²¹⁴ *Actes de l'abbaye de Cava concernant le Gargano*, 146–9 no. 52, at 147.

²¹⁵ *Roger II Diplomata*, 81–3 no. 29 (also *Cod. Dipl. Brindisiano*, i.26–7 no. 14).

of Cassano, in Calabria, nine previous privileges given to his see, including a Greek charter of Robert Guiscard (which may have been a forgery), three charters of Duke Roger Borsa (two in Latin, one in Greek), and a Latin charter of Count Roger I.²¹⁶ In January 1155 William I confirmed a Greek charter of Duke Robert of 1066 for the bishopric of Tropea in Calabria, this earlier document being already badly damaged ‘through age’ – the confirmation charter therefore included a word-for-word Latin translation. Sometimes such a confirmation was necessary because of dispute, as when in December 1156 William confirmed a church to the see of Lipari/Patti that had been given to it, probably at least 20 years earlier, by his great-uncle Count Henry of Paterno. The latter’s son Simon had subsequently disputed this donation, but on his recent deathbed had returned it. Perhaps not surprisingly, the bishop-elect, Gilbert, was keen for the king to confirm his church’s rights over this dependency.²¹⁷

What the rulers did give, however, to a number of the archbishoprics and some favoured bishoprics was a share, usually a tenth, of their income from the district (the *baiulatio*) in which the cathedral was situated, and sometimes certain other specific revenues also. Here they followed a precedent established by the Norman dukes of Apulia. Robert Guiscard had, for example, granted or confirmed a tithe of his revenues from Salerno to its archbishop as early as 1080, to which his son Roger Borsa had added the city’s Jewry in 1090 and a tithe of his revenues from the port in 1103.²¹⁸ Duke Robert also granted a tithe of his revenues from Troia to its bishop in 1081, a grant which his son confirmed in 1093. Roger Borsa gave a similar share of his revenues to the bishop of Melfi, as well as the Jews of the city in 1094, and in 1103 he granted a tithe of those from Amalfi to its archbishop (an especially useful grant given the extent of Amalfitan commercial activity and the small size of the diocese).²¹⁹

The kings both confirmed these grants and gave similar privileges to a number of other sees. Thus Roger II confirmed his uncle’s grant to the bishopric of Troia in 1129, and granted a tithe of his revenues from

²¹⁶ *Roger II Diplomata*, no. 64 A, printed as an appendix to *William I Diplomata*, 150–4.

²¹⁷ *William I Diplomata*, 14–16 no. 5, 44–6 no. 12. According to *Falcandus*, 22, Count Simon had died at Policastro, as he was preparing to leave for the royal court, to which he had been summoned in order to be arrested, for the king regarded him with suspicion, as he did the other nobles who were related to him (cf. *Tyrants*, 75). Count Henry had died between 1136 and 1141.

²¹⁸ Ménager, *Recueil*, 110–13 no. 35; L. A. Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae*, i (Milan 1738), 899–900; A. Balducci, *Archivio della curia arcivescovile di Salerno*, i. *Regesto delle pergamene* (Salerno 1945), 100 nos. 35–6.

²¹⁹ Ménager, *Recueil*, 120–2 no. 38; *Chartes de Troia*, 142–4 no. 132; Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vii.200–1; *ibid.*, i.923. Enzensberger, *Beiträge*, 145 no. 7 (a retrospective reference from 1288).

Giovinazzo to its bishop in 1134.²²⁰ William I gave a tenth of his revenues from Trani to the archbishop, and the archbishops of Taranto and Bari both received a tithe of the revenues from these towns under William II. One of latter's predecessors had, however, been granted the city's Jewry nearly a century earlier, by Roger Borsa in 1086.²²¹ This grant was confirmed by the duke's brother Bohemond in 1093, as was the archbishop's right to lordship over all the prostitutes of the city (something which hardly surprisingly was not stressed in later Bari documents).²²² King Tancred, no doubt anxious to consolidate the loyalty of the kingdom's prelates, made several such grants of regalian revenues: to the bishop of Bovino in November 1190, adding the tithe of royal revenues from Oria to those of Brindisi already long held by its archbishop, in July 1191, and granting the bishop of Monopoli a fixed sum from the royal revenues of that city in October 1191.²²³ Tancred also ordered the reorganisation and augmentation of the revenues received by the archbishop of Salerno, adding extra funds from the city's dye-works. This was in response to a request from Archbishop Nicholas, one of his most important, and most loyal, supporters.²²⁴ These favours to churchmen were the counterpart to the similar concessions that Tancred made to the towns of the *regno* to secure their support.²²⁵

Unfortunately all too often we cannot trace the origin of such grants to prelates, and we know that a particular see possessed this valuable income only through a retrospective reference in the early years of the Staufen period. Henry VI confirmed to the bishop of Chieti all that his church had held from his predecessors, including a tithe of the bridge and port tolls of Aterno (modern Pescara), in 1195. The bishop of Agrigento complained to the Empress Constance in 1198 that his church had 'for a long time' been denied the tenth of port dues from its diocese, which it should rightfully have had, and as the other Sicilian bishoprics received. The archbishop of Messina was 'accustomed' to receive the tithe of the city revenues in 1200.²²⁶ The bishop of Aversa was apparently granted his tithe of the revenues from this *baiulatio* by Constance, but this is known only from a

²²⁰ *Roger II Diplomata*, 35–8 no. 12; 104–6 no. 37.

²²¹ *Carte di Trani*, 148–9 no. 69; *Le pergamene dell'archivio arcivescovile di Taranto (1083–1258)*, ed. F. Magistrale (Galatina 1999), 39–45 no. 11; *Constance Diplomata*, 19–23 no. 5; Ménager, *Recueil*, 171–2 no. 47.

²²² *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.65–7 note. ²²³ *Tancred Diplomata*, 24–5 no. 9, 38–41 nos. 16–17, 48–9 no. 20.

²²⁴ Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, 323–32 no. IV (*Tancred Diplomata*, 10–13 nos. 4–5).

²²⁵ D. S. H. Abulafia, *The Two Italies. Economic Relations between the Norman Kingdom of Sicily and the Northern Communes* (Cambridge 1977), 173.

²²⁶ Clementi, 'Calendar of Henry VI', 170–2 no. 84; *Constance Diplomata*, 222–5 no. 62 (*Più antiche carte di Agrigento*, 90–2 no. 40); *Diplomi della cattedrale di Messina*, 54–5 no. 41.

later confirmation of 1221.²²⁷ A number of other examples could also be cited. These revenues could sometimes be extremely valuable. At Messina in 1200, the church's share of the revenues from the new city bath-house alone, which were only a small part of what it received, amounted to 2,000 *tari*. Meanwhile, at Palermo the archbishopric's tithe of royal revenues was fixed in 1194/5 to 29,200 *tari*, or 973 $\frac{1}{3}$ *unciae*, in addition to the considerable landed estates of the see, and its income from the Jewry and dye-works of Palermo.²²⁸ Again, we do not know when this share of the ruler's revenues was first conceded, although Archbishop Peter of Palermo was in dispute with the abbot of Lipari (not yet raised to episcopal rank) about the tithe from Termini Imerese in 1130, and it would appear from this case that the original grant went back to the time of Roger I. It was rare for such revenues to be granted to religious houses. Lipari, however, obtained part of the revenues from Termini in the agreement eventually reached with the archbishop in 1130, in addition to the tithe of revenues from the Jews there that Countess Adelaide had previously given it in 1107.²²⁹ Duke William of Apulia had granted the abbey of Cava a tithe from his income from two market places outside Salerno in 1124, which by the time of William II had expanded to become a tithe of all market revenues from the city, as well as a share of the other 'royal tithe' revenues payable to the archbishop.²³⁰ The nuns of S. Maria, Messina, received a fixed annual render of salt, tuna fish, wheat and barley, as well as a subvention for the costs of carriage, from the king.²³¹ But these appear to have been exceptional cases.

We should, however, register several reservations. First, the grant of such revenues was not a specifically royal prerogative, even if the great majority of such concessions did come from the kings or their predecessors as territorial rulers. This was because most of the more important urban centres of the *regno* lay under direct royal lordship. But where a baronial lord possessed a town, he might sometimes also grant a share of his revenues to its prelate. Thus Count Geoffrey of Conversano gave the archbishop of Brindisi a tithe of his income from that city in 1100.

²²⁷ *Diplomi inediti di Capua*, 38–41, appendix no. 2 (*Acta Imperii Inedita*, i.189–90 no. 211).

²²⁸ *William III Diplomata*, no. 6, in *Tancred Diplomata*, 102–4; Clementi, 'Calendar of Henry VI', 133–4 no. 141; *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, ed. J. L. A. Huillard-Breholles (6 vols. in 12 parts, Paris 1852–61), i.181–4, 372–4.

²²⁹ *Roger II Diplomatum*, 3–4 no. 1; 262–4 appendix II/2 (the latter also in Pirro, *Sicula Sacra*, i.84–5).

²³⁰ *Normanische Herzogs- und Königsurkunden aus Unteritalien und Sizilien*, ed. L. von Heinemann (Tübingen 1899), 30–1 no. 18; *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, vi(2).571–2; and above note 221.

²³¹ *William I Diplomata*, 58–9 no. 21 (June 1157): it is clear from this mandate that this was a long-established subsidy.

Similarly the bishop of Canne obtained his tithe of its revenues from the lord of the city in 1157.²³² Secondly, only a minority of the kingdom's prelates enjoyed this lucrative benefit. Fewer than half the 46 sees in Apulia received these tithes of seigniorial revenue, and as we have seen, several such grants came only quite late in the twelfth century. Nor were all such grants comprehensive: some were limited to certain categories of revenue, and while they almost always comprised a share of revenues from the cathedral town, they did not necessarily include those from the entire diocese. Thus in November 1195 the Empress Constance added a tithe of the crown's revenues from Gioia to the 'royal tithe' at Bari that the archbishop had received in the time of William II.²³³ Similarly, while the archbishops of Salerno and Bari, and the bishop of Melfi, possessed the Jews of their cathedral towns through grants of Duke Roger, their counterparts at Capua only acquired the city Jewry through a grant by Constance in 1198, one of the various rewards Archbishop Matthew gained for his see through his loyalty to the Staufen cause after 1190, and the archbishop's possession of the tithe of the *baiulatio* is attested only in 1208.²³⁴ The archbishop of Cosenza gained a tithe of the town revenues and from its Jewish community from Duke Roger Borsa, but full ownership of the Jews and the dye-works there was only acquired a century or more later, from Frederick II in 1212.²³⁵

Furthermore, as the complaint of the bishop of Agrigento in 1195 shows, it was not always easy to secure payment of the revenues to which churches were entitled. The archbishop of Cosenza was also complaining about the non-payment of his royal tithe in 1196, and the empress had to issue a sharp order to her local officials to ensure full payment of the tithes owing to the archbishop of Trani in September 1198.²³⁶ Henry VI reduced the sum paid to the archbishop of Palermo by almost half, since there had been a substantial drop in total civic revenues (probably reflecting the disruption caused by his conquest).²³⁷ In the early thirteenth century, during the minority of Frederick II and his subsequent absence in Germany, such royal revenues and regalian property were sometimes alienated. Neither the

²³² *Cod. Dipl. Brindisiano*, i.18–20 no. 10; *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, viii.116–18 no. 81.

²³³ *Constance Diplomata*, 19–23 no. 5 (also in *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.127–8 no. 65). Discussion: Martin, *Pouille*, 605–9.

²³⁴ *Constance Diplomata*, 217–19 no. 60; Innocent III, *Registrum*, XI.125, MPL 215, cols. 1437–9. Loud, *Church and Society*, 187–8.

²³⁵ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, ix.192–3 (Duke William's confirmation of 1113); *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, i.206–7.

²³⁶ *Constance Diplomata*, 138–41 no. 39, 220–2 no. 61.

²³⁷ Clementi, 'Calendar of Henry VI', 194–5 no. 105.

Jews nor the dye-works of Palermo were actually in the possession of the archbishop when Frederick eventually returned to Sicily in 1221. And under Frederick the possession by churches of regalian property was often commuted in return for a fixed money payment, which was of course vulnerable to inflation. On the other hand, if the Jewish community was in decline, as that of Palermo apparently was during Frederick's reign, such cash compensation may have been in the church's interest.²³⁸ It has been argued too that the reliance of the Church within the kingdom on revenues emanating directly from the crown ensured that its prelates would be subservient to royal interests.²³⁹ But while there may be an element of truth in this, it ought not to be overstressed. If the prelates who possessed this income tended to be those who held the more important sees, usually the archbishoprics or exempt sees, they were still in a minority. It is possible that this was a more significant factor in the thirteenth century than before, but even when prelates enjoyed such 'state' revenues, this was not automatically a guarantee of prosperity. If the archbishop of Palermo, to take the most extreme example, derived a huge revenue from the crown (even after Henry VI's economy measures), others did not. In Calabria, by contrast, even prelates who were paid 'royal tithes' (and they were few) might still have a pretty exiguous income.²⁴⁰

Other royal privileges granted churches, especially monasteries, limited exemptions from seigneurial or commercial dues. The former might include freedom from the *herbaticum* or tax on animals grazing, and from the *plateaticum* or market tax, also levied on pack animals carrying goods.²⁴¹ Privileges like these, of course, replicated those given by other lords, albeit on a much larger scale. The men subject to a church might also be freed from services to the state, such as labour on the repair of fortresses.²⁴² However, some favoured monasteries received more

²³⁸ Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, i.109, iii.1111. I. Peri, *Uomini, città e campagne in Sicilia dall' XI al XIII secolo* (Bari 1978), 108.

²³⁹ Kamp, 'Die unteritalienische Episkopat', 104–5.

²⁴⁰ Thus the archbishop of Rossano, whose rights over Jews, dye-works, salt pans and at least some tithes of crown income went back to the reign of Roger II, still had a thirteenth-century income of only 40 *unciae* a year, Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, ii.872.

²⁴¹ E.g. in the privileges to St Sophia, Benevento, in July 1134, and to the Hospitallers in October 1136, *Roger II Diplomata*, 106–8 no. 38, 119–23 no. 43 (subsequently confirmed by William II in 1179, *Cartulaire générale des Hospitaliers*, i.382–3 no. 562), and Queen Margaret and William II's privilege for the Sicilian dependencies of St Mary of the Latins in March 1168, Holtzmann, 'Papst-, Kaiser- und Normannenurkunden' (1955), 71–2 no. 8.

²⁴² Cusa, *Diplomi*, 421–3, Queen Margaret confirming an earlier privilege of Roger II for the Greek monastery of St Philip of Demenna, November 1171. Cf. Frederick II's privilege for St Mary of Jehosaphat, June 1221, *Acta Imperii Inedita*, 210–11 no. 228.

wide-ranging economic benefits. So, for example, among the various properties and benefits that Roger II granted to the bishop of Catania and his cathedral monastery of St Agatha in 1125 was the freedom of their ships from tolls between Catania and Mascali (30 km to the north).²⁴³ Similar, indeed rather more generous exemptions were given to Cefalù in 1132 (see below).

Particular beneficiaries of this sort of privilege were those monasteries of the Holy Land that possessed dependencies on the island of Sicily. In March 1168 William II and his mother granted St Mary of the Latins (or in practice its dependent priory at Agira) the right to export each year from Messina, free of customs duties, 200 sides of bacon, 100 barrels of (presumably salted) tuna, 100 lambskin cloaks, 400 rabbit skins, 30 oxhides, and 200 ells of linen and another 200 of woollen cloth, all this to be for the personal use of the monks of the church, as well as to import a small quantity of textiles from Jerusalem. The intention here was not to give the monastery any commercial advantage, simply to allow the monks to acquire foodstuffs and clothing for themselves free of charge. In December 1194 Henry VI added the right to export 200 *salmae* of wheat free of duty from Messina, Catania or Syracuse.²⁴⁴ In April 1185 William II also issued a privilege for the abbey of St Mary in the valley of Jehosophat, just outside the walls of Jerusalem, which also had extensive holdings in the kingdom of Sicily. This was, or purported to be, a replacement for an earlier privilege of King Roger lost when an earthquake had devastated their dependent priory in Catania. (Presumably this was the great tremor of February 1169, which had destroyed most of that city: the monks seem to have been somewhat slow off the mark here.) On the testimony of the *portulani* of Messina that the monastery did legitimately possess this right, the king allowed the monks to export from Messina, free of duty, tuna, cheese, skins, crockery, linen for the brothers' clothing, iron and wood, for which the *portulani* would be allowed a credit of 120 *tari* a year in their account. (Presumably this meant that the monks were permitted to export free of charge commodities on which the duty would be up to this sum.) If the church's own ship came to Messina, it was to be exempt from the anchorage tax, and its cargo would be free of duty. This privilege was subsequently renewed by both Constance and Frederick II, the latter in 1221 increasing the tax-free allowance up to 150 *tari* a year.²⁴⁵

²⁴³ Cusa, *Diplomi*, 554–6.

²⁴⁴ Holtzmann, 'Papst-, Kaiser- und Normannenurkunden' (1955), 70–1 no. 7, 72–4 no. 9 (Clementi, 'Calendar of Henry VI', 131–3 no. 39).

²⁴⁵ *Documenti inediti*, 200–2 no. 82; *Constance Diplomata*, 49–52 no. 12; *Acta Imperii Inedita*, 210–11 no. 228.

These grants might be seen as a way, albeit modest, in which the king supported the Christians in the Holy Land, although William II really did very little to justify the extravagant claims made on his behalf by Archbishop Romuald of Salerno at the Venice peace conference in 1177, where his credentials as a defender of the faith were outrageously exaggerated.²⁴⁶ However, the rulers were not unduly generous with such duty-free allowances. In particular, although the abbey of Cava possessed a ship of its own from the early twelfth century onwards, and (famously) received a very similar privilege to those described above from King Baldwin IV of Jerusalem in 1181, it never acquired an equivalent customs privilege from the kings of Sicily.²⁴⁷ In fact, the rulers were more likely to grant such (limited) exemptions to monastic houses outside the kingdom, something that continued in the thirteenth century, as when Frederick II gave the Cistercian abbey of Casamari, in the southern papal states, the right to export 100 barrels of tuna for the monks' own use free of duty in 1219.²⁴⁸ Such grants were intended to assist a few favoured houses to acquire necessary commodities for themselves: Sicilian tuna was, for example, much prized. But since they were not designed to give churches commercial advantages, and the kingdom was self-sufficient in most resources, native churches did not need such favours, although some, as we have seen, received limited exemptions from internal tolls.

However, a regalian right that was useful, and was granted to a number of churches, was licence to possess and operate fisheries: either at the mouths of rivers and in coastal lagoons, or sea fisheries, especially for tuna and sardines, mainly off the coast of Sicily. This right was both economically valuable, and necessary for churchmen if they were to observe the Friday and Lenten dietary requirements. Churches in the Campania and northern Apulia often already possessed such fisheries before the Norman conquest, or had been given them by Norman lords before the unification of the kingdom. Montecassino, for example, already possessed a valuable fishery on the Lago di Lesina, on the north of the Gargano peninsula, in the late tenth century, while Count Peter of Civitate granted its Abruzzi dependency of the Holy Liberator, Majella, the right to have a net at the mouth of the river there in 1086. Cava, meanwhile, was given fishing rights in the bay of Taranto by Richard the Seneschal in 1081.²⁴⁹ But

²⁴⁶ Romuald, 290. ²⁴⁷ Guillaume, *Essai historique*, p. xxxix, appendix N.

²⁴⁸ *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, i(2).685.

²⁴⁹ *Colonie cassinesi in Capitanata*, i. *Lesina*, 63–5 no. 18, 73–4 no. 24; G. Guerrieri, *Il conte normanno Riccardo Siniscalco (1081–1115) e i monasteri benedettini cinesi in Terra d'Orranto* (sec. xi–xiv) (Trani 1899), 53–4 no. 3 (also ed. Guillaume, *Essai historique*, pp. xi–xii, appendix D).

in Calabria and Sicily such rights, especially the very valuable ones over sea fishing, came from the kings. Thus in March 1132 Roger gave his newly founded church at Cefalù all the tuna and other fishing from its port.²⁵⁰ Henry VI gave the archbishopric of Palermo a tithe of all the tuna fisheries there, which Frederick II in 1211 insisted should actually be paid in fish, and not commuted for money, although the church could presumably, if its clergy wished, profit from resale of the (salted) tuna.²⁵¹ Such sea fisheries did not just provide for the clergy themselves – they became increasingly large-scale commercial operations, and thus of considerable value.²⁵²

The regalian rights which the rulers were most reluctant to grant were those of justice. The kings were willing, for example, to respect such traditional rights as giving sanctuary to those accused,²⁵³ but only a very few privileged churchmen ever received judicial powers, and such privileges as were granted almost always reserved jurisdiction over more serious crimes to the crown and its officials. William I granted the bishop of Troia, in 1156, judicial authority over the men of his church: ‘the bishop and chapter shall be justiciar of their men, except if they are accused of the crime of treason’, as well as a wide-ranging immunity from public obligations.²⁵⁴ William II granted the Greek abbot of the Holy Saviour, Messina, jurisdiction over the Val di Tuccio in 1177, but he exempted from this all crimes that would normally appertain to the central royal court (the *Magna Regia Curia*), as well as any sailors in that region who were directly subject to the crown.²⁵⁵ However, very few other churchmen were granted such rights, although the abbot of Monreale was made justiciar over that abbey’s lands in William II’s foundation charter in 1176 (see below, p. 330). This example was to be followed later by the Staufen rulers, but again only for a very few favoured churchmen. Frederick II, for example, appointed Abbot Balsamon of Cava and Archbishop Nicholas of Salerno as justiciars for their churches’ lands in 1209 and 1220 respectively, although the former privilege was for Balsamon only, and not to be exercised by his successors.

²⁵⁰ *Rollus Rubeus, Privilegia Ecclesie Cephaleditane*, ed. C. Mirto (Documenti per servire all storia di Sicilia, Ser. I.29, Palermo 1972), 61–3.

²⁵¹ Clementi, ‘Calendar of Henry VI’, 195 no. 106; *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, i.186–7.

²⁵² H. Bresc, ‘La Pêche dans l’espace économique normand’, in *Terra e uomini nel Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo* (Atti delle settime giornate normanno-sveve, Bari 1985), ed. G. Musca (Bari 1987), 271–91, especially 275–80.

²⁵³ E.g. *Regesto di S. Leonardo di Siponto*, 45–6 no. 71 (which should be redated to December 1182, not 1167 as in the edition).

²⁵⁴ *William I Diplomata*, 38–41 no. 14 (*Chartes de Troia*, 237–41 no. 75). There is a useful, brief discussion of this issue by Enzensberger, ‘Der “bose” und der “gute” Wilhelm’, 421–3.

²⁵⁵ *Documenti inediti*, 168 no. 69.

He also gave the archbishop of Monreale the right to hold courts at Palermo or elsewhere in the kingdom to judge cases involving men of the abbey, not just within its lands.²⁵⁶ When Henry VI granted the abbot of St Sophia, Benevento, the lordship of Finicchio, which had been confiscated from a supporter of Tancred, in 1195, he conferred full criminal as well as civil jurisdiction over it on the abbot, a most unusual concession. But it was noticeable that when Frederick II recognised the abbey's rights over this lordship almost 30 years later, he cancelled the judicial privilege – criminal cases here were to be heard as normal by the imperial justiciars.²⁵⁷ While a few other abbey churches would have liked to exercise such rights, these claims exist only in later forgeries, as was the case with Montevergine. Neither the Norman kings, nor their Staufan successors, were keen to allow judicial franchises, and they always reserved serious cases that concerned public order or the stability of the state for their own courts.

If the kings were, for the most part, more likely to give revenues, fiscal exemptions or *regalia* to churches than real property, there was one significant exception. This came with those churches that they themselves founded on the island of Sicily. King Roger made four such foundations: the Greek abbey of the Holy Saviour, Messina (c. 1130/1),²⁵⁸ the abbey-bishopric of Cefalù (1131), the palace chapel at Palermo (1140), and the monastery of St John of the Hermits, also in Palermo and close to the royal palace (perhaps 1142/8). Queen Margaret founded the Benedictine house of S. Maria of Maniace (c. 1169), and, above all, there was the abbey of Monreale, founded by William II in 1174 and made the seat of an archbishopric in 1183. These churches received substantial – and in the case of Monreale vast – landed endowments, and in addition undoubtedly substantial monetary contributions towards their construction, although detailed record of the latter has not survived. Indeed, the extant documentation for these royal foundations is patchy – only a few twelfth-century charters survive for the monastery of St John, for example; several of them very doubtful, as indeed is even the conjectured date of foundation.²⁵⁹ The

²⁵⁶ *Friderici II Diplomata 1198–1212*, ed. W. Koch (MGH *Diplomatum* xiv(i), Hannover 2002), 293–5 no. 151 (*Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, i.151–2, 204–5); *Codice diplomatico salernitano*, i.124–5 no. 53.

²⁵⁷ Loud, 'Monarchy and monastery', 286–7, 290–1.

²⁵⁸ Discussed below, chapter 9.

²⁵⁹ S. Fodale, 'San Giovanni degli eremiti: una discussa presenza in Sicilia dei monaci di Montevergine', in *La società meridionale nelle pergamene di Montevergine. I Normanni chiamano gli Svevi* (Atti del secondo convegno internazionale, Montevergine 1989), 91–100. As Fodale points out, the evidence linking this foundation with Montevergine is extremely dubious.

supposed foundation charter of July 1148 is a thirteenth-century forgery, although it is possible that a genuine original lay behind it. So too is the only diploma of William I relating to this house, which is a product of the mid-thirteenth-century dispute between the abbey and the bishop of Agrigento concerning the church of S. Maria of Rifesi.²⁶⁰ Maniace was made subject to Monreale on the latter's foundation, and became but one increasingly insignificant part of its massive endowment. On the other hand, where we do have extensive information, especially with regard to the early history of Cefalù and Monreale, the scale and workings of royal patronage are revealing.

The foundation stone of the church of the Holy Saviour at Cefalù was laid on Whitsunday (7 June) 1131. According to the account that headed the fourteenth-century chartulary, the 'Red Roll', of the cathedral, the king had vowed to found the church after being caught in a storm while returning from the mainland to Sicily – if he was brought to safety, he would found a church wherever he landed as thanksgiving. The story is, unfortunately, late (copied in 1329) and smacks of legend – and some of the details in this account, such as the date when Augustinian canons from Bagnara were installed there, as well as in the brief catalogue of early bishops that follows it, are demonstrably wrong.²⁶¹ But the endowment and privileges of the new see, which Anacletus II made the seat of a bishopric in September 1131, are well documented. The creation of the bishopric required the agreement of Archbishop Hugh of Messina, from whose diocese the new see was carved: the recompense being the promotion of Messina to archiepiscopal rank with Cefalù as its suffragan. In February and March 1132 Roger granted the new bishop and his cathedral priory a substantial block of lands and 171 villeins, the great majority of whom had Arabic names. In addition, the king gave the church the tuna fishery and other fishing at the port, exemption from the dues that would normally be levied on ships plying to and from Bagnara, and on any products of its estates sent by sea, provided that these went no further than Amalfi. Food and lumber imported for the inhabitants of the town were also exempted. A privilege was also granted to the townspeople, which *inter alia* freed them from any obligation for military service.²⁶² Subsequently, in 1136, Roger arranged an exchange with the abbey of

²⁶⁰ *Roger II Diplomata*, 217–23 no. †76; *William I Diplomata*, 55–8 no. †20.

²⁶¹ *Rollus Rubeus*, 25–6, 32–3.

²⁶² Pirro, *Sicilia Sacra*, 389–90; Cusa, *Diplomi*, 472–80; Garufi, 'Censimento e catasto', 101–4; *Rollus Rubeus*, 39–41, 46–7, 61–3. Discussion, especially White, *Latin Monasticism*, 189–90; Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, 71–4.

Mileto, in which the latter gave Cefalù two churches near the town, their lands and 38 villeins, 11 of whom were Christians and 27 Muslims. In return the king compensated the Calabrian abbey with the dye-works at Vibo Valentia, along with Leo the Jew and his family (did he run this?), various small properties in the territories of Mileto and Umbriatico, and 39 villeins, almost all of whom were (from their names) Greeks. This he appears to have done out of his own resources.²⁶³ In 1145, as well as confirming his earlier donations, the king added to his endowment the whole town of Cefalù, with all the income that he had previously derived from it, and gave the church jurisdiction over all civil cases and less serious criminal offences. He also repeated and extended his earlier privilege to the citizens.²⁶⁴

The 1145 privilege also revealed, for the first time, that it was the king's intention to be buried in Cefalù, for it recorded that he had placed two porphyry sarcophagi in the church, one next to the canons' choir where his remains would rest, the other to remain empty as 'an extraordinary memorial of our name' (*ad insignem memoriam nostri nominis*). By this stage, therefore, it appears that the eastern part of the cathedral, at least, was nearing completion: the mosaics in the apse were completed in 1148.²⁶⁵ A further sign of continued royal favour was the acknowledgement by the prior and canons of Bagnara that their church should henceforth be subject to Cefalù, as the king had always intended, which took place at the royal court in April 1146, where the canons swore fealty to the bishop-elect of Cefalù. Their formal submission was witnessed by both the king's surviving sons and a selection of the leading churchmen from Calabria and Sicily, including the archbishop of Reggio and the archbishop-elect of Palermo. Despite the stress in the record that this was 'in no way coerced, but rather of our free and spontaneous wish', the canons' surrender surely reflected what the king wished.²⁶⁶

However, if Roger had intended Cefalù to be the mausoleum, and perhaps the ideological centre of his dynasty, this hope was frustrated by the uncertain status of the cathedral. Sanctioned by Anacletus, the bishopric was therefore refused recognition by the papacy after 1139. Its prelates, while they continued to style themselves *electi*, 'bishops-elect', rather than simply abbots, to which title their counterparts at Lipari sometimes reverted, did not

²⁶³ *Documenti inediti*, 25–6 no. 11; *Roger II Diplomata*, 116–18 no. 42 (also ed. White, *Latin Monasticism*, 255–6 no. 14).

²⁶⁴ *Roger II Diplomata*, 197–200 no. 68.

²⁶⁵ E. Borsook, *Messages in Mosaic. The Royal Programmes of Norman Sicily, 1130–1187* (Oxford 1990), 8–9.

²⁶⁶ *Roger II Diplomata*, 271–3 appendix II no. 6; the fealty was recorded in a corresponding charter of Jocelmus of Cefalù, Caspar, *Roger II*, 565 no. 204.

receive consecration, nor indeed did the cathedral. The *electi* had to ask other bishops to dedicate churches in their dioceses.²⁶⁷ Roger was eventually buried in a hastily contrived sarcophagus in Palermo cathedral, and the bishop-elect only finally received consecration in 1166.²⁶⁸ During the minority of William II the canons petitioned the queen-mother that Roger's body should be returned to their church, which, they said, he had built 'at great expense'. They claimed too that William I had also expressed a wish to be buried there in the other tomb, but these pleas had no effect.²⁶⁹ With the archbishop of Palermo leading the royal *familiaries*, such a scenario was hardly probable. Nor, despite the canons' claims, had William I shown much, if any, interest in Cefalù. He may have given the church some vestments – although the inventory that claims that these were royal donations is undated, and one suspects that Roger was the more likely donor. He also, according to later local tradition, confirmed the earlier donation of the church of St Lucy at Syracuse, made by King Roger's niece Adelicia in 1140. But there were no further royal donations, and if the material fortunes of Cefalù increased during his reign, this was not due to the king, but to the continued patronage of Adelicia of Aderno and of another aristocratic widow, Lucy of Cammerata.²⁷⁰ The transfer of royal favour to other recipients meant that the cathedral remained incomplete. The original scheme may well have envisaged mosaics covering the entire church, as at Monreale, but this was never realised. The mosaics that were completed were confined to the apse and presbytery, and these were done during Roger's reign. Only one transept was vaulted, the gallery was left incomplete, and the nave was eventually finished, perhaps only in the early thirteenth century, to a lower height than originally envisaged.²⁷¹ And while the canons' petition c. 1170 shows that the two antique sarcophagi were still then at Cefalù, at some point thereafter, probably in the early thirteenth century, they were removed to Palermo cathedral, where one was eventually used for the tomb of Henry VI and the other for that of Frederick II in 1250.²⁷²

²⁶⁷ In 1140, Bishop Drogo of Squillace, and in 1153, Archbishop John of Bari, *Diplomi inediti relativi all'ordinamento della proprietà fondiaria*, 113–15 no. 37, *Documenti inediti*, 64–5 no. 27.

²⁶⁸ Romuald, 196. *Diplomi inediti di Capua*, 93–4 no. 40 (15 December 1166), the earliest charter issued by 'Boso, first bishop of Cefalù'.

²⁶⁹ *Documenti inediti*, 106–9 no. 46. For an exhaustive discussion, J. Deér, *The Dynastic Porphyry Tombs of the Norman Period in Sicily* (Cambridge MA, 1959), 5–14.

²⁷⁰ *Rollus Rubeus*, 27–8 (*William I Diplomata*, deperdita no. 41), *Documenti inediti*, 80–1 no. 33. White, *Latin Monasticism*, 192–4.

²⁷¹ R. Salvini, 'Monuments of Norman art in Sicily and Southern Italy', in *The Normans in Sicily and Southern Italy* (Lincei Lectures 1974) (Oxford 1977), 84.

²⁷² Deér, *Dynastic Porphyry Tombs*, 17–23, who suggests that the tombs were moved shortly before Frederick's departure for Germany in 1212.

Roger's patronage was not confined to his new cathedral at Cefalù. His provision for his new palace chapel of St Peter, set out in its foundation charter of April 1140, endowed eight canonries, all to receive annual monetary stipends and food renders, as well as real property. Two of these prebends, the least well endowed, had been set up in memory of Roger's wife, Elvira, who had died in 1135. A confessional for the courtiers was also established. The chapel's endowment included the income from all the mills of Palermo. Later sources suggest that some of the food renders came from royal property at Termini Imerese.²⁷³ However, while the building of the chapel and the endowment of the chapter was the work of Roger, it would appear that the completion of the chapel and its elaborate decorative mosaic scheme took place under William I. Indeed, the chronicle of Romuald ascribed the entire decoration to King William. While an inscription in the apse, dated 1143, shows that this cannot be true, the considerable stylistic differences between the mosaics in the sanctuary and those in the rest of the church argue strongly for two distinct stages in the work of decoration. It has, indeed, been suggested that the original mosaic scheme was considerably altered, or even that there was a radical redesign of the chapel under William I, although not all art historians would concur with this view. The more obviously 'Byzantine' style of the apse mosaics, like that of the surviving mosaics at Cefalù, may well derive from skilled workmen imported from the Eastern Empire during the period of *détente* between c. 1143 and 1147. During the period of renewed conflict after 1147 this would obviously be impossible.²⁷⁴

The chapel was not simply intended as the place where the king and his household could worship. It was also an audience hall – indeed Roger may have intended this to be the primary function of the nave, and the richness and elaboration of the decoration, much of it Islamic and secular in origin, was thus intended to dazzle those admitted with the wealth and majesty of the ruler.²⁷⁵ The mosaic scheme also had an iconographical significance, although quite what that was has been much debated. The foundation charter saw the chapel as a thank-offering, first for the conquests of Robert Guiscard and Roger I, and especially for the latter's liberation of Sicily

²⁷³ *Roger II Diplomata*, 133–8 no. 48; Clementi, 'Calendar of Henry VI', 136–7 no. 43.

²⁷⁴ Borsook, *Royal Programmes*, 39–41; O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London 1950), 51–8; I. Beck, 'The first mosaics of the Capella Palatina in Palermo', *Byzantion* 40 (1970), 119–64. Romuald, 253–4; W. Tronzo, *The Cultures of his Kingdom. Roger II and the Capella Palatina in Palermo* (Princeton 1997).

²⁷⁵ Tronzo, *Cultures of his Kingdom*, 101–25, who suggests that the addition of the mosaics depicting the Old Testament under William I effectively extended the Byzantine-style church of the sanctuary, Christianising what had been up until then a primarily secular space.

‘from the Saracens, the enemies of the Christian faith’, and then for Roger’s own unification of southern Italy, only very recently completed. In a very real sense, the chapel was intended as a sign of the Divine justification of the kings’ rule. Images such as that of the enthroned Christ, flanked by Sts Peter and Paul, whom the king’s biographer Alexander of Telese saw as the two guards sent to him by Christ, ‘the one leading him by the right hand and the other by the left, [who] unceasingly guard and protect him’, underlined the Divinely sanctioned nature of Sicilian kingship, not least since it was placed directly over the dais where, at least in the late twelfth century, the king sat enthroned formally to receive visitors or to preside over court ceremonial.²⁷⁶ The chapel served a third function as well, since William I was buried in its crypt, until the relocation of his tomb to Monreale some 20 years later.

The endowment of William II’s church at Monreale surpassed those of the earlier royal foundations, just as the extraordinary size and magnificence of the finished edifice dwarfed them physically. The king’s new abbey was granted a huge swathe of the crown lands in western Sicily, and within a few years of its foundation had become the wealthiest landowner after the monarch in the island, and next to Montecassino (which had after all several centuries’ start) the wealthiest church in the kingdom of Sicily. Monreale was first mentioned in March 1174, when Archbishop Nicholas of Messina ceded all his rights as ecclesiastical superior of the monastery of Maniace to ‘the monastery that our lord king has ordered to be built . . . near the city of Palermo’, to which Queen Margaret had given Maniace. This was duly confirmed by Alexander III in December of that year, when he exempted the new abbey of St Mary from all episcopal jurisdiction.²⁷⁷ At this stage, however, it is not clear that the new monastery was anything more than a plan. Certainly its endowment did not take place for another 20 months, when William II issued what was effectively its foundation charter, on 15 August 1176, but the endowment granted then was without parallel for any other royal foundation. The abbey was granted the *castella* of Jato, Corleone and Calatrasi and all the territories attached to them, with all land actually held by the abbey to be free of any service to the crown. (The military service of any barons holding fiefs with this area was

²⁷⁶ *Al. Tel.* IV.8, p. 86. Borsook, *Royal Programmes*, 20–2, and plate 19. Tronzo, *Cultures of his Kingdom*, 68–78, argues that this arrangement dates from the reign of William II, when the western part of the chapel was considerably remodelled.

²⁷⁷ Pirro, *Sicilia Sacra*, ii.1256–7; Kehr, ‘Papsturkunden in Sizilien’, *Papsturkunden*, i.317. White, *Latin Monasticism*, 133–4. White’s discussion of the early history of Monreale, *ibid.*, 132–45, is still immensely useful, despite his trust in the so-called ‘Chronicle of Cava’.

reserved.) The property of any of these fief-holders who might die without heir would, however, escheat to the monastery, not the crown. In addition, the king gave the abbey the unfortified *casale* of *Bulchar*, two churches near Palermo (one of which was, apparently, next to the site of the new monastery), another in Messina, the Greek abbey of S. Maria Maccla in Calabria, a house that had once been considerably favoured by the dukes of Apulia, property at Palermo, the tuna fishery at the Isola delle Fémmine, five fishing boats at Palermo, and the entire town of Bitetto in Apulia (itself the seat of a bishopric, albeit a tiny one). He added a wide-ranging commercial exemption, free pasture for its animals on the royal demesne, and while these should be crossing any lands of his subjects. In addition, the abbot was to act as justiciar in his own lands, and decide all disputes among his men himself.²⁷⁸

William's foundation charter also stipulated that the abbot was to be elected from within the community, and then announced to the king, who would confirm the choice (following therefore normal procedure in such elections), and that the monks were to follow the Benedictine rule, *ad ordinem cavensis*. Unfortunately our most detailed source for the connection with Cava, the so-called *Chronicon Cavensis*, which contains a circumstantial account of how and when the new royal monastery was established, staffed by 100 monks from Cava, is a product of the early seventeenth century, and (at best) represents a very late Cava tradition. The more contemporary, if sketchy, *Annales Cavenses* make no reference to the foundation of Monreale, nor was the transfer of monks from Cava mentioned by Richard of S. Germano in the brief account of the foundation at the start of his chronicle, written in the 1230s. However, there can be no doubt that Monreale was staffed from Cava, for Lucius III noted, in his bull creating the archbishopric in 1183, that the king 'introduced a multitude of monks of the Cava order'.²⁷⁹ Although there was never any formal link between the two houses, some contemporaries connected them together. In April 1182 a certain John Ungarus made himself and his property jointly subject to Cava and Monreale, which two abbeys, he noted, were outstanding among the monastic houses of the kingdom; should his line fail, they were to inherit all his property, half and half.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁸ *Catologo illustrato del tabulario di S. Maria Nuova in Monreale*, 10–11 no. 15; full text in the reissue of October 1182, *Documenti inediti*, 175–83 no. 73. The Isola delle Fémmine lie to the west of Capo Gallo, some 15 km north-west, as the crow flies, from Palermo.

²⁷⁹ MPL 201, cols. 1178–83 no. 95, at 1179: *tandem multitudinem monachorum de Cavensi ordine introduxit*. For the 'chronicle', Guillaume, *Essai historique*, 125–32.

²⁸⁰ C. A. Garufi, 'Per la storia dei monasteri di Sicilia nel tempo normanno', *Archivio storico per la Sicilia* 6 (1940), 77–9 no. 5.

The creation of Monreale is notable in four principal respects. First, there was the sheer scale of the endowment, and the extent of its privileged status. The generosity which the king lavished on his own foundation contrasts with the relatively meagre benefactions that he made to other churches (apart perhaps from a certain very limited favour to the Cistercians who were just beginning to make an impact upon the kingdom of Sicily).²⁸¹ Secondly, there was the sheer speed with which the new church was constructed, and decorated on a lavish scale – testimony to the immense resources the king devoted to it. Third, the endowment of the abbey and its exemption from all other jurisdictions necessitated, not just royal gifts to Monreale itself, but a complex process of exchange and recompense, to compensate and reconcile the other Sicilian prelates who had surrendered property and jurisdiction to it. Finally, as we have already seen (above, p. 235), the promotion of the archbishopric in 1183 led to a significant reorganisation of the ecclesiastical structure on the island of Sicily, in which successive popes acted in accordance with the royal wishes.

The massive grant of crown land that William II made in 1176, and a further donation added two years later,²⁸² gave the abbot lordship over territory c. 1,200 square km in extent, with a large dependent population, most of whom were Muslim. The precise extent of this new lordship was set out in a bilingual, Latin–Arabic, boundary register drawn up in May 1182, and the subject population, or a substantial part thereof, was listed in two *ġarīda*, one drawn up in May 1178 listing the unfree villeins and other peasants belonging to the church in the territories of Corleone and Calatrasi, the other compiled in April 1183 listing both some villeins and the non-villein population, freedmen, new settlers and burgesses, on the Monreale estates. The 1178 register recorded over 2,000 names, including 1,141 villeins, and 51 persons identified as Christians of Corleone. In 1183 some 1,225 names were listed. The overwhelming majority had Arabic names, although as both Jeremy Johns and Alex Metcalfe have pointed out, most of the Christians also had Arabic, or Arabicised, names. While the vast majority of Monreale's dependents were Muslims, there was therefore a minority of Arabic-speaking Christians, especially in and around Corleone, and to a lesser extent at Calatrasi.²⁸³ Furthermore, during and after the compilation of these registers, William II added

²⁸¹ Schlichte, *Der 'gute' König*, 196–7. ²⁸² *Tabulario di Monreale*, 24 no. 16.

²⁸³ Cusa, *Diplomi*, 179–244 (the boundary register), 134–79, 245–86. Analysis: Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, 90–6, 114–26; J. Johns, 'The Greek Church and the conversion of Muslims in Norman Sicily?', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 21 (1995), 150–2; J. Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily. The Royal Diwan* (Cambridge 2002), 151–69. On the problem of 'concealed' Arabic

other benefactions to this already extensive aggregation of lands and people. He gave the churches of the Holy Spirit in Brindisi in 1180 and the Holy Sepulchre in Messina in 1182, both of which had earlier escheated to the crown, and he extended its Sicilian estates by the gifts of the *casale* of Rendicella in March 1184, and five further villages in June 1185.²⁸⁴ While cereal growing predominated on the Monreale estates, there was a relatively diversified economy, with evidence also of stock-rearing, gardens around the villages, plants for textiles (hemp, cotton and dyestuffs), and even some sugar production. It was only with the expulsion of most of the Muslim population in the thirteenth century that western Sicily became the region of cereal monoculture that was to continue for centuries thereafter – a type of economy that was both more fragile and subject to economic downturns, and probably less profitable, than the mixed economy of the twelfth century.²⁸⁵ The alienation of this substantial block of territory to Monreale was both a spectacular act of pious generosity, and a considerable weakening of the crown's landed resources.

The construction of Monreale seems to have been remarkably rapid. If the abbey was no more than a plan early in 1174, its great church, 102 metres (332 feet) long and 40 metres (130 feet) wide, would appear to have been largely constructed by February 1183, when the archbishopric was created. According to Lucius III,

So exerting royal care in the construction of the buildings, in a brief space of time he has built a temple of the Lord of most admirable design, furnished it with well-defended *castra* and revenues, as well as with books and holy vestments. He has decorated it with silver and gold, and finally introduced a multitude of monks from the order of Cava. He has provided this place with so much in [the form of] buildings and other property that there has not been a similar work accomplished by any other king since the days of antiquity, so that he has made men admire it who can only have heard what has been done [i.e. rather than having seen it themselves].²⁸⁶

This account might suggest that the extraordinary mosaic decoration of the interior had also been largely completed by 1183, although given its vast scale – some 7,600 square metres in extent – this seems scarcely credible.

Christians, see also A. Metcalfe, 'The Muslims of Sicily under Christian rule', in *The Society of Norman Italy*, ed. G. A. Loud and A. Metcalfe (Leiden 2002), 309–16. The figures quoted by various authors from the Monreale *ġarida* vary considerably, I have followed those of Metcalfe.

²⁸⁴ *Tabulario di Monreale*, 17, 20, 27–9 nos. 28, 33, 50, 53.

²⁸⁵ H. Bercher, A. Courteaux and J. Mouton, 'Une abbaye latine dans la société musulmane: Monreale au XII^e siècle', *Annales. Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 34 (1979), 525–47, especially 527–30.

²⁸⁶ MPL 201, col. 179.

But the mosaic decoration must surely have been more or less complete by the time of William II's death in November 1189. The materials and skilled workmen needed were undoubtedly extremely costly. King Tancred, a ruler chosen by a court faction and facing both revolt on the mainland and a significant external threat to his kingdom, as well as extraordinary demands like that of King Richard of England for the dowry of his sister (William II's widow Joanna), hardly had resources to spare to finance what was in the last resort a vanity project. After the conquest of 1194 the Staufen rulers had similar problems. The decline in the royal revenues from Palermo that led Henry VI to halve the *decima* payment to the archbishop does not suggest a situation where money was available to be spent on the decoration of Monreale, and after his death the priority for years to come was the suppression of revolt and the maintenance of public order. Nor did the archbishop himself have resources to devote to this, since the Muslim revolt that occurred in western Sicily after King William's death involved the dependent population of the church's lands – indeed the eventual headquarters of the rebels was at Jato, one of the *castella* that were part of the original endowment of Monreale in 1176. By 1198 the archbishop's situation was so desperate that he was alienating property. Some years later Archbishop Carus was lamenting 'the great poverty in which our church labours'.²⁸⁷ Thus, if the only hard evidence we have, apart from the remarks of Lucius III quoted above, is the date 1186 on the inscription on the bronze doors of the cathedral,²⁸⁸ we must still surely conclude that the decoration of Monreale was substantially finished by 1189. The speed with which the cathedral was built and decorated with mosaic, on a scale unparalleled anywhere else in medieval Christendom, can only have been achieved through massive royal funding.

In addition to the direct endowment of Monreale and payment of the costs of construction, the king also had to persuade other prelates to surrender property or jurisdiction to his new church, and in some cases to recompense them for such cessions. Hence in September 1176 Bishop Bartholomew of Agrigento, 'to avoid future discord and to provide perpetual peace and quiet', handed over all the tithes and other income that his see had previously received from Corleone to the new abbey. He noted that 'the lord king in his munificence will recompense the church of Agrigento

²⁸⁷ *Register Innocenz' III. 1 Pontifikatsjahr 1198/1199*, 154–5 nos. 105–6; Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, iii.1194. For Jato and the later stages of the revolt, T. C. Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen. Immutator Mundi* (Oxford 1972), 151–3.

²⁸⁸ Demus, *Mosaics*, 100.

with other revenues', equal to those that it formerly received from Corleone. A month later Bishop Tustanus of Mazara surrendered his jurisdiction over Jato and Calatrasi on the king's instructions, and in March 1177 Archbishop Walter granted the abbey the nearby church of St Silvester and its property. In return for this last surrender, the archbishopric was compensated by receiving all the tithes and income that the bishopric of Agrigento had formerly had from Broccato and Caccamo, which Bishop Bartholomew (who was of course the archbishop's brother) ceded to him. The king had also compensated the archbishop for his see's share of the tithes of Corleone, by giving him the *casale* of Bayda, near Palermo.²⁸⁹ Meanwhile, William pledged that, in return for what the bishopric of Agrigento had been accustomed to receive from Broccato and Caccamo, which was calculated as 268 *salmae* of wheat, 158 *salmae* of barley, and animals and cash payments worth 1,259 *tari* a year, he would provide the see with equivalent amounts of grain and cash from the royal demesne. Finally, in December 1178, in return for what the bishopric of Agrigento had once received from Batellaro and its *casales*, which the bishop had also been persuaded to hand over to Monreale, the king gave him the church of St Gregory, which lay outside the walls of Agrigento, and its property.²⁹⁰ Thus the insertion of this new, ecclesiastically exempt, abbey within the ecclesiastical structure of Sicily led the government to considerable trouble, and a further commitment of resources, in addition to Monreale's actual endowment.

Compensation to other prelates was seemingly provided only for lost revenues, and not for surrenders of jurisdiction, although the latter could involve loss of income too. There is no record of the bishop of Mazara receiving anything in return for his cession of his rights over Jato and Calatrasi. Alternatively, unlike the *familiars* Archbishop Walter and Bishop Bartholomew, he lacked the political influence to secure recompense. In the years that followed, as churches were given to Monreale, other prelates had to surrender their jurisdiction over them, so that these dependencies might share in the abbey/archbishopric's ecclesiastical exemption. So in April 1182 the bishop of Bisignano surrendered his jurisdiction over the monastery of S. Maria Maccla, which had been part of Monreale's original endowment, and in November 1182 Archbishop Thomas of Reggio surrendered his see's rights over another Greek abbey, that of the Holy

²⁸⁹ *Tabulario di Monreale*, 11–13, nos. 16, 18–19 (no. 18 = *Carte di Agrigento*, 75–8 no. 31, which from the indiction and regnal year should be, by modern calculation, September 1176, not 1177).

²⁹⁰ *Carte di Agrigento*, 65–8 no. 28, 78–80 no. 32.

Saviour at Mercello, and the nunnery of St John, outside the walls of Reggio. The former abbey, which had been founded by a royal chamberlain from a Greek family, had been given to Monreale some years earlier by its abbot, the chamberlain's brother. Similarly, the archbishop of Brindisi in June 1185 surrendered his jurisdiction over the church of the Holy Spirit in that city, which the king had given to Monreale five years earlier.²⁹¹ Nor were S. Maria Maccla and the monastery near Reggio the only Greek houses made subject to Monreale. In July 1181 the Bishop of Anglona conceded to Monreale all his episcopal rights over the abbey of Sts Elias and Anastasius of Carbone. The monastery at Reggio was, as were so many Greek houses, only a very small one – its abbot's grant in 1177 was witnessed by only six monks, presumably the whole community. But Carbone was a much more important house, so much so that in 1168 the minority government had appointed its abbot as the archimandrite to rule over all the Greek monasteries in Lucania and the principality of Salerno.²⁹² Its incorporation within the spiritual jurisdiction of Monreale thus greatly extended the latter's influence, which now extended, not just into southern Calabria, but over a significant part of the 'instep' of Italy. One should remember too that even in the late twelfth century most of the monastic houses in Lucania probably still followed the Greek rite, and were thus subject to the disciplinary supervision of Carbone.

Why did William II commit such extensive resources to the foundation of a new archbishopric that lay only a few miles outside his capital, which already possessed its own metropolitan? The thirteenth-century chronicle of Richard of S. Germano claimed that the king had built this church as an offering to God because his marriage was childless, 'to placate the Lord, that He make fruitful she who had been sterile'.²⁹³ This is absolute nonsense. When the project was first mooted, the king was only 20, and he did not marry until February 1177, some months after the actual endowment of Monreale. Nor do the royal diplomas in its favour mention anything about this lack of offspring. (One should remember that Queen Joanna was still only 24 when she was widowed; it is quite possible that the king may still have expected to have children, even in the later 1180s). However, Richard went on to suggest, much more plausibly, that the king was encouraged in this enterprise by his powerful minister, Matthew the vice-chancellor. The

²⁹¹ *Tabulario di Monreale*, 18 no. 31; *Documenti inediti*, 183–6 no. 74, 205–7 no. 84; *Carte di Agrigento*, 68–72 no. 29 (from a copy made in the 1220s).

²⁹² Robinson, 'Carbone' (1930), 68–73 no. 46 (Holtzmann, 'Papst-, Kaiser- und Normannenurkunden', 67–9 no. 8).

²⁹³ *Ryccardi de Sancto Germano Chronica*, 4.

latter, so Richard claimed, was motivated by his hatred of his fellow *familiaris* Archbishop Walter of Palermo. 'While they appeared to be friendly in public, they freely criticised each other through envy in private.' Walter retaliated for this downgrading of the importance of his see by encouraging the king to designate his aunt Constance, the wife of the German king Henry, as his heir, while Matthew favoured the king's cousin, Count Tancred of Lecce, whose succession he secured after William's death.²⁹⁴

This explanation was obviously informed by hindsight, and in particular the knowledge that Matthew and Walter did take opposite sides in the succession dispute after the king's death. Nothing is said about the diplomatic considerations that may have led to Constance being named as the heir to the kingdom.²⁹⁵ It also ignores that William died young, and apparently unexpectedly. But there may still be some truth in the story of the rivalry between the two ambitious ministers. The creation of the new archbishopric so close to his own can hardly have appealed to Walter. Furthermore, the replacement of the latter's brother Bartholomew of Agrigento by Bishop Richard of Syracuse as one of the three royal *familiares* early in 1177, soon after the endowment of Monreale, some of which as we have seen had been to the detriment of the see of Agrigento (whatever compensation may have been offered), served to dilute the archbishop's influence. While Bartholomew returned to the council of *familiares* in 1184, this was balanced by the addition of Archbishop William of Monreale as an additional, fourth, councillor.²⁹⁶ That the king would have gone to such trouble and expense to harm the interests of his chief minister is improbable, but that tensions between his *familiares* may have played some part in the foundation of Monreale and the creation of the archbishopric is not entirely inconceivable.

Piety of course cannot be discounted.²⁹⁷ The king's posthumous reputation was, as we have seen, that of a God-fearing, church-loving, ruler, although one wonders how much of that reputation may have stemmed from this same creation of Monreale, and from the general peace of the reign that benefited the Church, and was in such stark contrast to the years

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 5–6.

²⁹⁵ Since she was already 32 when she was married, to a man of 20, she was not a particularly attractive prospect as a bride, whose overriding duty was to provide a son. Designating her as the heir therefore greatly enhanced her attractiveness as a consort for Henry VI.

²⁹⁶ Takayama, *Administration*, 120–1.

²⁹⁷ Schlichte, *Der 'gute' König*, 186–96, has a sensible discussion of the founding of Monreale, which concludes that the king's personal piety was a major factor.

that followed. But there were other reasons as well. King Roger had wanted his foundation at Cefalù to be his last resting place: William intended Monreale to be the mausoleum of his dynasty. Queen Margaret was buried there when she died in July 1183, and at some stage after that date he transferred the remains of his father from the Palace chapel, and those of his younger brother Henry (d. 1172) from Palermo cathedral, to Monreale. And just as Roger had wanted the spare sarcophagus at Cefalù to be a lasting memorial to him, so William, on a much larger scale, intended Monreale as his memorial. It was ironic, however, that when he died unexpectedly, and with such catastrophic political results, his own burial at Monreale appears to have lacked the elaborate sepulchre that his father received, and as his grandfather had intended for himself. The empty sarcophagi at Cefalù, either of which would have been entirely suitable, remained there for another 20 years, and the king's present tomb dates only from 1575. That it was deemed necessary then suggests that its predecessor was nothing very special.²⁹⁸

However, there was arguably another, and wider, purpose behind the building of Monreale. It was intended also as a conspicuous symbol that William and his kingdom had taken their rightful place among the first rank of European monarchs. If Roger II was a parvenu who had built a kingdom, William saw himself as the equal of the other great rulers of Christendom. His father and grandfather married the daughters of petty Spanish kings, while his grandfather's later marriages and that of his father's elder brother Roger (d. 1149) were to the daughters of French nobles. Up till the 1150s the Sicilian dynasty was still trying to make its mark on the European stage, and its dynastic connections were relatively modest. William, by contrast, sought first to wed a daughter of the *basileus*, and eventually did marry the daughter of Henry II, ruler of England and almost a third of France too, while in 1186 a Sicilian princess married the heir to the Western Empire. These connections signified that the Sicilian dynasty was now in the front rank of Christian royalty. The peace of Venice in 1177 saw the Sicilian monarchy accepted even by its formerly inveterate opponent, the German emperor. Romuald's account of that conference, at which he led the Sicilian delegation, stressed this equality. 'Our lord, the glorious king of Sicily, salutes the lord emperor, who is among those present here, both devotedly and affectionately as his dearest friend and his brother.' Then, we are told, the imperial chancellor replied on his master's behalf:

²⁹⁸ Deér, *Dynastic Porphyry Tombs*, 13–15.

From the wisdom, probity and eloquence of his envoys, we may see the authority of the lord who has sent them, and he is reckoned to be worthy to be numbered by us among the greatest of princes.²⁹⁹

This was how the king of Sicily wished to be perceived, which was doubtless why Romuald included these speeches in his *History*, as well, of course, as exalting his own role as the king's envoy. The building of Monreale, an edifice to which 'there has not been a similar work accomplished by any other king since the days of antiquity', as Lucius III so adroitly flattered William, was, among other things, an enterprise of conspicuous display, making a public statement that the king of Sicily had arrived at the top table of Christian kingship. The German emperors had their mausoleum and ideological centre at Speyer cathedral, and the French kings theirs at St Denis; William II intended that Monreale should perform the same function, on an even more splendid scale, for the Sicilian monarchy. It was an act of dynastic aggrandisement, on a par with the claims that Romuald made at the Venice conference that the king of Sicily was *the* great defender of the Christian faith, and would that other rulers would forget their quarrels and follow his good example.

If Monreale was, therefore, a vanity project, a product of hubris as well as piety, it was one bound up with the status of Sicily as a kingdom in the late twelfth-century concert of Europe. It certainly represented a major commitment of resources, and its endowment materially diminished the royal demesne in Sicily, and thus the wealth that the king's vast landholdings engendered for his treasury.³⁰⁰ But whether it 'strained the resources of his kingdom most unwisely', as has been claimed, is more doubtful. Almost all of the Anglo-Norman chroniclers of the Third Crusade and the German historians of the conquest by Henry VI commented on the extraordinary wealth of the Sicilian crown.³⁰¹ The creation of Monreale may have diminished royal resources; it was not necessarily a body blow to them. Yet one might suggest that the creation of the archbishopric and its territorial lordship did pose a different sort of problem. Lucius III claimed, in his bull raising the abbot to archiepiscopal status in 1183, that the king's creation of Monreale, and establishment of Christians there, 'could confer upon his whole country an invincible fortress against the attacks of all

²⁹⁹ *Romuald*, 290–1.

³⁰⁰ For this, see especially D. S. H. Abulafia, 'The crown and the economy under Roger II and his successors', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 37 (1983), 1–14.

³⁰¹ Schlichte, *Der 'gute' König*, 195–6, *contra* White, *Latin Monasticism*, 144. Cf. also, G. A. Loud, 'Coinage, wealth and plunder in the age of Robert Guiscard', *English Historical Review* 114 (1999), 817–18.

enemies'.³⁰² This may well have been no more than a rhetorical flourish, but when the pope mentioned 'enemies' he was probably thinking of the still very largely Muslim population of western Sicily. By the second half of the twelfth century the Sicilian Muslims were acutely conscious that their position was under threat. The Muslim population of eastern Sicily had already been largely displaced by Christian immigrants from the Italian mainland. The attempted coup against William I in 1161 had seen a pogrom directed against those Muslims who lived in Palermo, and the Spanish Muslim traveller Ibn Jubayr, who visited the kingdom in 1184, recorded the fears of his co-religionists, that there was pressure, conscious or unconscious, to convert, and that they lived on sufferance in an increasingly Christian land (see below, chapter 9). William II then placed a substantial part of western Sicily, most of whose population was Muslim, under the rule of Christian monks and their archbishop. On the king's death, with the ruling class divided and the kingdom beset by a political crisis, many of those Muslims took the opportunity to revolt, and the consequent *intifada* continued for a generation, until its final suppression by Frederick II in the 1220s.³⁰³ Far from being 'an invincible fortress' for the kingdom, the creation of Monreale may in fact have contributed to its destabilisation.

³⁰² MPL 201, col. 1179.

³⁰³ Excellent discussion by Metcalfe, 'The Muslims of Sicily', especially 291–3, 305–9, 315–17.

*The Church and military obligation*¹

For much of its existence, the kingdom of Sicily was under threat. If relations with the papacy were not universally hostile after 1139, there were certainly those at the Curia who had no love for the new kingdom and its ruler, and this tension remained until the treaty of 1156. The Byzantine Empire, which viewed much of southern Italy as rightfully its territory, remained potentially hostile until the late 1150s, and open conflict broke out in 1147–8, and again in 1155–6. The nobles whom Roger and William I had exiled, and their relations, sought to recover their lost patrimonies, a problem that was only solved with the recall of most of those excluded by Queen Margaret between 1166 and 1169. Above all, the German empire remained almost continuously hostile up to the peace conference at Venice in 1177, and the emperors, and especially Frederick Barbarossa, periodically planned the invasion of the kingdom. Furthermore, the hostility of the emperor, who was also king of northern Italy, complicated relations with the north Italian maritime cities, which when freed from imperial interference were important trading partners for the kingdom. While left to themselves, these would almost certainly have preferred peace and the pursuit of profit, Frederick cajoled and bullied them into taking part in his invasion plans.² In these circumstances, the military defence of the kingdom was a priority that its rulers dared not ignore.

The defence of the kingdom's frontiers, and the maintenance of domestic peace within it, were also very much in the interests of its churches. As

¹ Some of the arguments in this chapter have already appeared in 'The Church, warfare and military obligation in Norman Italy', *Studies in Church History* 20 (1983), 31–45, although new evidence and issues have been considered here.

² See, for example, Barbarossa's treaty with Genoa in June 1162, promising the city territorial and trading concessions in Sicily, and a share of the booty, when the kingdom should be conquered, *Codice diplomatico della repubblica di Genova*, ed. C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, i (FSI, Rome 1936), 395–404 no. 308 = *Die Urkunden Friedrichs I. 1158–67*, ed. H. Appelt (MGH *Diplomatum Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae*, x(2), Hanover 1979), 220–5 no. 367.

we have seen, churchmen tended to look to the royal government to protect them from war and disorder. But the churches of the kingdom – or at least those of them that possessed significant landed endowments – were not immune from the pressures that providing such defence created. This especially applied to those situated in frontier districts. Thus, in the early 1140s, Abbot Oldrius of Casauria complained to the royal chancellor Robert of Selby that the king's principal representative in the Abruzzi, Count Bohemond of Manopello, wanted the abbey to play its part in the defence of the region.

He is encouraging us to take up secular arms and demanding that we provide cavalry and infantry, and large sums of money, which you should certainly understand that we are unable to supply. We are appointed for the service of the Lord; it is quite improper that we should desert this and follow worldly matters.

The count's response to this complaint was brief and to the point: 'the lord king has many people who pray in his kingdom, but he does not have many to defend it.'³ But he might have put forward another additional argument. While the monks may well have felt that contributing to the defence of the kingdom conflicted with their mission as a house of prayer, in fact the abbey was not by any means defenceless, nor in previous years had the abbots entirely ignored military affairs. In 1123 Abbot Giso had raised 'a great muster of people, bishops and barons', numbering almost 4,000 armed men, and led them against the lords of the neighbouring *castellum* of Tocco, forcing its lords to return various churches subject to the abbey that they had seized.⁴ It is not clear how many, or indeed if any, of these soldiers were directly subject to Casauria, rather than being its local allies, but pleas that military affairs were entirely unknown to it were undoubtedly disingenuous.

The abbots of Casauria were not the only prelates from within the later *regno* who undertook a military role during the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. In particular, the abbots of Montecassino were often involved in military affairs. So, for example, when the abbey came under attack from the widow of Richard de l'Aigle, lord of Suessa Aurunca, in 1115, Abbot Gerard 'gathered an army and began to ravage the land of Suessa with fire and sword'. Soon afterwards he similarly devastated the lands of the counts of Presenzano.⁵ His successor, Abbot Oderisius II, despite being placed in the monastery 'from an early age', was a warlike and effective leader, to

³ *Chron. Casauriense*, 892. ⁴ *Ibid.*, 882. More generally, see Feller, *Abruzzes médiévales*, 703–5.

⁵ *Chron. Cas.* IV.54, 57, pp. 517, 521.

such an extent that his enemy, Honorius II, denounced him to his face as 'being a soldier, not an abbot'. Oderisius had previously ravaged the lands of the abbey's *castella* of S. Angelo in Theodice and S. Vittore to force their rebellious inhabitants to submit and do fealty to him. Some time later he had become involved in a conflict with Richard Pyngardus, lord of Pico, and the latter's overlord, Count Richard of Carinola. The abbot, 'accompanied by a force of knights' (*vallatus militum turmis*), had ravaged the lands of Pico, and had eventually captured the *castellum* 'after gathering a huge army' (*ingenti coadunato exercitu*). Oderisius had subsequently, 'accompanied by squadrons of knights (*vallatus militum agminibus*) defended the lands of the abbey against Count Richard.⁶ While there were instances where the abbots of Montecassino had called on local lay allies, as when Abbot Richer had appealed to the Counts of Marsia and the 'sons of Borrellus' to assist him in expelling the Normans from the abbey lands in the 1040s,⁷ it seems probable that most of the *milites* who formed the Montecassino 'army' in the early twelfth century came from the abbey lands themselves. A charter granted by Abbot Desiderius to the inhabitants of Traietto in 1061 referred to 'those who wished to serve us with their horse' being subject to no other service owed to the abbey, while in 1079 a similar charter to the men of the newly acquired *castellum* of Sujo expressly mentioned those men 'who wished to serve with arms'.⁸ The abbey chronicle told a story about a poor knight from a *castellum* just outside the *Terra Sancti Benedicti* who c. 1090 offered to swear fealty to the abbey in return for a supply of corn.⁹ By the late twelfth century abbatial privileges regularly referred to knights (*milites*) among the inhabitants of the *Terra Sancti Benedicti*. Thus at S. Angelo in Theodice nobody who had risen to knightly status should be forced to render any other service, while at Pontecorvo knights were forbidden to beat the men of any other person for offences for which they would beat their own men.¹⁰ By the later twelfth century the abbey also possessed its own constable, who was no doubt responsible for mustering and leading its military contingent.¹¹ And while most of the *castella* on the abbey lands were fortified villages, which could be defended by their inhabitants, without requiring garrisons of professional warriors, these fortifications in themselves enabled the abbey to mount a stout defence of its lands, and there were in addition a few

⁶ *Chron. Cas.* IV.79, 82, pp. 543–5; for his berating by the pope, *ibid.*, IV.86, pp. 547–8.

⁷ *Chron. Cas.* II.71, p. 310. ⁸ Fabiani, *Terra di S. Benedetto*, i.421–4 nos. 1–2.

⁹ *Chron. Cas.* IV.9, p. 473. ¹⁰ Fabiani, *Terra di S. Benedetto*, i. 432, 428.

¹¹ Gattula, *Accessiones*, 264 (1175), for other references, Fabiani, *Terra di S. Benedetto*, ii.177.

fortresses pure and simple, notably Rocca Janula, set half way up the road to the monastery itself, which was rebuilt by Abbot Gerard in 1115 to overawe the increasingly restive inhabitants of S. Germano, at the foot of the mountain.¹²

We cannot, of course, necessarily assume that because Montecassino, with its extensive landed franchise, had its own military capacity, therefore other churches, which lacked such a coherent territorial lordship, did so as well. But some do seem to have had at least some troops at their disposal. When, for example, Bishop Rainulf of Chieti (1087–c. 1101) purchased the *castellum* of S. Paolo near the Pescara river from Godfrey de la Vulturara, he agreed, in addition to any cash payment, to furnish him with the service of one knight for forty days' service within Marsia or in the Benevento region. The bishop would also replace the knight's warhorse or hauberk if these should be lost while fulfilling this service.¹³ The very specific provisions of this agreement were unusual, and it is probably no coincidence that the bishop was a Norman, presumably here reflecting the practices of his homeland. But other Abruzzi bishops, natives not Normans, also possessed military vassals. When Count Atto V of Aprutium confirmed the *castellum* of Luco to Bishop Berard of Aprutium in 1116 – the bishop had earlier purchased this from the count's brother – he specified that the knights there should do homage to the bishop and the latter had the right to exact military service from them.¹⁴

Nor was this situation confined to the Abruzzi. When the abbot of Torremaggiore in the Capitanata issued a privilege confirming the rights and customs of the inhabitants of S. Severo, also in 1116, one of the pledges he made was that none of the inhabitants should be made to perform military service.¹⁵ The implication is both that the abbey had a military following and that it normally exacted such service. Other documents refer to *equitatura* – service on horseback, which might include escort duty to a lord or the maintenance of law and order – as, for example, in an enfeoffment by the abbot of St Lawrence, Aversa, in 1132, in which Peter Monache and his descendants were granted land as a fief (*pro feudo*) in return for his service, with one servant. The abbey would replace the horse if it should die while in its service.¹⁶ Similarly, in November 1135 the abbey of Cava granted

¹² *Chron. Cas.* IV.56, p. 520.

¹³ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vi.700–1. For discussion, E. Cuozzo, *Quei maladetti Normanni. Cavalieri e organizzazione militare nel Mezzogiorno normanno* (Naples 1989), 56, 68–9.

¹⁴ *Il cartulario della chiesa Teramana*, ed. F. Savini (Rome 1910), 72–4 no. 39.

¹⁵ M. Fuiano, *Città e borghi in Puglia in medio evo*, i. *Capitanata* (Naples 1972), 155–7 no. 1, at 157: *nullus de hic habitantibus per vim in hostem mittatur*.

¹⁶ *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 51–2 no. 31.

lands in Cilento to Matthew Bulturus *in feudo* in return for *equitatura*, with Matthew becoming the vassal (*homo*) of the monastery. However, there were some additional features of this agreement that should be noted. First, any vassalage to the abbey was subject to Matthew's fealty to his overlord (*senior*) Henry (almost certainly Henry of S. Severino, the most important lay landowner in Cilento). Secondly, these lands had already been held as a *feudum* from Cava by Matthew's father, who had been the Master of the abbey's *castellum* of Rocca Cilenti. But, in contrast to Matthew, he had held them for rent, paying a tithe of the crop to the abbey, not in return for service. Thirdly, in 1135 Abbot Symeon agreed to pay Matthew 20 *solidi* annually at Christmas in return for his service. So, whereas any service his father rendered the abbey was as an administrator, and he paid rent, albeit on favourable terms, for his property, Matthew was given, not just the land, but what was in effect a money fief or salary, in return for his mounted service.¹⁷ Cava, like Montecassino, possessed *castella*, and in particular the fortress of S. Adiutore, overlooking the main Salerno–Nocera road, a few kilometres from the monastery itself, which it purchased from Duke Roger shortly before his death in 1111.¹⁸ If Cava had only a handful of other *castella*, they were in a region where most settlement was in open villages. That this abbey had soldiers available to it is also suggested by an incident concerning Abbot Peter in the *Lives of the First Four Abbots of Cava*. Roger of S. Severino wanted to expel its men from some disputed land, and came there with a band of knights, expecting to face armed opposition. Instead, the abbot confronted him accompanied only by a few monks praying, and Roger was so moved by the spectacle that he dismounted, flung himself at Peter's feet and begged pardon for his crimes.¹⁹

However, even though some churches did possess soldiers or fortifications, they were not necessarily required to provide military service to the secular rulers, although before the Norman conquest churches in the Lombard principalities were subject to the provision of auxiliary services when the host was levied, such as the provision of oxen and carts for carrying supplies and baggage (from which Pandulf I exempted Montecassino in 961). Churches in the Byzantine provinces were required

¹⁷ Cava, *Arca* xxiii.102. The earlier agreement, of January 1119, *Arca* xx.97, is edited by P. Ebner, *Economia e società in Cilento medievale* (2 vols., Rome 1979), i.243–4. For the *equitatura*, see Cuozzo, *Quei maladetti Normanni*, 88–92.

¹⁸ *Annales Cavenses*, MGH SS iii.191; L. von Heinemann, *Normannische Herzogs- und Königsurkunden aus Unteritalien und Sizilien* (Tübingen 1899), 19–20 no. 10.

¹⁹ *Vitae Quatuor Priorum Abbatum Cavensium*, 22, cap. 47.

to pay the *strateia*, a tax levy intended to finance military operations.²⁰ But in Lombard south Italy actual military service was owed personally by members of the upper class to the prince, and was linked with status, not tenure.²¹ If there was no link between landholding and service for laymen, then clearly there was not for churches either. Nor did this situation appear to change with the Norman takeover. One should of course remember that when the Normans first came to Italy there was then no organised system of military obligation in the duchy, or in France as a whole, and concepts like the fief only began slowly to develop in Normandy from c. 1050 onwards.²² Whereas churches in the Anglo-Norman realm became subject to military obligations, often heavy ones, in the case of Normandy quite possibly through imitation of practice in England, this was not the case in southern Italy, even on the island of Sicily where, given the situation immediately after the conquest of a very small alien ruling class and a subject population the majority of which were still Muslim, one might have expected such burdens to be considered necessary. Roger I's charters of endowment to the new Latin churches he founded make no mention of military obligations, rather the lands of these churches were to be 'free and exempt' from any services, apart from prayers for the count and his dynasty.²³ Property given to churches on the mainland was usually, probably always, similarly free from such obligations to the state. So, for example, in December 1099 Prince Richard II of Capua confirmed to the Cassinese priory of S. Angelo in Formis a substantial piece of land granted to the church by one of his barons, Hugh de Faida (who was, in fact, his stepfather), which the latter had formerly held in fief (*in feudum*) from him, to be 'exempt and free' under the jurisdiction of the monastery.²⁴ In the legal case between this church and Peter Girardi, heard before a royal chamberlain in Capua in 1149 (discussed above, p. 294), the latter seems to have been arguing that since he owed sergeantry service from the disputed land to the king, this showed, *ipso facto*, that it could not be held from the church.²⁵ The presumption here was surely that church land was exempt from military service.

²⁰ Gattula, *Accessiones*, 58–9. S. Borsari, 'Istituzioni feudali e parafeudali nella puglia bizantina', *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane* 77 (1959), 131–4.

²¹ C. Cahen, *Le Régime féodal de l'Italie normande* (Paris 1940), 28–30.

²² M. Chibnall, 'Military service in Normandy before 1066', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, v. *Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1982*, ed. R. Allen Brown (Woodbridge 1983), 65–77.

²³ White, *Latin Monasticism*, 63.

²⁴ *Regesto di S. Angelo in Formis*, 100–2 no. 34 (Loud, 'Calendar', no. 65). For Hugh's marriage to Gaitelgrima, widow of Jordan I of Capua, Cava, *Arm. Mag.* D.49.

²⁵ *Regesto di S. Angelo in Formis*, 207–12 no. 73.

On the other hand, the court in 1149 did not accept this argument, and the fact that Peter was proven to have been a hereditary tenant of a church did not exempt him from service. Whether he or his ancestors had ever performed such service to the former princes of Capua we do not know, although he claimed in court that the obligation dated back to Prince Richard II (1090–1106). But by 1149 the situation had changed, and ecclesiastical tenants, and even land actually held by churches, were no longer necessarily free from military obligation. For once the new kingdom of Sicily was consolidated under his rule, after 1139, King Roger sought to organise an effective military structure to defend it. This led him to create new counties, or perhaps one should better say appoint new counts, on the mainland, whose function was primarily military, and to impose obligations of military service to the state on landowners, creating a new category of fiefs, owing service directly to the crown. Some historians have connected these changes in particular with the king's stay at Silva Marca, near Ariano, on the border between the *Terra Beneventana* and Apulia in the summer of 1142, where it has been suggested that he held a 'great court' and launched an inquiry into the military capacities of the kingdom, or at least its mainland parts. Roger certainly stayed at Silva Marca in July 1142, but unfortunately the mandate that has been cited to show that he remained in or near Ariano into the autumn of that year is an early thirteenth-century forgery, and the fact that he may have granted one fief during his stay there is hardly evidence for a wide-ranging inquiry.²⁶ He had, after all, already created new fiefs for knights at Naples in 1140.²⁷ The new counties were created piecemeal during the 1140s, and while there may well have been such an inquest into the military potential of the mainland provinces, we cannot date it exactly. What resulted, however, was the *Catalogus Baronum*, a list of the military service owed from the principalities of Capua and Salerno, the duchy of Apulia and the newly acquired Abruzzi region, compiled c. 1150.

The 'Catalogue of the Barons' is a problematic text. It cannot be considered simply as a record of existing military obligations,²⁸ although it is quite possible that previous enfeoffments and quotas, where the latter

²⁶ *Roger II Diplomata*, 148–51 nos. 53–†54; *Catalogus Baronum*, 95 art. 509. Cf. Jamison, 'Norman administration', 257–8, and her 'Additional work on the *Catalogus Baronum*', *BISIME* 83 (1971), 15–17; Cuozzo, *Quei maladetti Normanni*, 105–13. But. cf. Houben, *Roger II*, 136–7, for a sensible corrective.

²⁷ *Falco*, 236.

²⁸ The arguments of D. J. A. Matthew, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Cambridge 1992), 145–6, to this effect seem misleading.

existed, were incorporated within it. But it is essentially the record of a new and overarching system to create a royal army for the defence of the kingdom against invasion. To this end, almost all the fief-holders listed owed two separate quotas, a 'normal' one, that probably represented what might be required for expeditions, for example into the Roman Campagna or the Abruzzi, or perhaps selectively for more ambitious operations against Byzantium or in north Africa – a region in which Roger made significant conquests in his later years – and presumably also for the suppression of rebellion. The second included an additional levy, the *augmentum*, which represented the mobilisation of all possible resources to combat external invasion.²⁹ The need for this latter measure had been made clear by the expedition to the south by the German emperor Lothar in 1137, which had penetrated as far as Bari and Salerno. The *augmentum* usually embodied a doubling of the 'normal' obligation, sometimes with extra sergeants (*servientes*) added as well.³⁰ It is possible too that there was also a financial element involved, and that the Catalogue listed knights' fees, from which scutage was levied, rather than actual knights – as was increasingly the case in twelfth-century England. Wages were certainly paid for military service in southern Italy – in 1128 the prince of Capua's army melted away when he was unable to pay its wages.³¹ But the very small number of fractional fees in the Catalogue, as well as the pressing need for actual service to defend the kingdom, suggests that it was not primarily a record of financial obligation.

However, there are other problems relating to this text, and in particular with regard to the role of churches within the new military nexus. Only nineteen churches are listed in the *Catalogus Baronum* as owing military service, nine bishoprics and ten abbeys (see the table below).³² Why these particular churches should have been singled out is unclear; there is no obvious rationale in terms either of geography or of wealth. None of the archbishoprics was included, although these tended to be the wealthiest sees, and while two of the most important abbeys, Montecassino and Venosa, were listed as liable for substantial contingents *pro magna expeditione*, presumably for the extraordinary levy otherwise provided for by the *augmentum*,

²⁹ Jamison, 'Additional work', 3–7.

³⁰ In one case, that of Count Bohemond of Manopello, the Catalogue stated that he should provide not only the *augmentum*, but 'if there should be necessity in these regions, however many he shall have', clearly over and above the *augmentum*, *Catalogus Baronum*, 186 art. 1018.

³¹ *Al. Tel.* I.14, p. 14.

³² A few individual clerics were also listed; note, for example, a fief at Giffone formerly held by John Mansellus, cleric of St Matthew, Salerno, *Catalogus Baronum*, 97 art. 518. But this and others like it were held personally, and not as representatives of their churches.

others among the top rank of Benedictine abbeys were not included, notably Cava. Nor was St Sophia, Benevento, which, although located in a papal city, had extensive lands within the kingdom.³³ A number of churches in the Abruzzi were listed, and this recently acquired frontier region was obviously a priority for the organisation of defence, but why were three of its six bishoprics, Penne, Aprutium and Forcone, included, but not the other three, Chieti, Marsia and Valva? Furthermore, the only church in the other frontier region, the principality of Capua, to be included was Montecassino. Yet given the strategic importance of the principality, it seems odd that other well-endowed churches, such as the archbishopric of Capua and the abbey of St Lawrence, Aversa, were not expected to make some contribution. Why did some churches appear to owe contingents from their lands as a whole, the abbot of Venosa, for example, *pro tota terra et tenimento*, while others rendered service only from particular fiefs, as the one and a half knights' service the bishop of Civitate rendered from S. Leucio, or the four knights' service that the bishop of Melfi owed from Gaudiano?³⁴ Furthermore, if Melfi was one of the wealthier bishoprics in the south, Civitate appears to have been one of the poorest. Although the service from sub-tenants was occasionally mentioned, as with the bishop of Melfi, why was it only in one single case, that of the abbey of St John in Venere (on the coast towards the south of the Abruzzi, near the mouth of the River Sangro), that there was a detailed list of the obligations owed by (eleven) sub-tenants? This surely cannot have been the only church with so many men holding fiefs from it.

Churches owing military service in the Catalogus Baronum

| | Normal service / knights' fees | Total service with <i>augmentum</i> / for <i>magna expeditio</i> | Paragraph number in the <i>Catalogus</i> |
|---------------------------|--|--|--|
| S. Maria, Banzi | 3 | 7 knights | 87 |
| Bishop of Tricarico | 10 | 20 knights + 50 sergeants | 107 |
| S. Maria, Montepeloso | — | 10 knights + 50 sergeants | 124 |
| Bishop of Anglona | ? | 6 knights + 40 sergeants | 145 |
| Terra of St John in Lamis | 4 | 8 knights + 100 sergeants | 376 |
| Bishop of Civitate | 1½ | 3 knights + 15 sergeants | 386 |
| Bishop of Melfi | 2 in demesne and 2 in <i>servitio</i> | 8 knights + 100 sergeants | 402 |

³³ For the comparative wealth of abbeys, as listed in the papal taxation lists of 1310, see appendix IV. For St Sophia, see Loud, 'A Lombard abbey in a Norman world', especially 280–6.

³⁴ *Catalogus Baronum*, pp. 68, 72–3, arts. 386, 402, 408.

Churches owing military service in the Catalogus Baronum (cont.)

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|--|--|---------|
| Holy Trinity, Venosa | — | 30 knights + 230 sergeants <i>pro auxilio magne expeditionis</i> | 408 |
| Bishop-elect of Muro Lucano | — | 3 knights <i>pro magna expeditio</i> . | 490 |
| Bishop of Capaccio | — | 8 knights + 20 sergeants <i>pro auxilio magne expeditionis</i> | 491 |
| Abbot of Rofrano ³⁵ | 3 | 6 knights + 15 sergeants | 492 |
| Abbot of Montecassino | — | 60 knights + 200 sergeants <i>in magna expeditione</i> | 823 |
| Bishop of Penne | 1 | 2 knights | 1104 |
| St John in Venere | 25 | 52 knights + 104 sergeants | 1204 |
| 11 vassals of St John in Venere | 21½ ³⁶ | 44 knights + 72 sergeants | 1205–15 |
| St Stephen de Atissa | 2 | 4 knights + 8 sergeants | 1216 |
| St Clement, Casauria | 7 | 14 knights + 8 sergeants | 1217 |
| St Stephen de Rivo Maris | 4 in demesne and 2 <i>in servitio</i> | 8 knights + 8 sergeants from demesne, 4 knights from sub-tenants | 1218 |
| Bishop of Aprutium | 10 | 24 knights + 40 sergeants | 1221 |
| Bishop of Forcone | 3 | 6 knights + 12 sergeants | 1222 |

An obvious explanation for why some churches owed service and not others might be that churches owed service for property that had recently been acquired. This could be linked to laws of King Roger, probably dating from the early 1140s, which forbade further alienations to the Church if they caused a diminution in the military service owed to the state, and indeed any diminution of the service owed from fiefs for whatever reason.³⁷ Hence churches would have to take on the service owed from property deemed to be part of a fief, or to make arrangements to ensure that this service was still fulfilled. In the case of the abbey of Banzi, in Lucania, which owed three knights for the lordship of Banzi, as a sub-fief of the county of Andria, this would appear to have been the case. In September 1153 Abbot Roger of Banzi sold a church and its lands at Castellaneta to

³⁵ S. Maria Rofrano, near Policastro, Errico Cuozzo, *Catalogus Baronum. Commentario* (FSI, Rome 1984), 144.

³⁶ These are the totals given in the summary in art. 1215. The figures, however, are ambiguous, and might be totalled differently.

³⁷ *Liber Augustalis*, I.6, III.29, *Konstitution Friedrichs*, 155, 396–7; the latter attributed to Frederick II, but actually a reissue of an earlier twelfth-century edict.

Cava, in return for 55 ounces of gold (presumably in cash) and various precious vessels and vestments, so that he might pay off his abbey's debt to the king *de castello banciae*. That the abbey had indeed recently purchased the lordship of Banzi and its territory from the king is also suggested by its inclusion among the abbey's property listed in a papal bull of 1172, but not in similar lists in two earlier bulls of Paschal II.³⁸ The purchase of the lordship had therefore made the abbey responsible for the military service required. When William I gave the lordship of Broccato to the archbishop of Palermo in December 1157, he specified that what was then either in demesne or held *in servitio* should remain as such, and that the archbishop and his successors should continue to render the service due as and when the king wished. Twenty years later William II reserved the service of the military tenants made subject to Monreale.³⁹ Similarly, in May 1195, Henry VI confirmed a disputed *castellum* to the bishop of Penne, but ordered that the service of one knight should continue to be owed from it to the counts of Manopello, as had been the case earlier under Kings Roger and William (when it had been held by a lay tenant).⁴⁰ Such stipulations continued into the thirteenth century as well. In July 1209 King Frederick gave a *casale* to the archbishopric of Bari, but insisted that the service that had formerly been owed from it should continue to be owed to his *Curia*.⁴¹

However, while by the mid-twelfth century churches were no longer exempted from military burdens, not all the ecclesiastical quotas listed in the *Catalogus Baronum* were from recently acquired property. Luco, one of the fiefs for which the bishop of Aprutium owed service, had (as we have seen) been acquired from the count of Aprutium and his brother in 1116. The bishop of Melfi owed the 'normal' service of four knights from Gaudio, two from its demesne there and two *in servitio*, that is from (unnamed) sub-tenants. Yet the see had been given Gaudio by Duke Roger Borsa as far back as 1096, and not only did the latter's donation charter make no mention of any military obligation due, but the duke

³⁸ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* H.15. Banzi had been given the church at Castellaneta by Richard the Seneschal in 1094, *Arm. Mag.* D.7. Cf. Kehr, 'Papsturkunden in Salerno, La Cava und Neapel', *Papsturkunden*, ii.407–10 nos. 2–3; 'Papsturkunden in Rom. Die römische Bibliotheken III', *Papsturkunden*, iv.149–51 no. 4.

³⁹ *William I Diplomata*, 60–4 no. 22, at 62; *Documenti inediti*, 175–83 no. 73, at 177–8; *De baronibus autem nobis et heredibus nostris ac utilitati regni nostri servitium reservamus*.

⁴⁰ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, i. 1129–30 (Clementi, 'Calendar of Henry VI', 172 no. 85). Cf. *Catalogus Baronum*, 187 art. 1021.

⁴¹ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.144 no. 75. One should note, however, that such *servitium* was not always military: thus in 1219 Frederick confirmed the property of the archbishopric of Brindisi, including a tenement granted by William II, for which the 'service' was 200 *moggia* each of wheat and barley, *Cod. Dipl. Brindisiano*, i.74–6 no. 44.

specified that the *casale* should be 'free and absolved from all yoke of service'.⁴² Similarly, while the Catalogue noted that Venosa owed service from all its lands and tenements, various individual possessions of the abbey were then listed, namely Corneto, S. Giovanni in Fronto, Valle Sorbi, Orta, Aquabella, Barrano, and the half-share of Ascoli Satriano that belonged to it. Aquabella was given to Venosa by Robert Guiscard in 1063, the half-share of Ascoli by Roger Borsa and his mother Sichelgaita in 1088, and most of the remainder by Counts Robert and William II of the Principate between 1096 and 1105.⁴³ So in this case also, military service was owed from properties that had been in the church's possession long before the creation of the monarchy. Why then was Venosa singled out for a substantial obligation, albeit *pro auxilio magna expeditionis*, that is for the *levée en masse* in the face of an emergency? The very substantial contingent to be levied from Montecassino might be explicable both in terms of the real military power that abbey possessed, and the lack of favour, or even distrust, with which King Roger regarded it, quite possibly as a result of the monks' equivocal behaviour in 1136–7 before and during Lothar's invasion. He confiscated several of the *castella* of the monastery in 1140, and many of its treasures when he visited it in 1143. And that the monks saw fit to forge three supposed diplomas of Roger in the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries was precisely because they lacked such marks of favour earlier.⁴⁴ Thus the military contingent here might be seen as a burden the king had imposed on a house towards which he was distinctly unsympathetic. But while Venosa was in some disarray, and in need of reform, during the 1130s, its church held the tombs of Robert Guiscard and his brothers, the king's uncles and predecessors as rulers of Apulia, which ought to have predisposed him in its favour; it was later patronised by the family of William I's minister Maio of Bari, several of whose relatives were recorded in its necrology, and Abbot Aegidius, a Spaniard who was probably appointed by Queen Margaret, was in high favour with the government during William II's minority, which indeed tried unsuccessfully to transfer him to become abbot of Montecassino.⁴⁵ It is difficult, therefore, to envisage Venosa being singled out for an unusual burden because the king disliked the abbey.

⁴² Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, i.923–4.

⁴³ Houben, *Venosa*, 241–3 no. 9, 284–7 no. 54, 302–3 no. 72 (Corneto), 313–15 no. 80 (Orta), 318–19 no. 84 (S. Giovanni in Fronto), 319 no. 86 (Count William abandoned all claims over Corneto).

⁴⁴ *Annales Casinenses*, MGH SS xix.309–10; Brühl, *Urkunden und Kanzlei*, 164–72 (above, pp. 311–12).

⁴⁵ *Falcandus*, 138 (*Tyrants*, 190); *Libro del capitolo di Venosa*, 142–3, 158–9. Houben, *Venosa*, 160–2, 440. Alexander III refused to allow this transfer, although we do not know why.

The other obvious explanation is that, at least insofar as the clerical fiefs were concerned, the *Catalogus Baronum* was incomplete. The entries which have been preserved are detailed, and insofar as they can be checked accurate. But the only manuscript (destroyed in 1943, and now only known from photographs) was a late thirteenth-century version of an early thirteenth-century copy of the original, which had itself been emended when the entries were revised and updated c. 1168, probably in connection with the reorganisation of the royal administration on the mainland carried out then, which led to the establishment of the office of the *duana baronum* at Salerno.⁴⁶ Thus the text that we have now is no more than a third-hand copy, in which there are alterations in the logical order of fiefs, one substantial section duplicated, and there are undoubtedly omissions as well.⁴⁷ That these omissions included ecclesiastical fiefs is suggested by two sets of entries, quite close to each other in the manuscript, which list other churches, but give no details of any contingents that might have been owing from them. The first of these notes the bishop-elect of Troia, and the abbeys of St Nicholas of Troia, (St Michael) Orsara, also in the diocese of Troia, and (St Michael on) Monte Vulture, in the diocese of Rapolla in southern Apulia. The second entry lists the abbots of St John in Lamis, in the diocese of Siponto, and Cava, as well as St Peter of Olivola and St James of Lucera, both priories of Cava in northern Apulia. This last section may be shorthand for what the abbey of Cava owed from its two Apulian dependencies. Both of these, it should be noted, had been given to Cava in the 1080s: once again, they were not new acquisitions.⁴⁸ The reference to the bishop-elect of Troia suggests that this entry dates from the original compilation of the Catalogue c. 1150 rather than the revision of c. 1168: Hugh, bishop-elect of Troia is attested in 1144–7,⁴⁹ and was presumably not consecrated until some time after the agreement with the papacy at Ceprano in July 1150, whereas Bishop William III was consecrated in 1155 and held office for about 20 years thereafter.⁵⁰ Thus details of some ecclesiastical contingents in the original *Catalogus Baronum* may have been either left incomplete, or omitted by later copyists.

⁴⁶ For which, Takayama, *Administration*, 145–57, especially 156.

⁴⁷ Jamison, 'Additional work', 23–56, especially 29, 46–7, 58. Articles 1230–62 repeat the earlier articles 1053–84.

⁴⁸ *Catalogus Baronum*, 72–3 arts. 402* and 409*. G. Vitolo, *Insedimenti cavensi in Puglia* (Galatina 1984), 52–3, 83–4. St Michael Orsara had been founded c. 1120, perhaps by Spanish monks, and had a long-standing connection with the kingdom of Leon, R. Hiestand, 'S. Michele in Orsara. Un capitolo dei rapporti pugliesi-iberici nei secoli XII–XIII', *Archivio storico pugliese* 44 (1991), 67–79.

⁴⁹ *Chartes de Troia*, 219–221 no. 67; *Colonie cassinesi in Capitanata*, iv. *Troia*, 93 no. 27.

⁵⁰ He was last attested in May 1175, *Chartes de Troia*, 272–3 no. 90.

Furthermore, since we know that the Catalogue was revised c. 1168, albeit partially and incompletely, and largely in terms of the personnel listed, there is also the possibility that military obligations were periodically revised, especially if new property was acquired. The most detailed schedule of ecclesiastical fiefs in the Catalogue is that relating to the abbey of St John in Venere. This may be compared with a confirmation of the abbey's property by Henry VI in May 1195, which like the Catalogue divided its possessions into those retained in demesne, and those *in servitio*.⁵¹ Almost all the fiefs listed in the *Catalogus* are also included in the later document, but so too are a number of possessions not found in the Catalogue, which appear by 1195 also to have been classed as fiefs. Unfortunately, this church is not well documented, and how and when they may have been acquired cannot be determined.

But this particular case raises another possibility as well. Two of the *castella* recorded as belonging to the monastery in 1195 were listed in the *Catalogus*, but not among the fiefs held from the monastery. Montesecco and Arsite, both in the county of Penne, were recorded among those properties of the abbey held *in servitio*, that is by sub-tenants, in 1195. In the Catalogue, however, they belonged respectively to a vassal of the count of Aprutium and to a certain Oderisius de Bisanto, who held a number of fiefs, including Arsite, direct from the king.⁵² Either these two fiefs had been made subject to the abbey at some point in the later twelfth century, or they were already abbatial property c. 1150 but the lay tenant who was responsible for the service was recorded in his own right in the Catalogue. The latter is in fact the more probable explanation, for as Evelyn Jamison pointed out, St John in Venere was not the only church where we can find this phenomenon. She noted that similarly lands known to have belonged to the bishopric of Aprutium and the abbey of Casauria were also listed as being held by laymen in the *Catalogus*. She suggested that in such cases ultimate proprietorship, and a share of the revenues and services remained with the church, but the lay tenant performed the service.⁵³ One of the most interesting examples was S. Flaviano (modern Giulianova, near the mouth of the River Tordino), a substantial lordship of 10 knights' service, held by Count Robert of Aprutium. But his predecessors had held this from the bishop 'for the assistance and defence of our church of S. Maria of

⁵¹ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra* vi.699 (Clementi, 'Calendar of Henry VI', 172-4 no. 86).

⁵² *Catalogus Baronum*, 200-1, 242, arts. 1064, 1066, 1186. Montesecco was divided into two separate fiefs, each of half a knight's fee, but in fact these were held by the same person, Transmund *de Colle Madii*.

⁵³ Jamison, 'Additional work', 18-21.

Teramo'.⁵⁴ Similarly Basciano, a fief of one knight held by a layman in the Catalogue, had been enfeoffed by Bishop Guido of Aprutium to another layman in 1134.⁵⁵ In fact, such cases were quite widespread in the Abruzzi, and not unknown in other areas also. Thus according to the Catalogue, Orta in the county of Valva was held directly from the king, and Prezza and a half share of Raino, in the same region, were held by a vassal of Berard Gentile, one of the most powerful Abruzzese nobles whose family were later to rise to comital rank. However, they were among the fiefs confirmed to the bishopric of Valva by William II in July 1185.⁵⁶ *Castella* that belonged to, or were claimed by, Casauria, which in the Catalogue were held by laymen rendering service to the king, included Castello Vetulo in the county of Aprutium, and Casalepiano, Pesclu, Castiglione, Pietranico, and Corvara in the county of Penne.⁵⁷ Similarly Collalto, which according to a papal bull of 1150 was the only *castellum* belonging to the bishop of Penne, was in the Catalogue held by a layman, Oderisius of Collepetrano, while two of the *castella* owned, or at least claimed, by the bishop of Chieti in the reign of William II were also ascribed to laymen in the Catalogue.⁵⁸

An analogous case from another region was that of Castiglione, near Foggia, in the Capitanata, where according to the *Catalogus* a certain John de Boccio held 20 'commended men', and from which with the *augmentum* he owed the service of one knight. Yet from a legal case of 1147, and two subsequent agreements, one with John himself and the other, in 1156, with his sons after his death, we learn that his lands in Castiglione were actually held from the abbot of Montecassino, to whom John and his sons did fealty, and that the service of one knight due to the king was to be rendered by his men together with the abbot's men there, and that the abbot should receive this *servitium*, for performance of the royal service. (This may in fact mean that John and his men provided money, along with the abbot's men, from which the abbot then paid a knight to provide the

⁵⁴ *Catalogus Baronum*, 190, art. 1030; *Cartulario della chiese teramana*, 80–1 no. 44 (c. 1120): *in feudo pro auxilio et defensione ecclesiae nostrae sancta Marie teramensis*. This document makes clear that it was renewing an earlier concession by a previous bishop to the recipients' father, Count Atto V.

⁵⁵ *Catalogus Baronum*, 240, art. 1181; *Cartulario della chiese teramana*, 104–5 no. 57.

⁵⁶ Kehr, *Urkunden*, 439 no. 20 (wrongly dated to 1170; for the correct date, Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, i.61); *Catalogus Baronum*, 243, 245, arts. 1188, 1195.

⁵⁷ *Catalogus Baronum*, 203 art. 1074, 210 art. 1088, 243–4 arts. 1189–91. For lists of the abbey's property, below, n. 60.

⁵⁸ *Catalogus Baronum*, 240 art. 1181; cf. Kehr, *Papsturkunden*, v.160–2 no. 6. For the *castella* of Genestrula and Furci, *Catalogus Baronum*, 201 art. 1065, 212 art. 1097, compared with the confirmation of the property of the bishop of Chieti in Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vi.707–8 (September 1173). Five other *castella* named in that document are not listed in the Catalogue.

service.)⁵⁹ The Catalogue is therefore undoubtedly misleading about the extent of military service from ecclesiastical lands.

However, the presence of laymen rendering service, ostensibly in their own right, for lands that other sources show to have belonged to a church, was not simply explicable in terms of the insistence of the royal government that troops be provided. There was also the question of disputed claims, and sometimes, especially in the Abruzzi, the forcible seizure of church property. The abbey of Casauria, in particular, may have lost a considerable amount of what it had once owned, or claimed, in the 60 or 70 years before King Roger's conquest of the Abruzzi in 1140. While the abbey's chronicler considered that the king was sympathetic to the monks, and generally praised his imposition of law and order and protection of churches, the royal takeover of the region was not followed by any widespread restoration of alienated ecclesiastical property or recognition of churches' claims. When Roger issued a formal confirmation of the property of Casauria in August 1140, he confirmed its possession of only three *castella*, even though an earlier bull of Calixtus II had confirmed 10 *castella* in the counties of Chieti and Penne, and three more further north in the county of Aprutium, while subsequent papal bulls, in 1159 and 1166, both listed no fewer than 19 *castella* belonging to the abbey.⁶⁰ The question is whether these papal documents, or certainly the two later ones, can be seen as anything more than an expression of the abbey's claims, rather than mid-twelfth-century reality. Were *castella* for which laymen rendered service, as recorded in the Catalogue, actually held from the abbey, or had they simply been alienated, with the government recognising, or turning a blind eye to, such alienation? In some cases, the latter may well have been true. While King Roger had expelled the incumbent counts of Manopello, and replaced them with his own man, Bohemond of Tarsia, he could not afford to give wholesale offence to the existing aristocracy of the region. So, for example, on his arrival in the Abruzzi he confiscated the *castellum* of S. Valentino from Richard son of Turgisius, and restored it to Casauria, which had claims over it. Subsequently, however, he restored this once more to Richard, and so it was listed in the Catalogue (and this *castellum* was not included among those claimed by the abbey in 1159 and 1166). Although a vassal of Count

⁵⁹ *Catalogus Baronum*, 71 art. 400; *Colonie cassinesi in Capitanata*, iv. Troia, 93–9 nos. 27–8, 30: the latter stated that John, *promisit etiam se facturum ut homines sui cum hominibus abbatis communiter essent in servitio domni Regis secundum numerum hominum quos ibi haberet et ut communiter servitium unius militis qui domno Regis [sic] serviret fieret, quem militem dominus abbas super se recepit pro servitio faciendo*.

⁶⁰ Paris, BN MS Lat. 5411, fols. 245r, 253r, 258v. Feller, *Abruzzes médiévales*, 64–5.

Bohemond, Richard was not only in practice a quite powerful baron in his own right, owing 14 knights' 'normal' service, with his brother William owing that of a further four (and with the *augmentum*, they jointly owed the service of 38 knights and 120 sergeants), but he was also one of the royal justiciars in the region during the 1140s.⁶¹ Whatever the rights and wrongs of the case, it was hardly in the king's interests to offend such a valuable supporter at a time when he was trying to consolidate his control over a newly acquired province. Similarly, the cession of *castella* that had belonged to the local bishop to Count Robert of Aprutium was explicable since these lay on the extreme frontier of the kingdom along the most obvious invasion route.⁶² The count's position needed to be strong, both to retain his loyalty and to provide the kingdom with an effective northern bulwark.

Some years later, once the papacy had formally recognised the Abruzzi counties as part of the kingdom of Sicily, and royal rule had become established, the crown was in a better position to defend ecclesiastical interests. Hence the confirmation of the *castella* of Carpineto and Fara as the property of St Bartholomew of Carpineto, against the claims of Berard of Vicoli c. 1158/9 and later of the lords of Brittoli, once this latter family had been restored to their ancestral lordship c. 1169 (above, p. 287). Yet in the Catalogue Richard of Brittoli was responsible for the service of three knights from Carpineto, so one can see why he and his relations were reluctant to relinquish their rights over it. To the monks, the lords of Brittoli were 'the ferocious persecutors of this church'; the laymen probably saw the matter very differently.⁶³ Yet Carpineto too lost out in the settlement of the Abruzzi after 1140. Thus the abbey acquired the *castellum* of Fabrica in an exchange with the bishop of Penne in 1123, yet there is no record of it being in the monastery's possession after 1140, and in the Catalogue this too was a fief held by the Brittoli family.⁶⁴

The other complicating factor in such cases may have been genuine divided ownership. Thus Casauria's claim to S. Valentino had been built up piecemeal, being given for example a quarter share of this *castellum* in 1075.⁶⁵ Corvara (7 km north-west of the abbey) and Bectorita (modern Torre dei Passeri, opposite the abbey on the north side of the Pescara River)

⁶¹ *Additamenta ad Chronicon Casauriensem*, RIS ii(2).1008–9; *Catalogus Baronum*, 184–5 arts. 1014–15. Jamison, 'Norman administration', 378–9; Cuozzo, *Commentario*, 293–6; Feller, *Abruzzes médiévales*, 767.

⁶² Jamison, 'Additional work', 20.

⁶³ *Catalogus Baronum*, 201 art. 1067; *Chron. Carpineto*, 71 (quote: *immanes persecutores*), 82–3, 88–9.

⁶⁴ *Catalogus Baronum*, art. 1067; *Chron. Carpineto*, 59, 275–8 no. 130.

⁶⁵ *Chron. Casauriense*, 866.

were both still listed as abbatial *castella* in the papal bulls confirming Casauria property in 1159 and 1166, yet in the *Catalogus* Sanso of Pietranico and Berard of Castiglione each rendered service for a half share of Corvara, and the latter's relation William of Castiglione for a one-third share of Bectorita.⁶⁶ In the 1123 exchange with the bishop of Penne, Carpineto had granted the bishop Vicoli in exchange for Fabrica, yet later Berard of Vicoli held a one-third share of this *castellum*, for which he owed the king the service of 'two parts of a knight'.⁶⁷ In these last two cases, it was not expressly stated who owned the remaining parts of the *castella*, but one suspects that it was still the church. Thus the practice of partible inheritance might have consequences for the military obligations owed for ecclesiastical property. But it is also clear from the Casauria chronicle that Abbot Leonas had himself sub-infeudated some of the abbey's *castella*, one of which was Bectorita, in the later 1150s.⁶⁸

Furthermore, even royal grants and confirmations might not be the end of the story. When Henry VI confirmed Poliano to the bishop of Penne in 1195 (above, p. 350), he decreed that the former lords should henceforth live in the episcopal town and do homage and swear fealty to the bishop. However, the extended family of these lords then begged the bishop to modify the 'somewhat harsh' imperial order, and to grant the *castellum* once more to them *in baronia*, in return for which they would provide the knight service required by the emperor. The bishop agreed to this, reserving various revenues and rents, both in kind and in cash, and on condition that his vassals rented houses in Penne from him.⁶⁹ So in fact the situation after the imperial grant may not have been very different from what went before, although the bishop probably benefited financially from these arrangements (and was offered one or two other minor gifts as a sweetener to persuade him to agree to the sub-infeudation).

The bishop was, however, presumably still liable for the service, even if in practice his vassals provided it. The bishop of Penne was already listed as a feudatory in the *Catalogus Baronum*, but only for one single fief, near Penne itself. The service for Poliano would, one assumes, have henceforth been in addition. This is a reminder that the situation revealed in the Catalogue was not only incomplete, but not immutable either. If churches acquired new property, or consolidated and developed existing property, they might become

⁶⁶ *Catalogus Baronum*, 244–5, arts. 1190–1 and 1194. Cf. also *Additamenta ad Chronicon Casauriense*, 1007 (1136).

⁶⁷ *Catalogus Baronum*, 245, art. 1196. ⁶⁸ *Chron. Casauriense*, 897.

⁶⁹ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, i.1125–7.

liable for the provision of service. And there were churches not listed (or not with actual quotas) in the Catalogue that undoubtedly possessed dependants owing types of military service to them in the late twelfth century and thereafter. A knight who was a vassal (*homo*) of the bishop of Troia was mentioned in a legal case in 1144, and a sergeant of the bishop of Aversa witnessed a charter in 1151, for example.⁷⁰ When the archbishop of Salerno acquired Montecorvino in 1167, there were a number of knights living, or at least holding property, within the territory of that *castellum*; no fewer than 12 according to the *Catalogus*.⁷¹ Cava had both sergeants and *defensati homines* holding land or revenues from the abbey, for which they rendered castle guard at its fortress of S. Adiutore, in the 1190s.⁷² A later thirteenth-century forgery purporting to be a diploma of William I even granted the abbot the right 'to promote vassals of this monastery to knighthood', which suggests that at the time when this forgery was produced the abbey had considerable military pretensions.⁷³ The monks of Torremaggiore had by c. 1200 developed the settlement on their land at S. Severo in northern Apulia into a walled *castellum*, some of whose inhabitants were of knightly status, and with its own constable. The abbey was indeed actively recruiting members of the military class for this settlement, for example in 1195 granting a house and land to the constable of the Count of Lesina, for him to live there 'in service of the monastery', and in return for burial at Torremaggiore on his death. Not surprisingly, by the time of Frederick II this settlement was treated as a fief subject to the crown.⁷⁴ One also wonders whether knights who acted as the advocates representing churches in legal transactions may not have had some potential military link with the church.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ *Chartes de Troia*, 219–21 no. 67; *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 102–3 no. 59.

⁷¹ Salerno, Archivio diocesano, Mensa archiepiscopalis, *Arca* II no. 75: the archbishop's brother Robert conducts an inquest into the services owed by the men of Montecorvino, July 1168. Cf. *Catalogus Baronum*, 99–101 arts. 532–43.

⁷² Cava, *Arca* xlii.90 (February 1192), the abbey granted Alfanus Gallardus and his descendants a half share in the fruits of some woodland in return for a small money rent and one month's castle guard service a year as a *serviens* at S. Adiutore. In May 1193 the castellan of S. Adiutore granted John son of Julius and his descendants land in return for a render of bread twice a year, and service with their weapons in the *castellum* in time of war as *defensati homines* of the abbey, Cava, *Arca* xliii.74.

⁷³ *William I Diplomata*, 3–6 no. 11, at 5: *vassallos ipsius monasterii ad miliciam promovere*.

⁷⁴ Fuiano, *Città e borghi in Puglia*, 170–2 no. 11, and more generally, *ibid.*, 137–47. For the abbey's own constable, *Regesto di S. Leonardo di Siponto*, 86–7 no. 138 (1203).

⁷⁵ E.g. *Regesto di S. Leonardo di Siponto*, 15–16 no. 23 (February 1146), where a knight acted as advocate of the monastery of St John in Lamis, which was in the Catalogue, and *ibid.*, 61–2 no. 97 (December 1185), where a knight, Sandorus, was the advocate of the canons of St Leonard, whose church was not listed in the Catalogue. Knights acted as the advocates of the churches of St Stephen de Matinata in the Capitanata in June 1170, *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, viii.158–9 no. 113, and of St Maria de Perno, in Lucania, in April 1175, G. Fortunata, *S. Maria di Vitalba* (Trani 1898), 32–3 no. 3.

On the other hand, we must be careful not to assume that references to churches granting *feuda* necessarily imply a military relationship between the church and the tenant. Thus the Campanian monastery of St Lawrence, Aversa, also possessed lands near Foggia in the Capitanata and Monopoli in southern Apulia, and towards the end of the twelfth century its abbots granted out *feuda* on these lands, in some cases to men described as knights (*milites*). But these *feuda* were held in return for monetary rents, not military service; for example, Abbot Abdon granted two *feuda* to the knight Peter of Foggia, to be cultivated (*ad laborandum*) in March 1181, in return for an annual rent of half an ounce of gold (otherwise 15 *tari*), payable on St Martin's Day (11 November).⁷⁶ While such transactions may perhaps have been because the abbey lacked such military obligations towards the king, it is also clear that *feuda* in southern Italy were not always military fiefs, but might simply be plots of agricultural land. Indeed, elsewhere in southern Italy, both in the Campania and in the Abruzzi, *feuda* could be held by sharecropping arrangements, or in return for food-renders, money payments, or even labour services.⁷⁷ In March 1170 a tenant of the archbishopric of Salerno was granted some land to be held *in feudum* in return for repairing the barrels in the archbishop's wine cellar at Nocera. Indeed, an earlier archbishop of Salerno was even recorded as granting a church to a priest to be held *in feudum*.⁷⁸ Yet such employment of so-called 'feudal' terminology could co-exist with the more conventional military usage of *feudum*, the vocabulary of which was still alive and well at the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁷⁹

The rulers might occasionally grant exemptions to favoured churches and their men, as Roger II did when he granted the town of Cefalù to its bishop in 1145, and William II when he freed the see of Lipari from its obligation of furnishing 20 sailors for the royal fleet from its tenement of S. Lucia, near Milazzo, in November 1177, which the bishop claimed was

⁷⁶ *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 210–11 no. 113, cf. also *ibid.*, 233–4 no. 125 (1184), 270–2 no. 143 (1191), 277–8 no. 146 (1194).

⁷⁷ E.g. Benevento, Museo del Sannio, Fondo S. Sofia, vol. 13 no. 5 (1140); *Regesto di S. Angelo in Formis*, 137–40 no. 49 (1157); *Codice diplomatico submonense*, 51–2 no. 40 (1178), 60–1 no. 45 (1201), and the renders by the sub-tenants in Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, i. 1125–30 (1195).

⁷⁸ Salerno, Archivio diocesano, Mensa archiepiscopalis, *Arca* II no. 78; for the church, granted by Archbishop Alfanus II (1087–1121), *ibid.*, *Arca* II no. 68, summarised by C. Carlone, *Documenti per la storia di Eboli*, i (799–1264) (Salerno 1998), 107–8 no. 214. For a later example, *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, viii.278–9 no. 224 (1223), in which the archdeacon of Ruvo held a church in fief from the bishop.

⁷⁹ For example, the will of Ivo Capistrellus, *unus ex feudatibus militibus* of Aversa in 1203, *Codice diplomatico svevo di Aversa*, ed. C. Salvati (2 vols., Naples 1980), i.66–7 no. 32.

'a heavy burden' for his church.⁸⁰ A court in 1197 declared that the men of St Nicholas, Bari, had always been free of naval service in the royal galleys, and that the royal officials in Bari had been wrong to try to exact this.⁸¹ However, such concessions should be seen as decidedly unusual, and special marks of esteem. The two earlier exemptions were, of course, to churches on the island of Sicily, the defence of which was not as problematic as that of the mainland provinces. There it was more likely the rulers would impose new obligations rather than waive older ones.

A key text in this respect is a document of c. 1243, which was included as an appendix to the *Catalogus Baronum* by the scribe of the late thirteenth-century manuscript, and gave a list of prelates holding fiefs in the Capitanata.⁸² Some of the fiefs recorded there had been held by laymen in the twelfth century, for example Ururi and Illice, held by sub-tenants of the count of Civitate in the Catalogue but by the bishop of Larino in the 1240s.⁸³ With this and similar examples, there is the possibility that these sub-tenants may have been providing service for what were actually 'concealed' church lands. As in the Catalogue, the bishop of Civitate still held S. Leucio, now classified as 'half a fief'. This had been liable for service in the twelfth century. So too had Corneto, a possession of Venosa. The majority of these fiefs, however, had not been listed in the twelfth-century Catalogue, and most of these properties can be proven to have belonged to the churches in the mid-twelfth century. For example, the bishop-elect of Troia held S. Lorenzo (in Carminiano) as a fief in the c. 1243 list. This had been among the property of the see confirmed to it by William I in 1156, which was then free of all regalian obligations, including the *collecta* (monetary aids, also levied from fiefs).⁸⁴ What had changed was that, like S. Severo, S. Lorenzo, which during the twelfth century had been an unfortified *casale* had by the 1230s acquired walls.⁸⁵ Was this a reason why it was now considered to be a fief owing service? One of the principal monastic establishments in the region, the abbey of Torremaggiore was similarly listed as holding five fiefs, including the village next to the monastery, although the confirmation of its property by King Tancred in 1192 had confirmed an earlier privilege of Robert Guiscard exempting the

⁸⁰ *Roger II Diplomata*, 197–200 no. 68; Kehr, *Urkunden*, 444–5 no. 24. White, *Latin Monasticism*, 98, who using later Staufien-era documentation clarifies the somewhat ambiguous nature of the 1177 diploma.

⁸¹ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, vi.8–9 no. 3. ⁸² *Catalogus Baronum*, 283–5 arts. 1428–42.

⁸³ *Catalogus Baronum*, art. 1437, cf. arts. 307, 309.

⁸⁴ *Catalogus Baronum*, art. 1431, 1433–4, cf. *William I Diplomata*, 38–41 no. 14.

⁸⁵ *Chartes de Troia*, 419–11 no. 149.

abbey from all secular obligations.⁸⁶ We do not know when all the fiefs of Torremaggiore had been acquired, but that around the abbey itself clearly dated back to the foundation, and the *castellum* there had been developed during the twelfth century, while another of those listed, S. Maria in Arco, already belonged to the abbey in 1168.⁸⁷ Another entry in the Capitanata list noted that 'the monastery of Cava holds St Stephen [de Juncarico] and St Peter de Olivola which are fiefs.' There had, as we have seen above, been an enigmatic note about the latter house in the original Catalogue: both of these cells had been Cava possessions since the 1080s.⁸⁸ This schedule of ecclesiastical fiefs in the Capitanata does not give any details of what obligations they may have owed; but that these properties were classed as fiefs held from the crown suggests that both some sort of military service and associated financial dues were levied from them. Since most of these fiefs were not listed in the *Catalogus Baronum*, either that text was incomplete or new burdens had been laid on church lands since its compilation, especially by Frederick II's government post-1220. Most probably both were the case. Similarly, from the 1230s the men subject to churches, along with the other inhabitants of the *regno*, became liable to conscription and levies in cash and kind for the repair of royal castles, as for example the men of the bishop of Civitate's fief of S. Leucio, who had to contribute to the repair of the citadel at Lesina.⁸⁹

Hence the Church did contribute to the military defence of the realm, and even before the creation of the kingdom a number of churches possessed military dependants and resources. Roger II attempted to harness these to the defence of his new kingdom – given the external enemies that it faced, developing an effective military structure was an absolute priority for the Sicilian government. To some extent the churches of the kingdom were incorporated in this system. Some churches, even on the island of Sicily, owed military contingents for lands they held. Others, especially in the frontier region of the Abruzzi, newly incorporated into the kingdom and now its first line of defence, may have had to sub-infeudate property to

⁸⁶ *Catalogus Baronum*, art. 1436; *Tancred Diplomata*, 54–6 no. 23. Cf. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard (7 vols., Rolls Series, London 1872–84), iii.555, where the emperor justified the destruction of this settlement at Torremaggiore itself as punishment for the murder of a royal official, and making clear that it was a royal fief. The c. 1243 list still described this as a *casale*, although it had long since been walled.

⁸⁷ Leccisotti, *Il 'Monasterium Terrae Maioris'*, 77.

⁸⁸ *Catalogus Baronum*, art. 1440; Vitolo, *Insedimenti cavensi in Puglia*, 66–71, and especially *Documenti cavensi per la storia di Rocchetta S. Antonio*, ed. C. Carlone (Altavilla Silentina 1987).

⁸⁹ E. Sthamer, *Die Verwaltung der Kastele im Königreich Sizilien unter Kaiser Friedrich II. und Karl I. von Anjou* (Leipzig 1914; reprint Tübingen 1997), 83–4, 100.

laymen who rendered service to the king, or to have suffered the alienation of property that was deemed liable for service.

But the extent to which the Church contributed towards the kingdom's defence is not entirely clear, both because our main evidence, the *Catalogus Baronum*, only covered part of the mainland, omitting Calabria and Sicily, and because insofar as churches were included, the coverage within it was partial and incomplete. (Nor was naval service mentioned by the *Catalogus*, although we have occasional references that show that it was sometimes exacted from men subject to churches.) Certainly there was little rhyme or reason to explain why some churches were included in the Catalogue and others were not. Although more churches from the Abruzzi were included than from other regions, even here there was no great consistency. While the Catalogue conceals some service from church lands, and a handful of churches which were mentioned without specifying any service they owed may also have contributed troops, there were other churches that possessed a military potential which were not included at all. It would appear, however, that further obligations were subsequently laid on some churches, both when they gained new property and perhaps when they consolidated older holdings. In the reign of Frederick II churches not included in the *Catalogus Baronum* were recorded as holding as fiefs property that they had owned in the twelfth century. These properties appear to have been reclassified as fiefs from which service and other dues were exacted. Such a situation contrasted with that before 1140 when, although some churches had played a part in military affairs, and in the case of Montecassino a very considerable one, they had not usually been subject to formal military obligations towards the state. After the consolidation of the new kingdom of Sicily that situation changed, albeit unsystematically. Churches now had to contribute to the defence of the *regno*, although the precise details of how, and to what extent, they did, are far from easy to disentangle.

The secular Church

The discussion so far has tended to analyse the Church from above, from the viewpoint of popes and kings, or through its most important benefactors, most of whom came from the higher ranks of the aristocracy. Given the inherent bias of the sources, such concerns are inevitable, and it would be rash to downplay the importance of these influences upon the south Italian Church. However, one also needs to examine the internal structures and the personnel of the Church, and to attempt to glean (insofar as one can) something of its spiritual life and religious interaction with the laity. There was after all more to the Church than simply law, administration and patronage, significant as these undoubtedly were. How therefore did churchmen fulfil their mission to minister to the spiritual welfare of their flocks, and ultimately to save their souls, if they could?

One feature of the south Italian Church which has already been noted was the proliferation of bishoprics, and the small size of many of the resultant dioceses. Given that relatively few bishops, at least on the mainland, had a political role or would have spent much time at the royal court, and that such occasions as papal councils were infrequent, the majority of prelates are likely to have spent most of their time within their diocese, resident at their cathedrals. This therefore enabled them to play a significant role in administering the sacraments and tending to their flock, to an extent that might well have appeared strange to churchmen from northern Europe, for whom their bishop, however conscientious he may have been, was often a distant figure, presiding over a large diocese, and frequently absent on political service. Precisely because their dioceses were usually small, south Italian bishops knew their flocks and interacted with them. To take but one example: in 1126, as Wimundus de Munzagros, a baron of Aversa, lay dying, he sent for the bishop 'with great devotion'. Bishop Robert administered the last rites, and encouraged him to make a donation of land to the see in return for liturgical commemoration on the anniversary of his death, on which occasion the canons would also enjoy a dinner

in his honour from the revenues of these lands.¹ The symbiosis between all the elements of this transaction, the pastoral role of the bishop, the baron's anxiety that prayers should be said for his soul, and the canons' dinner – the bishop still functioning as the head of his cathedral, with his sphere of action and administration as yet undifferentiated – was characteristic of the everyday world of the south Italian Church in the twelfth century.

The recruitment of bishops also enhanced the close relationship between prelates and their sees. Royal appointment or influence might impose an outsider on some dioceses, but such cases were, as we have seen, relatively rare, tended to be confined to the more important sees, and even then some of these 'political prelates', like Romuald II of Salerno, were in fact local men. With elections generally left in the hands of the chapter, even though subject to royal confirmation, the most likely outcome was of a choice from within the canons themselves, or of a bishop with strong local connections. Admittedly, we can only be certain of this in a small minority of cases; we know something of the career and social background of no more than perhaps 15 per cent of the south Italian bishops of the twelfth, or even of the thirteenth century. We may indeed not know even the bare names of much more than half of the episcopate at this time, although such statistics are somewhat misleading in that for a few sees we are well informed, while for some of the poorer and more obscure, particularly in Calabria, and also those in northern Apulia that were subsequently suppressed during the fifteenth century, we know virtually nothing.² Furthermore, the sources tend to be more detailed for the later part of our period than for the earlier.

Examples of bishops with known local origins include William I, bishop of Caiazzo 1152–68, son of a certain Manso of Caiazzo, whose brother was a local knight called Landulf. The two brothers gave a piece of land in the territory of Caiazzo that they jointly owned to their sister Juliana in 1152, while one of the adjoining pieces of land belonged to a nephew.³ At least two of his successors seem similarly to have been local men, Doferius (1184–8), whose sister left money to the chapter to buy land, and James (Giacomo) Almundi (1225–53), who came from a family of local lawyers.⁴ In another see in the principality of Capua, Lambert, bishop of Aversa during the early 1190s, was almost certainly the *Magister* Lambertus who had been a member of the chapter from 1158 onwards. He owned a *palatium* and other houses in the town, which may

¹ *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 38–40 no. 25.

² Kamp, 'The bishops of southern Italy', 186–8. ³ Cava, *Arca* xxviii.30.

⁴ Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, i.152–3. Peter Almundi was one of the town's judges between 1162 and 1170, *Pergamene dell'archivio vescovile di Caiazzo*, 65 no. 18, 67–8 no. 20.

suggest that he too was of local origin.⁵ His successor, Gentile, who was translated from the see of Venafrò in 1193, was actually a native of Aversa, either a member or a connection of a prominent local knightly family, the *de Rebursa*, attested from the middle of the twelfth century onwards. Peter *de Rebursa*, constable of Aversa, made a donation to the chapter for his soul in 1217.⁶ Gentile's successor, Bishop Basuinus of Catanzaro, was another local man from Aversa, whose translation from his Calabrian see was requested by the chapter and approved by Innocent III. Once again he appears to have been from a knightly background, probably related to the Peter *Basuynus*, 'one of the knights of Aversa', who abandoned a law suit against the chapter in September 1185.⁷ Thus three successive bishops of Aversa at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century were local men.

Of course, the fact that two of these bishops were translated from other sees shows that such local appointments were not always the case. Indeed the town of Aversa seems to have been something of a recruiting ground for the episcopate in the late twelfth century, for in August 1189 Master William of Aversa, archbishop of Otranto, made an exchange of properties with the cathedral chapter of his native town. He too came from a family some of whose members were of knightly status.⁸ Yet there are enough other examples, and not just from the principality of Capua, to suggest that many bishops were indeed local men. Sometimes they might owe their election to the influence of powerful local figures. Thus Pandulf, bishop of Sora (an exempt see lying along the border between the Principality of Capua and papal territory) from 1188 onwards, was a relation of the lords of Aquino, while Peter, bishop of Telese (province of Benevento) 1178–90, was a protégé of the counts of Caserta of the 'S. Severino' family; in 1183 he and Bishop Porphilius of Caserta witnessed a charter of Count William granting property outside the city of Salerno to Cava. What was significant here was that the charter was issued at Lauro, near Avellino, the ancestral home of the S. Severino family. Both bishops were thus some way out of their own dioceses, but acting as part of the comital entourage.⁹

⁵ Lambert the canon was a witness of *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 124–6 no. 72 (April 1158), and appeared in a number of subsequent charters of the cathedral of St Paul. In July 1180 he appears as Master Lambert, and in May 1190 as 'Master Lambert canon and chancellor', *ibid.*, 196–8 no. 107, 261–3 no. 138. Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, i.339–40.

⁶ *Codice diplomatico svevo di Aversa*, 170–2 no. 84; for an earlier member of this family making an exchange of property with the chapter, *Cod. Dip. Aversa*, 117–19 no. 68 (November 1156).

⁷ *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 238–40 no. 128. For these two bishops, see Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, i.341–5.

⁸ *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 259–61 no. 138, and for the family *Codice diplomatico svevo di Aversa*, 177–9 no. 87 (August 1217). Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, ii.715.

⁹ Tescione, *Caserta medievale*, 167–8 no. 6. Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, i.98–9, 291–2.

Bishops known to have previously been members of the cathedral chapter of their see also include Archbishop Bisantius III of Trani 1142–50,¹⁰ Oderisius of Raino, bishop of Valva 1172–93 (who also came from a local knightly family) and his successor William, bishop from 1194 to 1204; Peter, archbishop of Brindisi 1183–96; Matthew, archbishop of Capua 1183–99; Ignitius, bishop of Marsia 1195–1207 and also his successor Thomas (bishop 1209–19), and Peter, bishop of Troia 1201–6.¹¹ Those who had already held capitular office, such as Oderisius of Raino, formerly provost of one of the two chapters in the diocese of Valva; Roffred II of Benevento (1119–30), formerly the archpriest of Benevento cathedral; Otto, archbishop of Capua (1119–26), and formerly dean of the cathedral; or Hunfredus (Humphrey), archdeacon of S. Marco Argentano in Calabria, and subsequently bishop from 1195, were obviously likely candidates for election by their fellow canons.¹² Others might come from the diocesan clergy, as did Atto, bishop of Aprutium from 1176/9 onwards, formerly archpriest of S. Flaviano (modern Giulianova).¹³ Other bishops of local origins included Maraldus, the bishop-elect of Minervino deposed for simony c. 1171 × 1179, Boniface, bishop of Canne 1182–8, another from a knightly family, and Unfridus, bishop of Sarno (in the province of Salerno) 1181–2, who came from a family of local judges.¹⁴ Sometimes the influence of the metropolitan might also be important in the choice of bishop. Thus Amandus, bishop of Bisceglie 1154–82 had previously been a deacon at Trani cathedral, where he had written an account of the translation of Saint Nicholas the Pilgrim for Archbishop Bisantius (II).¹⁵ Similarly, in the early thirteenth century two successive bishops of Giovinazzo had previously been canons of Bari – and Bari and Giovinazzo are after all less than 20 km distant from one another – but Palmerius, bishop from 1225, had also previously held office as archdeacon of Giovinazzo.¹⁶

¹⁰ He had apparently been ‘prepared from boyhood for sacred orders and educated in ecclesiastical doctrines’ by his predecessor, Bisantius II, Archbishop 1097–1120, ‘De Sancti Nicolai Canonizatione et Translatione, auctore Amando diacono Tranensi’, *Acta Sanctorum*, June, i.242.

¹¹ Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, i.28–9, 61–4, 109–10, ii.515, 663–4. Peter of Brindisi had been both a canon of Brindisi and capitular dean of Bisignano in Calabria.

¹² Roffred: *Falco*, 52; Otto: *Regesto di S. Angelo in Formis*, 68; Hunfredus: Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, ii.824.

¹³ Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, i.51.

¹⁴ *Cod. Dipl. Barese* i.103–7 no. 54: the bishop-elect’s nephew was a local knight. Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, i.477–8, ii. 620. For Boniface, see especially *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, viii.195–6 no. 151, and 199 no. 155.

¹⁵ *Acta Sanctorum*, June, i.242–6. Matthew, *Norman Kingdom*, 103–4.

¹⁶ Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, ii.632–3.

By contrast, members of the higher aristocracy were rare among the episcopate. Most south Italian bishoprics were poorly endowed, and thus not that attractive for those of high social status. There were, however, two such prelates towards the end of the twelfth century, Roger of S. Severino, archbishop of Benevento 1179–1225, and Walter of Pagliara, bishop of Troia 1189–1200, and royal chancellor under Henry VI. The former was probably a younger brother of William of S. Severino, the most important temporal lord of the Cilento region in the south of the principality of Salerno and a royal justiciar. He was therefore also a cousin of Count Robert of Caserta, royal master justiciar on the mainland until his death in 1182. As was suggested above (p. 241), his appointment to the papally controlled see of Benevento, and to judge from the length of his pontificate at quite a youthful age, shows quite how amicable relations were between the Sicilian government and the papacy during the reign of William II. Walter came from the family who were counts of Manopello towards the end of the century – he may have been a son of Peter of Manopello, count 1170–85, although the genealogy of this family has not been securely established, and Gentile (the bishop's brother) can be first identified as count of Manopello only in 1195. This family was also connected with the royal administration: Oderisius of Pagliara had been a royal justiciar in the Aprutium region in 1148. Walter was also a relative of Abbot Oderisius of St John in Venere (1155–1204), although the abbot and his brother, another Gentile, came from a separate branch of the family.¹⁷ Unfortunately we do not know what lay behind Walter's appointment to a see in the Capitanata in the last months of the reign of William II. However, his influence under the Staufen rulers, and the strong support that the Abruzzese nobility had given to the cause of Henry VI and Constance after 1190, was reflected in the presence of a number of prelates who came from this hitherto marginal region among the episcopate of the kingdom.¹⁸ This was, though, the product of external influence, both royal and, in the early thirteenth century, also papal. There was no comparable influence of a group from one part of the kingdom before 1189. Walter's most notable protégé was Berard de Castanea, who in 1200 was acting as administrator (*magister procurator*) of the lands of the bishopric of Troia during the chancellor's absence in Sicily, and who rose to become archbishop of Bari in 1207

¹⁷ Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, ii.509–10; Jamison, 'Norman administration', 378–9. Clementi, 'Calendar of Henry VI', 170 no. 83.

¹⁸ Kamp, 'The bishops of southern Italy', 202–4.

and was translated to Palermo by Innocent III in 1213.¹⁹ Walter of Pagliara continued to play a major, if often disruptive, political role, first as bishop of Troia and then as bishop of Catania, until his eventual death in exile in 1229.

The other group that became increasingly rare among the episcopate during the twelfth century were monks. At the time of the conquest monastic bishops were relatively common, certainly in areas where there was an important and locally influential monastery that could provide candidates of suitable education, and presumably morals. These monks were likely to have been much better-educated and more suitable for episcopal office than the cathedral clergy in some of the smaller and poorer dioceses. Furthermore the popes sometimes encouraged the appointment of monks. Montecassino, in particular, furnished quite a number of south Italian bishops at this period (above, pp. 124–5), but especially for the sees in the north of the principality of Capua. We may note there, for example, Martin of Aquino and Peter of Isernia, both appointed by Nicholas II in 1059; Milo, formerly provost of the Cassinese cell in Capua, who was bishop of Suessa Aurunca in 1071; John of Sora (1073–86), the uncle of the Cassinese chronicler Leo Marsicanus; Rainald, bishop of Gaeta from 1090, and Pandulf, bishop of Teano 1117–37.²⁰ But Montecassino was not the only source of monastic bishops. Robert Guiscard's foundation of St Euphemia, for example, provided monks for several sees in Calabria and Sicily around 1100.²¹ In the Abruzzi, three of the abbots of St Clement, Casauria, simultaneously held the bishopric of Valva during the second half of the eleventh century, and whatever strict canon lawyers of a later age might have said about such pluralism, it was clearly an effective means of finding a capable bishop for a remote see in a troubled region.²²

However, after 1130, as elsewhere in Christendom, monks became increasingly rare in the episcopate. That the kings appear generally to have accepted the candidates elected by the chapter may well have encouraged this tendency – one of the few exceptions, the monk selected by the royal chancellor Robert of Selby at Avellino (above, pp. 258–9), was an outsider imposed on the chapter. By the late twelfth century there were very few monastic bishops, apart from in the four sees on the island of Sicily with monastic chapters, which either by custom or (at Monreale) by specific royal decree, were reserved for monastic incumbents, usually

¹⁹ Cava, *Arca* xlv.102. For his career, Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, ii.576–81. Castanea, south of Teramo, is very close to Pagliara. His family were active as royal administrators under Frederick II.

²⁰ *Chron. Cas.* II.16, III.14, 24, 34, IV.8, 75, 108, pp. 199, 376, 391, 410, 472, 540, 575.

²¹ Kamp, 'The bishops of southern Italy', 197–8. ²² *Chron. Casauriense*, 861, 865, 868.

elected from within the convent. When William II died in 1189 there were *at most* no more than four or five bishops on the mainland from the ranks of the regular clergy, and one of these, Cosmas of Rossano, was a Greek, the former abbot of St Mary of the Patiron. (It is quite probable that other bishops of the southern Calabrian sees still in Greek hands may also have been monks, as was common in the Greek-rite Church, but almost nothing is known about them at this period.) Indeed, the only Latin-rite prelate who can confidently be identified as having previously been a monk is Archbishop Roger of Benevento, who was a former monk of Montecassino; none of the other possible candidates among the Latin episcopate are absolutely certain. Agapitus of Frigento described himself as *de confratribus* of Cava, but did this mean that he was a former monk of the abbey, or simply a member of its confraternity?²³ Simon of Ugento was undoubtedly a monk of Montecassino, but the presumed dates of his episcopate (c. 1170–1200) are purely conjectural – he may in fact have been bishop at an earlier era. Similarly Oderisius of Forcone (bishop 1188–1203) may have been a regular canon, but this too is not absolutely proven.²⁴ It is possible therefore that there may have been no monks at all among the mainland Latin-rite episcopate in the *regno* in 1189 – Benevento was not strictly speaking part of the kingdom of Sicily, even though part of its diocese, and the whole of its province was. And even if these possible identifications of monastic bishops may be accepted, the sees they held were among the poorest and most obscure in the peninsula. This was, admittedly, a relatively short-lived phase, and papal influence after 1200 led to the recruitment of a number of Cistercian monks as bishops, and a few regular canons as well.²⁵ But, by contrast, after 1194 those bishoprics in Sicily that had monastic chapters ceased to have monks as their bishops, as the Staufers intruded their own men into these cathedrals (above, p. 276). Thus the overall number of monks, when compared to the very large number of bishoprics, remained very limited, both in the later twelfth century and right through the reign of Frederick II. The episcopate appears to have been drawn overwhelmingly from the secular clergy.

²³ A. Pratesi, 'Note di diplomatica vescovile beneventana, II', *Bullettino dell'archivio paleografico italiano*, n.s. 1 (1955), 76–8 no. 12 (August 1189).

²⁴ *Necrologio del Cod. Cas. 47*, 51. Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, i.17, ii.739. Later tradition also claimed Bisantius of Bisceglie (1182–1219) as a monk, but as Kamp points out this is far from certain, *ibid.*, ii.566.

²⁵ For a list of Cistercian bishops during the thirteenth century, T. Kölzer, 'La monarchia normanno-sveva e l'ordine cistercense', in *I Cistercensi nel Mezzogiorno medioevale*, ed. H. Houben and B. Vetere (Galatina 1994), 116.

While a few prelates such as those from Sicily appointed to the royal council of *familiars*, or some of the mainland metropolitans like Romuald II of Salerno, did play a significant political role, the great majority of bishops, and especially on the mainland, were important only at a strictly local level. Because many came from local families or had been promoted from within the chapter, this meant that they identified with the towns where they had their seats and were often the natural leaders of their communities. So when in 1171 the people of Suessa Aurunca and Teano were in dispute about the water rights of their respective towns, their spokesmen were the two bishops.²⁶ Archbishop Nicholas led the defence of Salerno against the forces of Henry VI in 1191, while Roger of Benevento was accused, by his own canons, of encouraging the men of Benevento to attack and destroy a *castellum* belonging to a neighbouring baron with whom the citizens were in dispute.²⁷ But for the most part their activities were more mundane, and more appropriate to their spiritual position.

Allusion has already been made to one of the most obvious signs of the close relationship between prelates and their flocks – with the presence of the bishop of Aversa at the deathbed of Wimundus de Munzagros in 1126 (above, p. 363). In such instances they did not simply bring spiritual comfort to the dying, although obviously that was a vital religious function. Clerics were also important as executors for the testaments of the deceased – where bishops fulfilled such a role it tended, obviously, to be for the leaders of local society. Thus Archbishop Ubaldo of Trani was one of the executors of John son of Disigius of that city in December 1138, who made a series of substantial monetary bequests, including 200 *miliaresia* to the abbey of Cava, 50 to the archbishop and 100 to his cathedral clergy, and 50 to the fabric fund of the cathedral, to which he also donated some sacred vessels.²⁸ Quite who this John was we do not know, although he was obviously a wealthy man who made elaborate provision for his soul. Robert, lord of Trentinaria, who died in October 1156, was a royal baron who was a descendant of the old Lombard princes of Salerno; his executors included Archbishop Romuald of Salerno, Bishop Celsus of Paestum and Abbot Marinus of Cava, as well as three laymen, one of whom was a royal chamberlain. He left much of his

²⁶ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vi. 552–4.

²⁷ This was one of a number of charges against Roger that Innocent III sent a cardinal and the archbishop of Naples to investigate in 1199, *Register Innocenz' III*, 2 *Pontifikatsjahr 1199/1200*, 434–7 no. 227. For Nicholas, *Liber ad Honorem Augusti di Pietro da Elsoli*, ed. G. B. Siragusa (F, Rome 1906), 41–2 lines 498–509.

²⁸ *Carte di Trani*, 89–95 no. 36.

property to Cava, but there were also monetary bequests both to Salerno cathedral and to the bishop of Paestum.²⁹

Such spiritual and practical comfort was not confined to the aristocracy alone. Archbishop Romuald attended the deathbed of Peter, chief judge (*protoiudex*) of Salerno in February 1159, and was appointed his executor, once again along with Marinus of Cava. In this case, while the testator made a number of religious bequests, these were all to monasteries, and the archbishopric did not profit.³⁰ Richard of Melfi, who would seem to have been one of a knightly family, appointed the local bishop, Radulfus, as one of his executors on his deathbed in February 1177; he made a bequest to Cava, but otherwise simply instructed his executors to sell his property and use the proceeds for his soul as they thought best.³¹ In their role as executors, prelates were not just fulfilling a Christian duty, but were a significant part of the social fabric. Nor was the role of executor the only way in which a prelate might interact with the legal workings of local lay society: Archbishop Romuald, for example, acted as the guarantor of a knight, in a law suit which he had pursued against another layman, at Nocera in November 1162, and six months later he was present at a court where a plaintiff gave an undertaking not to raise further claims about the patrimony of one of his priests.³²

One obvious consequence of the overwhelmingly local character of the episcopate was that they often sought to favour their own families. Sometimes this was a matter of ecclesiastical appointments. Thus a nephew of Bishop John III of Aversa was one of the cathedral clergy there in 1150, and a nephew of Archbishop Robbaldus of Amalfi was a deacon at his cathedral in 1172.³³ Robert Guarna, the brother of Archbishop Romuald II of Salerno was first of all *abbas* of the city church of St Gregory, from 1168 onwards, and subsequently archdeacon of Salerno (1178) – a post that had once been held by his uncle, almost fifty years earlier. Yet we should not assume that such nepotism was always to the church's detriment. Robert, for example, was not only active in representing the archbishopric, for example in ascertaining its rights within its new lordship of Montecorvino in 1168, but he also

²⁹ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vii.400–1. ³⁰ Cava, *Arca* xxx.33.

³¹ Cava, *Arca* xxxv.100, *Documenti cavensi per la storia di Rocchetta S. Antonio*, 100–1 appendix no. 14. Two of the other executors were knights, though Richard was not expressly described as such, these were clearly his peers.

³² Cava, *Arca* xxx.116, xxxi.29.

³³ *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 101 no. 57; *Le pergamene degli archivii vescovili di Amalfi e Ravello*, i, ed. J. Mazzoleni (Naples 1972), 74–6 no. 49.

rebuilt the church in his charge.³⁴ Prelates, like other medieval men, tended to rely on members of their family as those they could trust in positions of authority. Such considerations applied even to those who wore a monastic habit: Archbishop William of Monreale appointed his brother John as the justiciar of the archbishopric's mainland properties in Apulia.³⁵ Occasionally the family of a prelate might profit directly from his control of his church's property, as when Bishop Rainulf of Chieti leased two *castella* belonging to his nephews in 1099, for three generations (in other words a very long term indeed).³⁶

More usual perhaps, and certainly less damaging to the interests of his church, was when the family of a prelate profited indirectly from his position to enhance their secular status. Three of the brothers of Archbishop Romuald Guarna of Salerno became territorial lords, albeit all on a relatively small scale. While this cannot have been entirely due to Romuald (for his eldest brother indeed died before he became archbishop), the transition of the other two from the urban patriciate of Salerno to the military aristocracy may well have been due to his position and court connections.³⁷ The family of Archbishop Doferius (1189–1207), who came from his original see of Caiazzo, became established in Bari, where indeed they were quite prominent in the thirteenth century. By contrast, the family of Hugh, archbishop of Siponto (1195–1210) remained in their native Troia, where Hugh had formerly been dean of the cathedral, but like the relations of Doferius they adopted the surname *de Archiepiscopo*, which suggests that they derived their subsequent status from their distinguished clerical relative.³⁸ The families of prelates might also have an impact upon their cathedrals, in that provision was made for their liturgical commemoration. Hence an anniversary was celebrated at Aversa for a brother of Bishop Walter (1158–78), and in 1212 Archbishop Nicholas of Salerno instructed his canons to ensure that the anniversary for his brother Count Richard of Ajello was always properly celebrated, despite fluctuations in the revenues that his brother had assigned to establish this commemoration.³⁹

³⁴ Salerno, Archivio diocesano, Mensa archiepiscopalis, *Arca* II no. 78; Cuozzo, *Catalogus Baronum. Commentario*, 128–9 (recording an inscription, now in the Museo diocesano, of 1172); Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vii.404.

³⁵ *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 244–7 no. 131 (May 1186).

³⁶ *Regesto delle pergamene della curia arcivescovile di Chieti*, i (1006–1400), ed. A. Balducci (Casalbordino 1926), 4 no. 10. One of these was still in lay hands c. 1150, *Catalogus Baronum*, 212 art. 1097.

³⁷ Cuozzo, *Catalogus Baronum. Commentario*, 128–9, 131. For a genealogical chart of this family, *Tyrants*, table III.

³⁸ Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, ii.533, 575.

³⁹ *Cod. dipl. Aversa*, 205–8 no. III, at 207; *Codice diplomatico salernitano del sec. XIII*, i.99–101 no. 37.

Unfortunately, the most important part of a bishop's duties, the fulfilment of his spiritual mission and sacramental and liturgical role, is the least well documented. Furthermore, the occasions when bishops were recorded as performing their religious duties were often the relatively unusual ones, not the customary or quotidian; for example the dedication of churches or the interment of relics, rather than the ordination of clerics, the celebration of mass in the cathedral, or the instruction of their flock and the diffusion of the Church's teachings. Malaterra contrasted the role of the bishop in preaching with that of his canons and cathedral clergy, whose concern was the performance of the liturgy.⁴⁰ Gerard of Potenza (died c. 1119) was apparently notable for his preaching, while Archbishop Samarus of Trani customarily preached a sermon to his clergy on Easter (Maundy) Thursday at one of the baptismal churches in his diocese, presumably as part of the usual ceremony for the blessing of the chrism – but we have few other references to episcopal preaching, apart from Archbishop Thomas of Reggio's memorial oration for William II (by definition an unusual event). Preaching indeed seems to be associated in twelfth-century sources rather with monastic founders like John of Matera, especially in the earlier parts of their careers as itinerant holy men, or with Greek churchmen, rather than with Latin bishops.⁴¹ However, episcopal participation in ceremonies associated with relics is well attested. Alfano I of Salerno not only presided over the *inventio* of the relics of Saint Matthew in 1080 – although these had in theory at least been present in the cathedral since their translation from Paestum in 954 – he also interred the relics of various local early Christian martyrs in a church near the River Irno, just outside the city, in 1078.⁴² Such *inventiones* or interments could provide a powerful focus for the religious enthusiasm of both clergy and laity. As Gregory VII commented upon the rediscovery of Saint Matthew's relics: 'for if at other times the devoted acts of patronage of the saints do not fail us, most certainly their helping interventions are most powerfully to be hoped for

⁴⁰ Malaterra, III.19, pp. 68–9: in his verses celebrating the foundation of the see of Troina, 'The holy clergy sing hymns of Divine praise / The bishop sows the Word of holy law among the people.'

⁴¹ Vita Gerardi, in *Acta Sanctorum, October*, xiii.468; *Carte di Trani*, 190 no. 93 (August 1201). Schlichte, *Der 'gute' König*, 327. See H. Houben, 'La predicazione', in *Strumenti, tempi e luoghi di comunicazione nel Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo* (Atti delle undecime giornate normanno-sveve, Bari, 26–29 ottobre 1993), ed. G. Musca and V. Sivo (Bari 1995), 253–73.

⁴² Recorded in an inscription still apparently in that church in 1620, subsequently moved to an oratory in the archiepiscopal palace, and now in the Museo diocesano: *MLXXVIII. / Anno Domi(ni)cae Incarn(ati)o(nis) / Reliquiae (san)c(tor)u(m) Mart(yrum) / Fortunati. Gaii. et Anthes / Ioh(ann)is. et Pauli. Cosmae et / Dominiani. Nazarii et Celsi / Hic rec(on)ditae sunt / Ab Alfano Archiepiscopo / Te(m)por(ibus) Robb(e)rti Praecellentissimi Ducis.*

when their most holy bodies are by Divine permission revealed to us.⁴³ When William I threatened to destroy Salerno as a punishment for disloyalty in 1162, the city's deliverance was ascribed to a storm sent by Saint Matthew, 'who has been given by God as the patron and defender of the city of Salerno'. This tempest blew away the king's tent and frightened him into abandoning his cruel intentions.⁴⁴ The role of Saint Matthew as the patron of both the cathedral and the city was celebrated every year on 6 May, the feast of his translation, by a procession through Salerno, headed by the young men of the cathedral school and the cathedral dignitaries, and followed by the abbots of those monastic houses under the jurisdiction of the archbishop, the rest of the cathedral clergy, the bishops of the province, and finally the archbishop himself, in a ritual that not only honoured the saint but also emphasised the archbishop's role as ruler both of his own diocese and of his province.⁴⁵

Salerno was not, however, the only city where the relics of the saints played an important religious role. Thus, on 15–16 May 1119 Archbishop Landulf of Benevento masterminded the 'discovery', exhibition and reburial of the relics of various saints, 'who had formerly for a long time lain in unworthy tombs'. The notary Falco gave an eloquent account of the rejoicing that followed.

News of this spread through the city and a great crowd of men and women collected, and they rushed weeping with gifts to kiss these bones. I indeed, though unworthy, kissed these bones. Two days after the bones of the Saints had been exhumed the archbishop ordered all the priests of the city to be summoned to the cathedral, where they would discuss what honours should be rendered to such great saints. After their advice had been sought, he speedily commanded that first the priests of the Porta Somma should go down to the cathedral rejoicing with candles and lamps, and should sing the praises of God and these saints in front of their bones'. [The priests of the other city districts then followed their example] . . . A crowd of men and women, and the poor, went before and behind them, singing and raising lighted candles on high.⁴⁶

Falco went on to describe the making of carnival floats by the clergy of the various churches, which were then paraded amid music and rejoicing – one of them was eventually dragged bodily up the steep and narrow main street to the cathedral. The next day the archbishop and three of his suffragans

⁴³ Gregory, *Reg.* VIII.8, pp. 526–7, trans. Cowdrey, 373. ⁴⁴ *Romuald*, 251–2.

⁴⁵ G. Vitolo, 'Città e chiesa nel Mezzogiorno medievale: la processione del santo patrono a Salerno (sec. XII)', in *Salerno nel XII secolo. Istituzioni, società, cultura*, ed. P. Delogu and P. Peduto (Salerno 2004), 134–48, especially 138–9.

⁴⁶ *Falco*, 46–8.

solemnly reinterred the bones in the cathedral, and granted an indulgence to those who visited the tombs. But while Falco stressed the religious enthusiasm that permeated the city population, there was another aspect to this as well: 'You would have seen a most unusual procession, and something unheard of for many years, the city of Benevento moved only by honour and love for the saints.' Benevento was riven by faction, and often desperately unstable. Such communal religious enterprises were also a means of securing civic peace.

Five years later, Archbishop Roffred of Benevento ordered the opening of the tomb of Saint Barbatus, the apostle of the city, believed to have been the man who had converted the southern Lombards to Christianity. The body was eventually found beneath a massive stone that was broken apart by crowbars. 'The whole city crowded around and praised God the creator of all, who had deemed them worthy to be given so important a body.' After a week of processions and demonstrations, the body was reburied under a new altar, and the archbishop then declared a partial indulgence to all the citizens. Subsequent miracles showed Divine approval for these actions: a shoemaker's injured arm was cured, and a peasant's withered leg.⁴⁷ Falco's account of this second set of ceremonies is in a lower key than that of the *inventiones* of 1119, and lays less emphasis on scenes of popular enthusiasm, but that so resolutely matter-of-fact a chronicler should, for the only time in his account, retell miracle stories suggests how important he viewed such special religious events to be in the life of his native city.⁴⁸

The dedication of churches was also an important religious function that only bishops could perform, and would often be accompanied by the interment of relics. When Bishop William III of Troia dedicated the church of St Vincent in that city in 1169, he gave it relics of no fewer than four saints, two local (Eleutherius and Secundinus), and two major Christian saints (Nicholas and Catherine), the latter presumably only very small portions.⁴⁹ The Norman chronicler Orderic Vitalis claimed that 'God allowed many churches to secure some of the holy relics of the saintly bishop [Nicholas].'⁵⁰ However, the body of Saint Nicholas, or at least the

⁴⁷ *Falco*, 74–82.

⁴⁸ When comparing the two accounts, it should also be remembered that the author may not have written them at the same time; Falco's chronicle was compiled in stages over many years, not written in one go. See G. A. Loud, 'The genesis and context of the Chronicle of Falco of Benevento', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 15. *Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1992*, ed. M. Chibnall (Woodbridge 1993), 177–98.

⁴⁹ *Chartes de Troia*, 260 no. 85.

⁵⁰ *Orderic*, iv.68–9. Orderic told stories of how an arm of Saint Nicholas ended up at Venosa, and a tooth at Rouen, *ibid.*, iv.70–3.

major portion thereof, was of course buried in Bari, whence it had been transported from Myra in Asia Minor in 1087. It became the focus for probably the most important civic cult in southern Italy. The church that was built over the tomb, the crypt of which was dedicated by Urban II in 1089, became both a centre for the religious devotion of the city, more so indeed than the cathedral, and also a centre of pilgrimage, attracting visitors from northern Europe as well as simply the region. One of the first recorded visitors from north of the Alps was Fulcher of Chartres, the future chronicler of the First Crusade, who worshipped at the church of St Nicholas before crossing the Adriatic on his way to Constantinople and Jerusalem in 1096.⁵¹ A hospice for pilgrims attached to the church of St Nicholas was mentioned for the first time in 1101, although early descriptions of visits to the tomb suggest it soon proved inadequate.⁵² Nicholas became Bari's patron, and Grimoald Alfaranites, the patrician who took over as ruler of the city, described himself in 1123 as 'by the grace of God and Saint Nicholas prince', and the saint as he 'by whose prayers and merits both us and our state are protected'.⁵³ The 62 sailors who had brought the stolen relics to Bari in 1087 were granted special privileges at the church of St Nicholas: they had the right to a burial place next to the church, and to erect a sarcophagus over their tomb, to a seat (*sedile*) within the church, to be received as clerics if they so wished, without further gift or payment, and to charitable assistance if they fell into poverty. These privileges were heritable – in 1207 a man remitted to the prior of St Nicholas the third share he had inherited of all the *beneficia* that one of his ancestors had enjoyed from the church, by right of the privilege of Archbishop Elias to the relatives of those who had brought back the saint's body. He reserved for himself only his share in the family tomb.⁵⁴

The church of St Nicholas was spared the destruction that William I decreed for Bari as a punishment for rebellion in 1156, and William II later made his own pilgrimage to visit the shrine in 1182.⁵⁵ This church became a desirable place of burial for outsiders of social distinction: one of the Hauteville dynasty, the grandson of Count Drogo of Apulia, was buried next to the church before 1108, as was Archbishop Bruno of Cologne who died in Bari during the Emperor Lothar's south Italian expedition of 1137.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Fulcher, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, I.7, ed. H. Hagenmayer (Heidelberg 1913), 166–7.

⁵² *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, v.59 no. 34. Cf. G. Cioffari, *Storia della basilica di S. Nicola di Bari*, i. *L'epoca normanno sveva* (Bari 1984), 80–1.

⁵³ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, v.121–2 no. 69. ⁵⁴ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, v.73–5 no. 42, vi.34–5 no. 20.

⁵⁵ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, v.252–3 no. 147.

⁵⁶ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, v.91–3 no. 50; *Annales Colonienses Maximi*, MGH SS xvii.757.

The church also became the focus for other civic rituals, such as the emancipation of slaves – still found in twelfth-century Apulia, usually Slavs from Dalmatia.⁵⁷ A group of aristocratic Germans, describing themselves as pilgrims, but clearly on their way by sea to join the Third Crusade, purchased an olive grove near the city, and presented it to the church in April 1189.⁵⁸ Although its founder, Archbishop Elias, was a Benedictine, and after his death the church was ruled for a time by the abbot of another Benedictine monastery, All Saints, Cuti, just outside Bari, St Nicholas developed as a house of secular canons, independent however of the control of the archbishop. Building of the upper church continued throughout the twelfth century – it was eventually dedicated by Bishop Conrad of Hildesheim in 1197.⁵⁹

The dedication of important churches also saw significant ecclesiastical gatherings. Seven archbishops, and at least five other bishops, were present at the dedication of the church of St Sabinus at Canosa in 1102, while an inscription recorded that the final dedication of St Nicholas, Bari, in 1197 was attended by five archbishops and no fewer than 28 bishops.⁶⁰ Such vast gatherings were by definition unusual, especially after 1130 – although earlier papal visits had generated even larger attendance from the prelates of the region. But the relocation of relics and the dedication of churches might still lead to substantial gatherings that were significant within more localised regions or ecclesiastical provinces. Archbishop Bisantius (III) of Trani invited 'bishops from far and near' to attend the interment of the relics of Saint Nicholas the Pilgrim in his new cathedral in October 1142; those who attended included the archbishop of Brindisi, the latter's suffragan at Ostuni, the bishops of Rapolla and Ariano, both from other provinces, as well as the nearby bishop of Andria.⁶¹ When Bishop Amandus of Bisceglie reburied various saints' relics in his cathedral in July 1167, he was joined by the bishops of Canne, Polignano and Ruvo (all suffragans of Bari), the bishop of Vieste (a suffragan of Siponto), and the archdeacon of Trani (the province to which his see belonged), acting in place of Archbishop Bertrandus, who was absent on an embassy to Constantinople. The archbishop of Bari was similarly absent at the royal court. A crowd of lesser church dignitaries from the coastal towns of

⁵⁷ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, v.251–2 no. 146. For Slavs and servitude, Martin, *Pouille*, 508–9.

⁵⁸ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, v.262–3 no. 154.

⁵⁹ Cioffari, *Storia della basilica di S. Nicola*, 185–91.

⁶⁰ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, ii.211–12 appendix no. 1; *Italia Pontificia*, ix.328–9 no. 4; the *Gesta Episcoporum Halberstadensium*, MGH SS xxiii.112, noted that '30 archbishops and bishops' and many abbots and other ecclesiastics were present.

⁶¹ 'De Sancti Nicolai Canonizatione et Translatione', *Acta Sanctorum*, June, i.244.

Apulia also attended, and 'a huge and copious multitude' of lay people.⁶² When Archbishop Roger of Benevento dedicated the abbey church of Montevergine in 1182, he was accompanied by at least nine of his suffragans.⁶³ Five of his subordinates, and two other bishops, had earlier joined him in visiting Montecassino, where he had previously been a monk, in June 1180, which visit they had marked by issuing an indulgence remitting one year's penance to other visitors to the abbey – or one year and 40 days to those who visited on the feast of Saint Benedict.⁶⁴ On a more modest scale, an earlier archbishop of Benevento, Peter, had been accompanied by three of his suffragans when he visited Molise in August 1148 to dedicate a local church. Their visit prompted a nearby baron and his son to return a church that they had uncanonically purchased 'with diabolical persuasion' into the archbishop's hands. To this concession they added a franchise for the church's men, and a little while afterwards the gift of another church. The presence of the archbishop appears therefore to have prompted the conscience of two lay offenders – there is no suggestion in the document recording these transactions that they were acting other than spontaneously or of their own free will.⁶⁵

Such activities are significant not least since otherwise evidence for the role of metropolitans in governing their provinces and giving a lead to their suffragan bishops is relatively slight. However, the archbishops of Benevento are known to have occasionally held provincial synods. Eleven bishops from the province, and a cardinal as papal envoy, attended Archbishop Udalric's synod in 1061; and 14 bishops were present at that held by Archbishop Milo in 1075, although only 11 were from the province of Benevento itself – two of the others were papal representatives, and the third was the bishop of Aversa, presumably attending as a visitor or observer. There were also three abbots, all from monastic houses within the city. When Archbishop Landulf II held a synod in March 1119 some twenty of his suffragan bishops attended, and six abbots, as well as two cardinals. One function of these synods was to hear legal cases – the two earlier synods are both known from the records of legal judgements handed down concerning disputed churches in the diocese of Dragonara. The synod of

⁶² *Historia Inventionis Primae Sancti Mauri, Pantaleemonis et Sergii*, *Acta Sanctorum*, July, vi.368.

⁶³ Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, i.206, 229, 235, 259, 280, 286, 292, 300, 307.

⁶⁴ Gattula, *Historia*, 399. The other two bishops were those of Teano (nearby) and Assisi (from central Italy).

⁶⁵ E. M. Jamison, 'Notes on S. Maria della Strada at Matrice. Its history and sculpture', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 14 (1938), 76–80 no. 1.

1119 saw excommunication pronounced against both those who molested merchants coming to Benevento and criminals within the city.⁶⁶ Unfortunately we have little evidence for later archiepiscopal synods, either in the province of Benevento or elsewhere, although in 1131 the archbishop of Bari promised that if he should hold a provincial synod, 'as the canons instruct', then the bishop of Giovinazzo would have the privilege of being seated on his right.⁶⁷

But by no means all archbishops were in a position to hold provincial synods, or at least synods worthy of the name. For if, by the late twelfth century when the ecclesiastical structure had been clearly established, the archbishop of Benevento had no fewer than 22 suffragans, his colleague at Bari 12, and the archbishops of Capua, Conza and Salerno six apiece, by contrast the archbishops of Taranto and Trani had only two subordinate bishops and Brindisi one. A provincial synod held by these last three prelates would have been little more than a slightly reinforced version of the diocesan one. However, the archbishop of Taranto was recorded as holding a synod, seemingly as part of his regular administration, in 1083, while in the same year the archbishop of Acerenza insisted that the prior of a monastic house in his diocese must attend his synods.⁶⁸ A Sicilian church council, held at Mazara c. 1097, stressed the need for priests on the island to attend synods.⁶⁹ A royal diploma of 1155 suggests that the bishops of Melfi also regularly held diocesan synods.⁷⁰ The bishop of Larino held a synod in 1166, where 'with paternal affection he corrected the errors and transgressions that existed in his diocese', attended by among others seven archpriests, in charge of the more important churches within the see.⁷¹ The bishop of Nola referred to the need for priests to attend his synods in a charter confirming some churches in his diocese to Cava in 1181.⁷² The holding of such diocesan synods would seem therefore to have been common practice, but what actually took place there has left very little trace in the extant sources.

Archbishops might also exercise judgement over the affairs of their province without the formal summoning of a synod. In December 1143 a dispute between the bishop of Nola and the abbot of Cava was heard before the archbishop of Salerno, and eventually settled by a compromise. But

⁶⁶ *Chron. S. Sophiae*, ii.679–90; *Falco*, 42. ⁶⁷ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, ii.172–3 appendix no. 3.

⁶⁸ *Pergamene dell'archivio arcivescovile di Taranto*, 3–6 no. 1; *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.* v.104–5 no. 438.

⁶⁹ *Più antiche carte di Agrigento*, 18–20 no. 4.

⁷⁰ *William I Diplomata*, 20–3 no. 7, at 21: *vocati ad sinodum vel ad capitulum, nisi canonica fuerat excusatione prepediti, semper venerunt.*

⁷¹ *Più antiche carte di Benevento*, 244–7 no. 85. ⁷² *Cava, Arm. Mag.* I.29.

while a number of the clergy of Salerno were present, including the future archbishop Romuald Guarna, there was only one other bishop (Roger of Nusco), and a number of laymen were also in attendance, so the gathering does not appear to have been a fully-fledged provincial synod.⁷³ Similarly, in September 1147 the bishop of Lucera, accompanied by most of his chapter and the neighbouring bishop of Terviveri, came to the archiepiscopal palace in Benevento to answer complaints from the abbot of St Sophia about his treatment of the monastery's churches within his diocese. But no other bishops from the large province of Benevento were present.⁷⁴ The resolution of such disputes within the dioceses of his suffragans was one of the principal duties of an archbishop, although it may not have been altogether popular – the bishop of Lucera appeared reluctantly in 1147, after being summoned several times.

Archbishops also had a duty to intervene in cases of moral offences among his subordinates, although when the archbishop of Bari judged the dispute between Maraldus, Bishop-elect of Minervino and some of his cathedral canons, in the 1170s he was acting on the orders of the king. Nevertheless this case, which saw Archbishop Rainald hearing the case alongside five of his fellow bishops and the chapter of Bari, shows the ecclesiastical province of Bari as a functioning reality, and the election of Maraldus was eventually quashed on grounds of simony (above, p. 248).⁷⁵ By the early thirteenth century the right of the metropolitan to confirm and to supervise the election of the bishops of his province was well established, not just in canonical theory but in reality. However, by then it was also subject to increasing papal interference. Thus Archbishop Ugolino of Benevento confirmed the election of one of his canons as bishop of Sant'Agata in 1231, only for the pope to quash the election on the grounds that the candidate lacked sufficient education; while in 1240 he quashed the election of a prospective bishop at Telese, only for the pope to reinstate the candidate on appeal.⁷⁶

At an earlier period we sometimes find archbishops founding new dioceses, as did Alfanus I of Salerno in the 1060s, and Landulf III of Benevento when he installed a bishop in the short-lived see of Limosano, on the orders of Anacletus II, in 1131.⁷⁷ The archbishop might also fulfil

⁷³ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vi.255–7.

⁷⁴ Pratesi, 'Note di diplomatica vescovile beneventana', 70–2 no. 9.

⁷⁵ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.103–7 no. 54 (1171 × 1179).

⁷⁶ *Les Registres de Gregoire IX*, ed. L. Auvray (3 vols., Paris 1890–1955), i.418–19 no. 658, iii.215–16 no. 5124.

⁷⁷ *Italia Pontificia*, ix.192 no. 1.

episcopal duties in the dioceses of his province during a vacancy, as when Archbishop Henry of Benevento confirmed three churches in the diocese of Frigento to Cava in 1158.⁷⁸ Why, however, Archbishop William of Salerno was supervising arrangements for the provision of male clergy to minister to the nuns of Goleto in May 1149 is more difficult to discern – this house was not within his province, but in that of the archbishop of Conza. Either that archbishopric was then vacant, or this represented a hangover from the period when the archbishop of Salerno had claimed jurisdiction over Conza (and opposed the creation of this province).⁷⁹

Bishops, and archbishops, also held courts within their own dioceses. An abbess complained in 1149 that she had often been oppressed by ‘calumnies and disputes’ in the court of the bishop of Giovinazzo, while the bishop of Vieste was holding a court in October 1158 at which the abbot of Tremiti vindicated his monastery’s possession of a church in the diocese.⁸⁰ The various privileges issued by the government of William II with regard to jurisdiction over adultery clearly assumed the regular operation of a system of ecclesiastical courts.⁸¹ When, in January 1180, Archbishop Bertrandus of Trani exempted the Augustinian canons of St Michael, Barletta, from his normal jurisdiction, he nevertheless insisted that in cases of ‘notorious infamy’ they must be subject to the judgement of the clerics of that town, though it is not clear from his privilege whether he himself would be present at such a court. In September 1187 the archdeacon of Trani presided over a court at the cathedral, although this was at a time when the archbishop was ill (and he died soon afterwards). This particular court was concerned with the granting of a benefice.⁸² Court sessions were also considered appropriate occasions for gifts to churches, or for people to enter into the service of a church.⁸³ The holders of the *ius patronatus* of a church renounced their rights over it during an ecclesiastical court session of the archbishop of Messina in May 1192.⁸⁴ Diocesan courts also heard cases involving the property of churches, as in a dispute heard by the archbishop of Taranto and his chapter in 1208, concerning the claims of

⁷⁸ L. Mattei-Cerasoli, ‘Due bolle inedite del secolo XII degli arcivescovi di Benevento’, *Samnium* xii (1939), 8–10 no. 2.

⁷⁹ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, iii.366–9 no. 290.

⁸⁰ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, v.176–7 no. 102; *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, iii.305–8 no. 110.

⁸¹ E.g. *Carte di Trani*, 134–5 no. 61: *si quis de parochia vel diocesi predictae Tranensis ecclesie de adulterio accusatur vel in eo deprehensus fuerit ad iudicium curie eiusdem ecclesie in qua adulteria ipsa iudicari debent consistat*.

⁸² *Carte di Trani*, 146–8 no. 68, 167–8 no. 80.

⁸³ E.g. *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, x.58–9 no. 38 (November 1200).

⁸⁴ *Diplomi della cattedrale di Messina*, 34–5 no. 24.

a woman to have a share in some salt pans leased by the archbishopric to her family. This particular case reveals a good deal about the composition and procedure of such courts. Because a question of secular property was involved, not only the chapter but secular judges and other *boni homines* of the city were present, and much of the dispute concerned whether the will of the woman's father had, as her counsel argued, been made 'according to the use and custom of the city'. Nonetheless, this was a church court, and ultimately the decisive factor in the judgement was what the custom of the church of Taranto was in making such leases.⁸⁵

A feature of the earlier part of the period was the establishment of episcopal jurisdiction over the churches within the diocese, and the limitation of exemption to those churches that had received specific privileges, and in the case of monastic houses this increasingly meant papal privileges. Whereas before c. 1050 bishops had often had direct authority over only a small number of churches within their see, thereafter private (proprietary) churches became increasingly subject to their supervision, and the clergy who staffed them had to submit to the disciplinary and spiritual control of the diocesan. Papal influence was one factor, as in the bulls of Stephen IX and Alexander II in favour of the archbishop of Salerno, which confirmed the latter's role in supervising the property of churches in his diocese and his sole right of appointment to churches subject to his cathedral. Subsequently, in August 1092, Urban II decreed unequivocally that 'all the churches in the diocese of Salerno should be surrendered into the power of the archbishop'. Urban indeed stated expressly that 'no lay man ought to administer churches or have them under his power', but all churches should rather be under the power of bishops. However, such direct papal action was quite rare – at Salerno in 1092 it had been sparked by a dispute between the archbishop and Duke Roger Borsa over the appointment of the archpriest in the former princely *Eigenkirche* of S. Maria *in Domno*, in which the pope took exception to the unilateral and uncanonical action of the duke.⁸⁶

Elsewhere the influence of reforming ideas was indirect, and the consolidation of episcopal authority might actually be the work of a lay patron. So, for example, in October 1093 Bohemond I not only confirmed to the archbishopric of Bari the *casale* of Bitritto (10 km south of the city), which

⁸⁵ *Pergamene di Taranto*, 49–54 no. 13.

⁸⁶ Pflugk-Hartung, *Acta*, ii.149–50 no. 184 (for the dispute over S. Maria *in Domno*, above, p. 214). For the earlier bulls, *ibid.*, ii.82–4 no. 116, Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vii.382–3 (*Italia Pontificia*, viii.350–4, nos. 21, 25, 31). See Ramseyer, *Transformation of a Religious Landscape*, 132–3.

had earlier been given by his father, but also jurisdiction over all the churches, monasteries, *plebes* and chapels in the territory of Bari. Similarly, in August 1100 Count Geoffrey of Conversano granted the bishop (as he then was) of Brindisi jurisdiction over all the churches in his diocese, apart from two monasteries specifically mentioned that had received exemption charters from a previous incumbent of the see.⁸⁷ Furthermore, the growing influence of ideas about the sinfulness of lay ownership of churches might often benefit religious houses, to which many such churches were given, rather than bishops. Nonetheless, the years up to c. 1130 saw the consolidation of episcopal authority over the churches within the diocese.

This process was a slow one, and there was no easy transition from the older concept of laymen owning churches to the more restricted one of the *ius patronatus*. Even in the diocese of Salerno, where Urban II had so forcefully stated the Gregorian reform opposition to lay power over churches, older ideas lingered. Papal statements certainly did not mean that rights of ownership were abandoned. Thus in July 1095, three years after Urban had confirmed the archbishop's jurisdiction, a retired local official called Sico, once *vicecomes*, gave a church he had founded and endowed in the *castellum* of Campagna to the archbishop of Salerno. However, not only did he retain a life interest in this church for himself, but also one for his son, a priest, after his death – presumably the latter was to officiate there, although this was not explicitly stated.⁸⁸ It may therefore have been many years later before the archbishop secured full authority over this church. This slow process of consolidation of their rights and authorities may well explain why a number of south Italian bishops obtained papal bulls expressly listing all the churches that were subject to their authority, something that seems to have occurred especially during the 1150s, taking advantage of the thaw in relations between the king and the papacy at this period.⁸⁹

By this stage the rights of bishops over their diocesan clergy were increasingly well-defined, and papal bulls of this time referred to the *ius episcopale* over the various principal settlements within a diocese. The

⁸⁷ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.65–7 note; *Cod. Dipl. Brindisiano*, i.18–20 no. 10.

⁸⁸ Salerno, Archivio diocesano, Mensa archiepiscopalis, *Arca* I no. 28. Campagna is in the Monti Picentini, about 30 km east of Salerno.

⁸⁹ E.g. the bishops of Penne, December 1150, Kehr, *Papsturkunden*, v.160–2 no. 6, and Rapolla, June 1152, *Papsturkunden* ii.415–17 no. 7; the archbishop of Benevento, September 1153, *Più antiche carte di Benevento*, 215–19 no. 73; and the bishops of Valva, December 1156, *Papsturkunden* v.1166–9 no. 9, Aquino, August 1157, *Papsturkunden* iii.196–8 no. 6, and Gaeta, March 1159, *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.* ii.282–6 no. 345.

clergy were expected to attend diocesan synods, where these were held, and courts, where they would, if necessary, receive disciplinary correction from the bishop. They received holy oil, chrism and other sacramentary adjuncts from their diocesan bishop, and from him alone. They were expected to pay the *cathedraticum* due to him, a proportion of the tithes received, some (perhaps nominal) payment when attending synods, and some churches might owe a special *census* as well.⁹⁰ Churches subject to monastic houses might pay a proportion of their revenues to the diocesan.⁹¹ The clergy, of course, received ordinations and had their churches dedicated by him. Prelates were extremely reluctant to surrender this right, even when dealing with otherwise-exempt monastic houses – thus when in 1194 Archbishop Richard of Messina gave a nobleman permission to found a Cistercian abbey on his lands at Tremestieri, south of the city, he insisted that he alone should have the right to confer ordinations on its monks or attendant clergy and bless the abbot.⁹²

Bishops also exercised a more general supervision over the churches subject to them: for example Archbishop Alfano of Capua consenting to an exchange of property by the *custos* of the church of St John Landepaldus in that city in 1177 – no doubt his consent was required because this transaction involved alienation of property belonging to the church.⁹³ Such supervision also embraced the monastic houses of the diocese, unless specifically exempted. The archbishop of Taranto, for example, transferred the nuns of a house established in that city by a layman to another church, and placed it under the special protection of his see in 1169.⁹⁴ Such grants of episcopal or archiepiscopal protection might be seen as a mark of the enhanced status and authority of the episcopate in the Norman period. They also served to define what powers the abbots or priors of such houses might possess, and embodied a public ceremony whereby the head of the religious house demonstrated his obedience to the diocesan. So in May 1180 the abbot of St Erasmus, Aquaviva, came to Bari cathedral, and at its main

⁹⁰ The court case between the bishop of Melfi and the abbot of Montevulture in 1155 provides a good summary of the bishop's rights, *William I Diplomata*, 20–3 no. 7. See also a charter of Bishop Bernard of Nola, granting exemption from episcopal dues to three Cavenese churches in his diocese, in August 1181, Cava, *Arm. Mag.* 1.29.

⁹¹ Thus in July 1144, it was agreed that the church of All Saints, Barletta, subject to the monastery of St Michael *de Clausura*, should pay a quarter of all bequests and mortuary oblations to the archbishop of Trani, *Carte di Trani*, 100–1 no. 41. Similarly, the Hospitallers of Sulmona agreed to pay a quarter of mortuary fees and tithes from their church outside that town to the bishop of Valva in 1177, *Codice diplomatico sulmonese*, 50–1 no. 39.

⁹² *Diplomi della cattedrale di Messina*, 35–8 no. 25.

⁹³ *Pergamene normanne della Mater Ecclesia capuana, 1091–1197*, ed. G. Bova (Naples 1996), 132–8 no. 16.

⁹⁴ *Pergamene di Taranto*, 26–30 no. 8.

doorway formally requested Archbishop Rainald to take the monastery into his special protection. The archbishop in turn granted a privilege that confirmed its possessions, the various rights attached to them (notably the baptistery attached to one of its subordinate churches), and the abbot's spiritual rights – he could for example, celebrate marriages. The archbishop also pronounced sentence of excommunication – surely done publicly – on anyone threatening the property of the abbey.⁹⁵ Here the archbishop was mimicking the grant of a privilege by the pope to an exempt monastery.

Prelates might sometimes themselves grant churches to monastic houses, often to ensure their maintenance or the provision of services, either liturgical or charitable. So in September 1149 the bishop-elect of Melfi, with the consent of his chapter, granted a church sited outside one of the gates of Melfi to the Hospitallers of Jerusalem, 'who faithfully do the service of the poor'. The bishop would seem to have been more interested in the provision of charitable care than in furnishing any aid for the war against the infidel, although at this date the Hospitallers themselves still tended to emphasise their charitable role more than their military one. In this case it was probably not coincidental that the church was next door to a bath-house, which would have been a useful adjunct to the provision of both medical aid and hospitality. But the bishop-elect was also careful to specify an annual census in recognition of his ultimate right, and if this was unpaid the church would revert to his possession.⁹⁶ The bishop of Caserta gave two churches to Cava in May 1158 because they were in danger of falling down through the neglect of the local inhabitants – though again there was an annual census and he retained a quarter-share of any burial oblations. The bishop of Canne in northern Apulia also gave a deserted church outside his episcopal city to Cava to restore and staff in December 1167; in this case there were no financial demands, but the bishop made clear that it was not to have baptismal rights.⁹⁷ Earlier, in 1085, the bishop of Lacedonia had granted a monastery in his diocese to Cava, both because it was poorly endowed and because he was dissatisfied with the lifestyle of the monks currently living there. He looked to the monks of Cava to renew and regenerate it, and while reserving the sacramental and jurisdictional rights of his see, he sought no other rent or income.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.109–10 no. 56.

⁹⁶ A. Mercati, 'Le pergamene di Melfi all'Archivio segreto vaticano', in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* v (Studi e Testi 125, Vatican City 1946), 276–80 no. 3.

⁹⁷ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* H.31, ed. G. de Sivo, *Storia di Galazia Campana e di Maddaloni* (Naples 1860), 338–40 no. 2; *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, viii.150–2 no. 107 (a contemporary copy, the original is Cava, *Arm. Mag.* H.49).

⁹⁸ *Documenti cavensi per la storia di Rocchetta S. Antonio*, 128–9 appendix no. 2.

By contrast, when Archbishop William of Salerno gave a church at Eboli to the bishop of Sebastea, in the Holy Land, in July 1140, his motive appears to have been simple charity. Bishop Rainerius, *vir religiosus* as the archbishop described him, seems to have been in southern Italy in person – probably trying to raise funds for his recently founded see – and William had promised to relieve his indigence. Nonetheless, he specified that an annual *census* of wax and incense was to be owed to the archbishopric, to be delivered on the feast of the translation of its patron, Saint Matthew, as well as a tithe of its income, and if the divine office was not maintained in the church, and after an appropriate interval this had not been reformed and restored, the church would revert to the archbishop.⁹⁹ A similar motive may well explain why the bishop of the poverty-stricken Apulian see of Vulturara was the *custos* of the church of St Matthew of Benevento, situated near the Porta Aurea (the Roman Arch of Trajan), in the early thirteenth century – here it seems that the archbishop was trying to assist one of his suffragans, not least since the bishop was a former canon of Benevento – although we do not know the terms under which he held this church, or whether his predecessors may previously also have held it.¹⁰⁰

Transactions such as these reveal prelates anxious to carry out their spiritual role, and providing for the well-being of their flocks. But much of our evidence for the episcopate, and their cathedral clergy, relates to the property and endowments of their sees. The bishop was always more visible as the head of his cathedral than the ruler of his diocese, and even quite late in the twelfth century the resources of bishop and chapter were not yet entirely separate, at least in many sees. Although, for example at Aversa, by the late twelfth century officials, *yconomi et dispensatores*, had been appointed to oversee the property and revenues of the cathedral, they still acted by permission of the bishop, as well as through the consent of the chapter.¹⁰¹ As late as 1195 Archbishop Matthew of Capua could grant a tenement belonging to ‘our holy Capuan church’ to a new tenant, with the consent of his fellow clerics (the rent was the service of a cart horse).¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Salerno, Archivio diocesano, Mensa archiepiscopalis, *Arca* I no. 48. The bishopric of Sebastea, where John the Baptist was believed to have been buried, had been founded c. 1130, Hamilton, *Latin Church in the Crusader States*, 68. But most of the population of the Samaria region remained Muslim, despite its incorporation in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, and the available tithe income must have been very limited.

¹⁰⁰ Pergamene Aldobrandini, Cartolario IV no. 3. Brentano, *Two Churches*, 180–1; Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, i.307–8.

¹⁰¹ *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 196–8 no. 107 (July 1180), 250–1 no. 133 (March 1187).

¹⁰² *Pergamene di Capua*, i.100–1 no. 43.

Similarly, in January 1177 a married couple sold their third-share in a piece of land to Bishop William II of Caiazzo, 'on behalf of your church and bishopric (*pro parte ecclesie vestre et episcopatus*). Even in 1198 a man who was about to set off on pilgrimage to Jerusalem made a donation 'to God and to the church of S. Maria which is the cathedral of Caiazzo', which was received on its behalf by Bishop John.¹⁰³

Prelates also sometimes directly supervised the property transactions of other churches subject to them. So in April 1131 Archbishop Angelo of Bari received a donation on behalf of the church of St Priscus, which was under the *ius et dominium* of his see.¹⁰⁴ Admittedly, practices varied from one see to another. At Salerno property transactions on behalf of the archbishopric were usually carried out by members of its cathedral clergy, rather than directly by the archbishop, but in many cases they acted, not just with his permission, but in his physical presence, witnessing and overseeing the transaction, whether this be for leases of the church's property,¹⁰⁵ the receipt of gifts,¹⁰⁶ or exchanges, such as one made on its behalf by the cleric Guaimar with the royal chamberlain Atenulf in February 1144, in the presence of Archbishop William.¹⁰⁷ This way of doing business continued right through the twelfth century. To look at but one typical transaction in more detail; in November 1159 Archbishop Romuald (II) was approached by a Jew of Salerno, Solomon son of Rabbi Melus, acting as the spokesman of a consortium of the Jews of the city, who asked him to lease to them a run-down house within the city Jewry that was urgently in need of repairs. They offered to repair and refurbish this building, which was otherwise in imminent danger of collapse. The archbishop agreed; but the actual lease was made out in the church's name by a cleric called Peter.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, the archbishops of Salerno were active managers of the endowments of their see. In January 1146, for example, Archbishop William personally conducted a survey the lands of his church at Nocera, having a record made of all its tenants and the boundaries and

¹⁰³ *Pergamene di Caiazzo*, 78–9 no. 26, 94–5 no. 36. ¹⁰⁴ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.83–4 no. 44.

¹⁰⁵ E.g. *Pergamene salernitane*, 40–2 no. 6 (1073), a lease of fishing rights, made by Jaquintus the cleric, and *ibid.*, 48–50 no. 9 (1081), a lease of land near the River Tusciano, made by Ursus the cleric, both of them in the presence of Archbishop Alfano I; cf. Salerno, Archivio diocesano, Mensa archiepiscopalis, Arca II no. 78, lease of three pieces of land at Nocera by John, deacon of the cathedral, in return for the repair of the wine barrels at the archbishop's cellar at Nocera, in the presence of Archbishop Romuald II.

¹⁰⁶ E.g. *Pergamene salernitane*, 113–14 no. 19 (1173), a half-share in a church was received on behalf of the archbishopric by the archpriest of Giffoni.

¹⁰⁷ Salerno, Archivio diocesano, Mensa archiepiscopalis, Arca I no. 53.

¹⁰⁸ *Nuove pergamene del monastero femminile di S. Giorgio di Salerno*, i. (993–1256), ed. M. Galante (Altavilla Silentina 1984), 31–4 no. 14.

measurements of their holdings 'to avoid future litigation' (*pro removendo futuro litigio*). The resulting document was so long that two membranes of parchment had to be used.¹⁰⁹ The picture presented by this charter, of the archbishop arriving with his *familia*, other attendant clergy, notaries (the one who wrote the document named Matthew after the church's patron), the church's lawyers (*advocati*), and accompanied by two local judges, vividly shows the realities of life for a twelfth-century prelate.

By the late twelfth century, the archbishop's *familia* was becoming more specialised. If the archbishop of Salerno already had a (clerical) chamberlain by 1159, by 1179 he also had a seneschal, by 1185 a priest was acting as his *baiulus*, and a year later he had a *magister baiulus*, this last apparently a layman.¹¹⁰ The archbishops of Capua also employed lay bailiffs, presumably as specialist administrators to oversee their see's property, by the late twelfth century, while the archbishop of Trani possessed his own chamberlain, also a cleric, by 1180.¹¹¹ It is possible that the development of a hierarchy of officials at Salerno was hastened by the political career of Archbishop Romuald II, who in contrast to his predecessors must have had some lengthy absences from his see. He was frequently at the royal court during the period 1166–9, towards the end of which he was for a time one of the royal *familiares*. He was absent once more leading the Sicilian delegation at the Venice peace conference from March to August 1177, and immediately after his arrival back in the *regno* in late August he travelled on to the royal court to report back.¹¹² He was thus probably absent from his see for the best part of a year. In June 1179, when an agreement was concluded to end a legal dispute between a priest who was an archiepiscopal tenant at Tusciano, south of Salerno, and the abbey of Cava, it was noted that the archbishop was absent on royal business.¹¹³ Yet when he was present, Romuald was an active manager, and very much part of the local community – not least through his family connections, while his brother, the abbot and later archdeacon Robert, was able to function as his agent when he was unavoidably absent. Furthermore, neither his political prominence nor his local connections did his see any harm at all, whether in securing the donation of Montecorvino from the king in 1167 (above, p. 314),

¹⁰⁹ B. Ruggiero, *Potere, istituzioni, chiese locali: aspetti e motivi del Mezzogiorno medioevale dai longobardi agli angioini* (Spoleto 1991), 90–103 no. 2.

¹¹⁰ *Codice diplomatico amalfitano*, i.380–2 no. 201; Cava, *Arca* xl.17, xli.28.

¹¹¹ *Pergamene normanne della Mater Ecclesia capuana*, 152–7 no. 20 (1180); *Pergamene sveve della Mater Ecclesia capuana*, i. 1201–1228, ed. G. Bova (Naples 1998), 100–5 no. 7 (1205); *Carte di Trani*, 146–8 no. 68.

¹¹² *Romuald*, 270, 293.

¹¹³ This charter was transcribed in a later document of February 1185, Cava, *Arca* xl.17.

or in such matters as negotiating the rent for an irrigation channel to water the archbishop's gardens with his cousin, the royal justiciar Lucas Guarna in 1178.¹¹⁴ Romuald indeed shrewdly exploited his high-level connections for the benefit of his see, notably at the Venice peace conference, when as what was clearly a 'thank-you' for his role as negotiator he secured from Alexander III a privilege to allow both him and his successors to have his pastoral cross carried before him throughout his province.¹¹⁵

He was not, of course, the only prelate able to use his connections and political influence to the advantage of his see. Bishop William III of Troia was rewarded for his role in negotiating the Treaty of Benevento with privileges from both king and pope, the former giving him extensive and unusual judicial privileges.¹¹⁶ The archbishopric of Capua also benefited greatly from the consistent support that Archbishop Matthew rendered to the cause of Henry VI, for which he also received the warm praise of the imperial panegyricist Peter of Eboli.¹¹⁷ Samarus of Trani's loyalty to the emperor also enriched his see, notably in gaining lordship over the Jews of Trani, and also benefited his native city, by acquiring a commercial privilege for its citizens while he was conducting his embassy to Cyprus in 1196.¹¹⁸ Not the least important feature of the two privileges granted to the bishopric of Troia in 1156 was that they confirmed the bishop's authority over Foggia, the rapidly developing town some 22 km north-east of Troia, which was becoming an increasingly independent rival to the episcopal city. Bishop William, as an active and long-lived prelate, who ruled his see for some 20 years from 1155 onwards, offers a useful comparison to Romuald of Salerno. We have already seen him dedicating altars and as a diplomat. He was also active in managing his see, whether increasing the endowment of the hospital attached to the cathedral, personally receiving gifts on behalf of his church, purchasing a grain pit from a royal bailiff in 1166, or negotiating with the Abbot of St Lawrence, Aversa, in 1169 to secure the annual rent that the abbey owed for a village within the diocese that it had leased from his see.¹¹⁹ But William was also noted for his generous personal donations to his cathedral, for between 1157 and 1160 he gave it a profusion of liturgical vestments, many of them gold-embroidered, caps of red samite, two pastoral staffs, sacred vessels (including one in the form of a 'little ship', probably to contain communion wafers),

¹¹⁴ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vii.404. ¹¹⁵ Pflugk-Hartung, *Acta*, iii.258 no. 267.

¹¹⁶ *Chartes de Troia*, 237–41 nos. 74–5 (latter = *William I Diplomata*, 38–41 no. 14).

¹¹⁷ *Liber ad Honorem Augusti*, 31, 36, lines 344–51, 410–17.

¹¹⁸ *Carte di Trani*, 175–6 no. 84. Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, ii.549n.

¹¹⁹ *Chartes de Troia*, 244–5 no. 77, 247–9 no. 79; Cava, *Arca* xxxii.23; *Chartes de Troia*, 257–60 no. 84.

and a number of books, all copies of parts of the Bible (all of them, in fact, from the Old Testament and the Apocrypha). In addition, he assigned revenues and property directly to the chapter.¹²⁰ He appears, therefore, to have been a man of considerable personal resources who was an active diocesan and notably generous to his see.

There was, however, a very great contrast between the resources of a wealthy and well-endowed see such as the archbishopric of Salerno, or of a reasonably well-resourced bishopric like Troia (which might be considered, in economic terms, a medium-rank see), and most other south Italian dioceses, the majority of which were small and remarkably poorly endowed. Although the archbishopric of Salerno had been relatively poor during the Lombard period, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries it acquired a considerable landed endowment, including the *castellum* of Olevano and its territory (20 km to the east of Salerno), over which the archbishop's lordship had been recognised by the last Lombard prince Gisulf II in 1057, the *casale* of Lucignano, which was among the property confirmed to it by Robert Guiscard in 1080, lands at Nocera to the north-west of the city, where the archbishop already had a cellar next to the main church in the eleventh century, Montecorvino and its territory from 1167 onwards, and other lands at Battipaglia and in villages along the upper valley of the River Sele. It received rents and other dues from a large number of agricultural tenants, had seigneurial rights over woods, water and waste in various of its properties (notably at Olevano), and in addition had the tithe of state revenues from Salerno, the Jewry there, and from 1190 onwards also the dye-works. It also owned extensive city property, including a market and shops near the church of St Vitus, and received censuses, often individually small but cumulatively lucrative, from a large number of churches within its diocese and province, over which the archbishops had consolidated their authority from the time of Archbishop Alfano I (1058–85) onwards.¹²¹

The bishopric of Troia was not endowed on the same scale, but the two privileges of 1156, papal and royal, reveal the bishop to have possessed at least four villages, Monte Aratro, S. Lorenzo in Carminiano, Vaccarizia and S. Leonardo. An earlier episcopal privilege to the men of S. Lorenzo, from 1100, shows the men of the *casale* all owing monetary renders to the

¹²⁰ *Chartes de Troia*, 252–3 no. 81.

¹²¹ The best lists of its property come in Robert Guiscard's confirmation of October 1080, Ménager, *Recueil*, 110–13 no. 35, and a papal privilege of March 1169, Paesano, *Memorie*, ii.176–8. For discussion, Taviani-Carozzi, *Principauté lombarde*, ii.1020–1, 1024–36, Ramseyer, *Transformation of a Religious Landscape*, 141–4.

bishop, twice a year in May and September, the scale of which varied depending on their resources – the wealthiest, those who possessed a plough and two oxen, owed 10 pence a year, while even those without animals owed 2d a year. In addition, the inhabitants owed other, albeit limited, renders in kind three times a year, labour services both for sowing and at harvest (which shows that the bishopric had some lands held in demesne), and there was an obligation to provide cartage services to bring commodities to Troia, or payment in lieu. Furthermore, anybody leaving the village had to make an exit payment before they could remove their movable property.¹²² The see also possessed the tithe of 'state' income granted by Robert Guiscard in 1081,¹²³ and no doubt also derived some income from the judicial privileges granted by William I in 1156.

Yet sees like Salerno and Troia were the exception, not the rule. Of the 46 dioceses in twelfth-century Apulia, only seven (the archbishoprics of Bari, Brindisi and Taranto, and the bishoprics of Troia, Melfi, Castellaneta and Lecce) had significant territorial lordships. A handful of others acquired the odd *casale* during the course of the twelfth century,¹²⁴ and one or two of the less well-endowed territorially acquired income from the crown, notably the archbishopric of Trani, which received the tithe of royal income from Trani and Barletta, and was granted the Jewry at Trani by Henry VI. But these would seem to have provided a substantial part of the archbishopric's income; although it possessed urban property at Trani and agricultural holdings in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, the only other significant block of territory it possessed was some land at Corato, which in 1192 was held as a fief by a layman. Thus not even all the metropolitan sees were very generously endowed (Trani was, of course, a peculiar sort of metropolitan, having only two suffragans), and there were great inequalities between the few relatively wealthy sees, and the majority of poor ones.¹²⁵

A typical, and more or less randomly chosen, example of the majority of mainland south Italian sees was the bishopric of Aquino, on the northern frontier of the principality of Capua. The possessions of that see in the mid-twelfth century amounted to no more than a few farms (*fundi*), some fishing rights on the Lago di Aquino, the land that had once belonged to two named men, some houses in Aquino and in four other settlements in

¹²² *Chartes de Troia*, 144–5 no. 33.

¹²³ Ménager, *Recueil*, 120–2 no. 38 (*Chartes de Troia*, 109–11 no. 17).

¹²⁴ Canne had two *casalia* in 1186, *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, viii.192–4 nos. 148–9.

¹²⁵ Martin, *Pouille*, 600–4. For Trani, *Carte de Trani*, 169–72 no. 82 (February 1192).

the diocese, and five mills. As with other bishops, Rainald of Aquino (bishop 1156–92) also received censuses and a share of other dues from the churches subject to his *ius episcopale*, of which there were quite a number, both within his diocese proper and also in the western part of the *Terra Sancti Benedicti*.¹²⁶ But the landed possessions of the see were exiguous, nor did it ever receive any of the regalian income, from which more favoured sees like Salerno, Troia and Trani benefited. And given the paucity of the resources at their disposal, it was hardly surprising that bishops in poorer dioceses might become involved in remarkably mundane transactions as they attempted to safeguard them: thus in 1171 Bishop William (II) of Caiazzo was in dispute with his cowman as to the service the latter owed, the value of which service was estimated as two *tari* per year.¹²⁷

Unfortunately, although papal and royal privileges can give us an idea of the resources available to individual dioceses during the twelfth century, direct statistical comparisons of their income are only possible at a considerably later period, from the papal taxation lists of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Furthermore the earliest such records, from the 1270s, are incomplete, relating largely to Calabria and Sicily, and are only partially published. Thus for effective comparisons over the whole *regno*, one is dependent upon the records of the papal *decime* of 1308–10. This raises the obvious question as to how far we may depend for a reliable, or even indicative, comparison, from lists compiled more than a century after the downfall of the last ‘Norman’ king. However, there are reasons to suggest that these taxation lists may not be too misleading, at least for an indication of the relative wealth of different churches at this earlier period. Although some sees acquired regalian income only in the Staufen, or even Angevin periods (above, pp. 319–20), few acquired substantial additional real property after 1200. If anything, the problem may be rather the losses some churches suffered during the thirteenth century, as property was forcibly alienated by laymen, after the final breach between Frederick II and the papacy in 1239, and especially during the years 1250–66 when the supporters of King Manfred enriched themselves at the expense of the Church.

On the island of Sicily churches suffered further losses after the rebellion of 1282; for with the island locked in conflict with the papacy and placed under a long-standing interdict, ecclesiastical property was peculiarly vulnerable. On the other hand, Charles of Anjou after 1266 had made efforts to restore

¹²⁶ *Papsturkunden*, iii.196–8 no. 6, a privilege confirming the property of the see issued by Adrian IV in August 1157.

¹²⁷ *Pergamene di Caiazzo*, 72–4 no. 23.

churches' property, and to some extent at least had succeeded. He had, for example, restored the property of the see of Salerno at Battipaglia that had earlier been seized by Manfred's uncle Galvano Lancia, Count of the Principate.¹²⁸ (The fact that some of the worst offenders were Manfred's relations aided the Church's efforts to seek restitution, since these relatives of the deceased king were *personae non gratae* to the new regime after 1266.) In Sicily, the peace of Caltebellotta in 1302 was followed by a considerable restoration of property to churches, encouraged by the king, Frederick of Aragon.¹²⁹ If this was a relatively transient phase, and some Sicilian churches, including bishoprics, were once again in severe difficulties by the time of Frederick's death in 1337, the papal *decime* of 1308/10 came at a moment when the recovery of church property was in full swing. We may conclude therefore that while any figures derived from these lists about ecclesiastical income can only be an indication of the situation a century or more earlier (especially given short-term fluctuations in income and changes in the value of the coinage), they may in fact offer a reasonable comparative guide to the wealth, or lack of it, of the kingdom's churches.

So, for example, if we look at the churches whose endowments and sources of income were discussed above, the impressionist comparison from the lists of property in twelfth-century papal privileges is largely confirmed by their relative income at the start of the fourteenth century. The archbishopric of Salerno had an income of 800 *unciae*, the bishop and chapter of Troia 116, the archbishop of Trani 171, but the bishopric of Aquino was worth only 40 *unciae* a year.¹³⁰ (The *uncia*, or ounce of gold, was a unit of account equivalent to 30 *tarì*, the principal twelfth-century coin in use in the *regno*, itself a copy of an Islamic quarter-dinar coin.)¹³¹ The twelfth-century evidence may suggest that the figure for Troia seems a little low, and that for Trani somewhat higher than one might expect, but neither is impossible. A more detailed list of the revenues of south Italian sees according to this source is given below (appendix II). The most striking feature is obvious. Whereas a few of the metropolitan sees were wealthy – Capua and Naples both had an estimated income of 1,000 *unciae*, and the archbishop and chapter of Bari between them had

¹²⁸ *Codice diplomatico salernitano*, i.320–2 no. 180. Cf. more generally, J. Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou. Power, Kingship and State-Making in Thirteenth-Century Europe* (Harlow 1998), 142–50.

¹²⁹ C. R. Backman, *The Decline and Fall of Medieval Sicily. Politics, Religion and Economy in the Reign of Frederick III, 1296–1337* (Cambridge 1995), 193–8.

¹³⁰ *Rationes Decimarum, Campania*, 25, 383; *Rationes Decimarum, Apulia–Lucania–Calabria*, 29, 45.

¹³¹ The standard work on the numismatics of eleventh- and twelfth-century southern Italy is now L. Travaini, *La monetazione nell'Italia normanna* (Rome 1995), see especially 19–87 for a general survey.

800 *unciae* – the majority of their suffragans were relatively poor, and some had a quite exiguous income. Episcopal income in the province of Capua, for example, ranged from a relatively prosperous 100 *unciae* for the bishops of Caserta and Teano down to only 30 for the bishop of Calvi.¹³² Among the dozen bishops of the provinces of Salerno and Conza, only Capaccio, with an income of 300 *unciae*, considerably in excess of a number of archbishoprics, could be classed as wealthy. (A substantial landed endowment had been amassed in the mid-eleventh century, especially from the Lombard princely family of Salerno.)¹³³ But ten of the other eleven sees in these two provinces had an income of 30 *unciae* or less, while the poorest, Nusco, was worth only 15.¹³⁴ Similarly the Latin sees in Calabria included Umbriatico (worth 15 *unciae*), Belcastro (20) and Catanzaro (30), all according to the papal tax collectors of the 1270s.¹³⁵ By the time of this taxation quite a few of the sees in the south were occupied by members of the mendicant orders; those who were anyway vowed to poverty might have seemed ideally suited to occupy many of the south Italian bishoprics.¹³⁶ But what also puts this into perspective was the relative wealth of many monasteries compared to the secular Church (see appendix IV). The archbishop of Benevento, for example, had an annual income of 100 *unciae*, most of which must have come from his lands in the Valle Caudine to the west of the city, making him one of the poorest of the archbishops in the south. By contrast, the abbey of St Sophia, a few minutes walk from the cathedral, despite the loss of some lands that were not recovered post-1266, had an income four times as great.¹³⁷

The Sicilian sees presented a contrast with those of the mainland, for even after the foundation of Monreale there were only nine sees on the island, all but one of which were relatively wealthy. Nonetheless, there were still considerable inequalities and anomalies. Syracuse had the largest diocese, taking in the whole of south-eastern Sicily, but the smallest income. Patti (as the see of Lipari was now designated) had almost twice the income of Syracuse, but a tiny diocese comprising only the immediate

¹³² Loud, *Church and Society*, 235.

¹³³ The same figure was given in 1274–80 and 1308–10, *Rationes Decimarum, Campania*, 458; Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, i.454. For the patrimony of this see, Taviani-Carozzi, *Principauté lombarde*, ii.1021–4.

¹³⁴ *Rationes Decimarum, Campaniae*, 471. ¹³⁵ Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, ii.891, 911, 949.

¹³⁶ Cf. H. Enzensberger, 'I Vescovi francescani in Sicilia (sec. XIII–XV)', in *Francescanesimo e cultura in Sicilia (secc. XIII–XVI)* (Schede Medievali 12–13, Palermo 1988), 45–62, especially 46–8.

¹³⁷ Loud, 'Monarchy and monastery in the Mezzogiorno', 300–5 (on St Sophia), and 'Politics, piety and ecclesiastical patronage', 294–6.

vicinity of Patti itself and the Aeolian Islands.¹³⁸ The relative prosperity of the latter reflected the generous endowment of the abbey of Lipari by its founder, Roger I, and the augmentation of its resources by Roger II after the creation of the bishopric in 1131.¹³⁹ But even Syracuse was quite well endowed compared to many of the mainland sees. A papal confirmation of its property in 1169 listed some eleven *casalia* owned by the bishop, as well as the tithe of royal income from Syracuse itself.¹⁴⁰ In this case, it may in fact be that the relatively limited revenues of the bishop in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth century (50 *unciae* according to the tax list of the 1270s, 80 *unciae* in 1308–10), reflect some losses of property, not all of which had been restored under King Frederick.¹⁴¹ However, problematic as the figures for Sicilian episcopal income may be when related to the situation in the twelfth century – when, for example, one suspects that the archbishopric of Palermo was proportionately wealthier compared to the other sees than it was in 1308/10 – they clearly show that the sees on the island were much better endowed than most of those on the mainland (see appendix III). The fact that in the twelfth century the Sicilian bishops retained a larger proportion of tithe income from their subordinate churches than did most of those on the mainland may also have been a contributory factor in their relative prosperity.¹⁴²

When bishops acted with regard both to the churches subject to their see and to its temporal property, they almost always claimed to be acting with the advice and consent of their cathedral chapter. Thus when in March 1140 Bishop John (II) of Aversa entered into a contract with three brothers and their heirs to build and maintain watercourses and mills on his see's lands near the Lago di Patria, to the west of Aversa, he did so on the advice and consent of his canons, 18 of whom witnessed the document.¹⁴³ When Archbishop Henry of Benevento granted three churches within one of his suffragan dioceses to Cava in December 1158, he noted not just that this was in response to the requests of a cardinal (Hubald of S. Prassede, the future Lucius III) and a royal chamberlain, but that he acted with the consent of

¹³⁸ Backman, *Decline and Fall of Medieval Sicily*, 189–91, has a good description of the Sicilian dioceses.

¹³⁹ For the latter, Cusa, *Diplomi*, 513–19. ¹⁴⁰ MPL 200, cols. 583–6 no. 616.

¹⁴¹ *Rationes Decimarum Italiae, Sicilia*, ed. P. Sella (Vatican City 1944), 83, 85.

¹⁴² The council held under Roger I's auspices c. 1097 decreed that the bishops would receive two-thirds of the income from chapels within their diocese, whereas a quarter was the more usual share on the mainland, following conventional canonical precepts, *Più antiche carte di Agrigento*, 18–20 no. 4. C. E. Boyd, *Tithes and Parish Churches in Medieval Italy* (Princeton 1952), 122, 231–4.

¹⁴³ Figliuolo, 'Alcune nuove pergamene Aversane', 379–80 no. 2.

Rainulf the archdeacon and the rest of the chapter.¹⁴⁴ Similarly, when Archbishop Bertrandus of Trani granted a church on the coast just outside Trani to a certain William the Englishman and his 'leper brothers' in August 1168, he did this with the consent of the archdeacon, the archpriest and the other brothers of his cathedral. And in November 1177 Bertrandus granted a privilege of immunity to the church of Holy Trinity, Trani, in which he stipulated that the monks and clerics there were not to be constrained by either him or his successors, *or his chapter*.¹⁴⁵ Bishops and archbishops were not only the rulers of their diocese and/or province, but still very much the head of their cathedral as well. Bishops probably held regular chapters of their cathedral clergy, although mention of these was infrequent. However, Bishop Roger of Nusco was holding a chapter with the 'convent' of his cathedral in June 1147, when he gave a privilege to a newly founded church, once again acting on the request of and in concert with the archpriest, archdeacon, *primicerius* and the rest of the priests and clergy of Nusco.¹⁴⁶

Transactions such as these show prelate and chapter intertwined, a symbiosis that reveals much about the south Italian diocese, where the cathedral as both administrative and cult centre, and sometimes as property owner, exerted a disproportionately strong influence in often geographically confined dioceses. Indeed the late Robert Brentano, one of the most perceptive historians of the Italian Church in the Middle Ages, went so far as to compare the 'shadow church of Italian provinces and even dioceses' with 'the tough, taut reality' of cathedral chapters and collegiate churches – St Nicholas at Bari being a good example of the latter. One might not go quite so far as that: there was rather more reality to some provinces, Benevento for example, than Brentano was ready to concede.¹⁴⁷ But no one would doubt the importance, nor the cohesion and corporate identity, of the chapter.

The size of this body would, however, vary greatly from one see to another. The 18 canons who witnessed the bishop of Aversa's contract in 1140 may well have comprised the whole of the chapter of St Paul – the abundant documentation of this particular church never seems to reveal more. Archbishop Bertrandus of Trani fixed his chapter at 24 in 1184, saying that this number was sufficient for the daily celebration of the office,

¹⁴⁴ Mattei-Cerasoli, 'Due bolle inedite', 8–10 no. 2.

¹⁴⁵ *Carte di Trani*, 129–30 no. 58; Cava, *Arm. Mag.* I.18.

¹⁴⁶ F. Scandone, *L'alta valle di Calore*, ii (Palermo 1916), 165–6 no. 1.

¹⁴⁷ Brentano, *Two Churches*, 97–8; for his (disparaging) verdict on the province of Benevento, *ibid.*, 88–9.

and that any increase in such a number might stir up envy and dispute.¹⁴⁸ Similarly Archbishop Doferius of Bari limited the places in the choir there to 48 in August 1205, recognising that there had recently been 'no little scandal' because more clerics had gathered there than there had been places available for them. In future, to avoid overcrowding, each cleric should have his assigned place, and any others without a set place should worship in the nave of the cathedral, and not in the choir.¹⁴⁹ While his prescription gives us some idea of the corporate liturgical life of the cathedral, it is not, however, clear that all those who were assigned spaces in the choir were necessarily canons, for the chapter was surrounded by other lesser *clericati*, who did not possess canonical prebends. But Bari was a rich see that could afford a large chapter. Most ordinary bishoprics could not. Thus, when the chapter of Melfi consented to their bishop-elect donating a church to the Hospitallers in 1149, the charter was witnessed by seven clergy who identified themselves expressly as canons, one of them being the cathedral archpriest, while two others who were at the top of the witness list were respectively Peter the chanter and Master Roger, certainly clerics and perhaps also canons.¹⁵⁰ The complete chapter is unlikely to have been much bigger, and this was in one of the richer sees in Apulia. Half a century later, the cathedral dean and eight other canons witnessed a document issued in the name of the archbishop and chapter of Cosenza – which while not as well-endowed as some of the archbishoprics was still one of the wealthier sees on the southern mainland.¹⁵¹ Two charters issued on behalf of the chapter of Caiazzo, in the principality of Capua, in the spring of 1221, were each witnessed by the same 11 canons, and 16 and 17 other clergy respectively (of whom only two were priests, and most of the rest only subdeacons). This looks very much like the entire chapter, along with most of the lesser *clericati* attached to the cathedral.¹⁵² Other chapters were probably smaller than this. The 1147 privilege of Roger of Nusco (discussed above) was witnessed by the three capitular officials, but in addition only two further priests and a chaplain. Was this actually the whole chapter? Similarly a charter of Robert, perhaps the first Latin bishop of Umbriatico in Calabria, in 1164 was witnessed by the archdeacon and five other canons only.¹⁵³ The papal taxation lists suggest that these were two of the poorest sees in southern Italy.

¹⁴⁸ *Carte di Trani*, 161–3 no. 75. ¹⁴⁹ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.141–3 no. 73.

¹⁵⁰ Mercati, 'Pergamene di Melfi', 276–80 no. 3; see above, p. 385.

¹⁵¹ *Carte latine di abbazie calabresi*, 230–2 no. 93.

¹⁵² *Pergamene dell'archivio vescovile di Caiazzo*, i.122–6–9 nos. 52–3.

¹⁵³ Holtzmann, 'Die ältesten Urkunden des Klosters S. Maria del Patir', 341–2 no. 2.

However small their chapter, most sees during the twelfth century had a number of capitular officials. Several sees in the principality of Capua had cathedral deans, on the northern model, first attested at Aversa in 1104, and perhaps a consequence of Norman/French influence there – but this usage then spread, for Capua cathedral had a dean by 1119.¹⁵⁴ Aversa also had the more usual cathedral archpriest and archdeacon; the latter in 1146 was a certain Guiscard – the use of the great duke's nickname as a personal name perhaps a mark of the continued 'Norman' tradition at Aversa.¹⁵⁵ Guiscard was earlier recorded in 1140 as 'canon and *bibliothecarius*', when he appears to have been in charge of the cathedral *scriptorium*, a duty he apparently continued after becoming archdeacon, for he supervised the drawing-up of an episcopal charter in 1151.¹⁵⁶ The archdeacon, it should be noted, was a chapter official – south Italian dioceses never had territorial archdeaconries on the northern model, indeed only a few would have been large enough to justify such episcopal subordinates having their own territorial jurisdiction. The archdeacon was the administrative deputy of the bishop: thus the archdeacon of Benevento cathedral was in charge of the property of the see while Archbishop Henry was absent as papal legate to Constantinople in 1164. The archdeacon would appear also, certainly where there was no dean, to have been in charge of the functioning of the cathedral – at Trani he was, for example, to choose those who were to read the Gospels on festival days, while the archpriest had the overall supervision of the clergy subject to the cathedral, being amongst other duties responsible for the selection of suitable candidates for ordination.¹⁵⁷ He presumably also led the liturgical celebration. At Aversa, there were subordinate officials to assist these principal ones, a precentor from at least 1119, and a sacrist from 1146.¹⁵⁸

While all cathedrals had an archdeacon and archpriest, this subordinate hierarchy of officials was more unusual in other sees, although there were sacrists at Trani by 1166 and Bari in 1187. The other official who was present in seemingly every chapter, even the attenuated ones of the poorer sees, was the *primicerius*, whose most important duty was as the 'education officer', to instruct the local clergy in the rudiments of the faith and canon law. Capua, for example, had a *primicerius* as early as 1065, while the cathedral of Ascoli

¹⁵⁴ *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 22–3 no. 15; *Regesto di S. Angelo in Formis*, 68 no. 23.

¹⁵⁵ *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 63–4 no. 37 (June 1134), 92–3 no. 53 (March 1146).

¹⁵⁶ Figliuolo, 'Alcune nuove pergamene Aversane', 379–80 no. 2 (above, n. 129); *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 109–10 no. 63.

¹⁵⁷ D. Girgensohn, 'Documenti beneventani inediti del secolo XII', *Samnium* 40 (1967), 302–4 no. 9; *Carte di Trani*, 149–52 no. 70.

¹⁵⁸ *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 27 no. 18, 92–3 no. 53.

Satriano had two, both in priestly orders, in 1123. By the reign of William II the chapters of Trani, Bari and (more surprisingly) Frigento also had two *primicerii*. Both of those at Trani in 1181–4 were priests. Having two of these officials may well have been the norm for the cathedrals of the *regno*.¹⁵⁹ However, Canne, a relatively poor see, had only four capitular officials in the later twelfth century: archpriest, archdeacon, *primicerius* and cantor. A document of 1188 mentions two other canons, and six priests witnessed a charter of Bishop John in favour of Cava in 1167, although none of the latter were specifically designated as canons. But apart from the capitular officials, the chapter is unlikely to have been large.¹⁶⁰ The superior status of the three key officials, found in every chapter, archdeacon, archpriest and *primicerius*, is clear from a privilege issued by Celestine III to the archbishop and chapter of Siponto in 1195; these three were henceforth to be allowed to use quasi-episcopal symbols, the mitre, staff and ring, during services.¹⁶¹ The situation at Minori, in the duchy of Amalfi, where in 1144 the archpriest also acted as *primicerius*, was decidedly unusual, and was undoubtedly the mark of a poor see with a very small chapter.¹⁶²

Recruitment to the chapter and the larger body of minor cathedral clergy would have been overwhelmingly local. This was certainly the case at Salerno, where those canons whose background can be identified came from the families of the local urban patriciate.¹⁶³ In 1180 the archbishop of Trani laid down regulations for his chapter which stated that no extraneous cleric was to be installed in the cathedral, nor to receive a stipend from it, unless he had received his tonsure and been promoted through the clerical ranks there, and had shown himself to be active in that church.¹⁶⁴ Occasionally this promotion of members of the chapter through the clerical ranks is revealed, and one of the best examples also comes from Trani, where Peter Abelard, a subdeacon, witnessed charters of Archbishop Bertrandus in February 1181 and March 1185. From December 1186 onwards he was the cathedral archdeacon.¹⁶⁵ It is probable too that the Samarus, the deacon and *scrinarius* who wrote two archiepiscopal charters in the 1160s, was Peter's predecessor as archdeacon, the man who, after an unexplained

¹⁵⁹ *Regesto di S. Angelo in Formis*, 69 no. 23; Pratesi, 'Note di diplomatica vescovile beneventana, II', 63–5 no. 5, 72–3 no. 10. *Carte di Trani*, 126–7 no. 55, 152–4 no. 71, 161–3 no. 75; *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.114–15 no. 59, 122–3 no. 64.

¹⁶⁰ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, viii.150–2 no. 107 (1167), 159–61 nos. 114–15 (1171), 183 no. 139 (1183), 199 no. 155 (1188), 220–1 no. 173 (1196).

¹⁶¹ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vii.828–9. ¹⁶² In the witness list to Cava, *Arm. Mag.* G.46 (August 1144).

¹⁶³ G. Sangermano, 'La cattedrale e la città', in *Salerno nel XII Secolo. Istituzioni, società, cultura*, 154–5.

¹⁶⁴ *Carte di Trani*, 149–52 no. 70.

¹⁶⁵ *Carte di Trani*, 152–4 no. 71, 163–5 nos. 76–7, cf. also 167–8 no. 80 (September 1187).

gap in his career, became archbishop in 1195.¹⁶⁶ As with bishops, in a few cases one can also identify, or at least suggest, the ties of family within the chapter. Another archdeacon of Trani, attested in 1162–72, was called Mandus, an unusual name. One of the chapter in 1184 was Mandus the priest, presumably a relation.¹⁶⁷ His predecessor as archdeacon, Disigius, was the brother of one of the city judges, who in 1172 made a donation to the cathedral confraternity in fulfilment of his brother's will.¹⁶⁸ Furthermore, Samarus, one of the two *primicerii* of the cathedral in 1201, was surely a relative of the archbishop.¹⁶⁹ By contrast canons of external origin were unusual, although a canon of Troia in 1154 came from Salerno, and the archdeacon of Chieti in 1183 was a native of Capua, where he had been a deacon in the cathedral.¹⁷⁰ One of the canons of Aversa, found from 1140 until 1162, was a certain William the Poitevin; such identification of French origin was much rarer at that date than in the eleventh century, and one might suspect him to have been a recent immigrant.¹⁷¹

The Gregorian reform papacy and those who sympathised with its religious objectives attempted to encourage the canons of cathedral and secular collegiate churches to adopt a common life, sharing residence and refectory and without private or separate incomes, living therefore in a quasi-monastic manner. Such a way of life was adopted by the canons of Brindisi for a time from the 1090s onwards, but it was never widely adopted.¹⁷² Elsewhere canons retained their own property and lived in their own houses. Prince Robert I of Capua gave land outside Capua to one of the cathedral canons and his brother in 1109; these, we may note, were themselves the sons of a cleric.¹⁷³ A shoemaker sold a house in Aversa, for a purchase price of 240 *tari* of Amalfi, to Guiscard the archdeacon in 1151, and it is clear from the wording of the charter that the latter was acting on his own behalf and not for that of his church.¹⁷⁴ Canons and lesser cathedral clergy also gave, or sometimes sold, their own property to the

¹⁶⁶ *Carte di Trani*, 118–22 no. 52, 126–7 no. 55. This identification is less certain because there was another deacon Samarus, who witnessed a charter in 1181 alongside Samarus the archdeacon, *ibid.*, no. 71, at p. 154. Nonetheless, it seems likely that the former *scrinarius* rose to higher office.

¹⁶⁷ *Carte di Trani*, 118–22 no. 52, 126–7 no. 55, 129–30 no. 58, 136–7 no. 63, 161–3 no. 75.

¹⁶⁸ *Carte di Trani*, 137–8 no. 64. ¹⁶⁹ *Carte di Trani*, 188–92 no. 93, at 191.

¹⁷⁰ *Chartes de Troia*, 226–9 no. 70; *Pergamene normanne della Mater Ecclesia capuana*, 197–200 no. 31.

¹⁷¹ Figliuolo, 'Alcune nuove pergamene Aversane', 379–80 no. 2; *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 99–101 no. 57, 109–10 no. 63, 124–6 no. 72, 145–50 nos. 82–4.

¹⁷² R. Jurlaro, 'La vita commune del clero nell'archdiocesi di Brindisi e Oria nel secolo XII', in *La vita commune del clero nei secoli XI e XII* (Miscellanea del centro di studi medioevali 3, 2 vols., Milan 1962), ii.284–90.

¹⁷³ *Pergamene di Capua*, ii(2).10–12 no. 6. ¹⁷⁴ *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 102–3 no. 59.

cathedral they served, as did Ignatius, the *cantor* of Canne, in 1183, when he made an exchange with the bishop, giving him land outside the city 'that the cathedral needed' in return for a house within it. Other canons made simple donations for their souls.¹⁷⁵ That the canonical life was not all that zealous reformers might have wished is also suggested by a transaction of November 1151, when Bishop John (III) of Aversa had a lifetime lease drawn up in favour of the daughter of a deceased canon of his church.¹⁷⁶

However, whatever this lease may have said about the absence of clerical celibacy – and it is of course possible that the canon may have fathered his daughter before receiving major orders – it also reveals that the bishop and chapter of Aversa took their liturgical duties seriously. A half share in the land in question had previously been given to the cathedral to endow an anniversary commemoration for the donor's father. The lease specified that the rent must be paid every year on the anniversary to enable it to be celebrated. A similar lease by the chapter some years later of a house in Aversa, on the 'Tailors' Square' near the cathedral, laid down that the rent should be paid every year a week before the anniversary of its original donor, once again clearly to ensure that the appropriate liturgical commemoration took place.¹⁷⁷ The commemoration of its benefactors, usually involving masses for their soul on the anniversary of their deaths, ringing of the bells, the distribution of money to the poor, and often also a meal for the canons, and sometimes too for the poor, was just as important for the canons of Aversa as it was for any monastic institution, and appears to have been performed conscientiously.¹⁷⁸ Aversa cathedral had an active confraternity – the term is sometimes mentioned in such documents – although very largely limited to the inhabitants of the town itself. There was, however, quite a wide social distribution among the inhabitants, for the cathedral's circle of benefactors included not just the barons and knights of Aversa, who remained distinct and overtly identified groups within the town, but also the skilled tradesmen of the town, among whom furriers, tailors and shoemakers were notable. Trani cathedral also had a confraternity that included laymen by 1141.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁵ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, viii.183 no. 39. Cf. for other examples, *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 77–9 no. 45, 194–6 no. 106 (a deacon of the church); *Chartes de Troia*, 226–9 no. 70. For a sale, *Pergamene normanne della Mater Ecclesia capuana*, 158–61 no. 21 (November 1180).

¹⁷⁶ *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 109–10 no. 63. ¹⁷⁷ *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 167–8 no. 94.

¹⁷⁸ For the terms of such bequests, *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 68–70 no. 40 (June 1140), 72–3 no. 42 (1141), 126–9 no. 33 (September 1158), 168–71 no. 95 (December 1172).

¹⁷⁹ *Carte di Trani*, 97–9 no. 39.

The two most significant developments to affect cathedral chapters during the twelfth century were the gradual separation of the property of the chapter from that of the bishop, and the creation of set prebends for the individual canons. The former was a slow process, not always easy to follow, which may indeed have occurred more rapidly, and more painlessly, in some sees than others. An obvious symptom of the chapter operating independently of the bishop occurs when property was recorded as belonging to the 'congregation' of the cathedral canons, something that in many sees can only be found towards the end of the century. But even this only marks a stage in the development of the independent identity of the chapter; the first mention of 'congregation of St Paul' at Aversa occurs as early as 1140, and a document from about this date even details the 'land of the congregation of Aversa', yet in subsequent years, even as late as the 1180s, the bishop still sometimes received property on behalf of his cathedral, just as his predecessors had done earlier.¹⁸⁰ And when in July 1180 the archdeacon and two other *yconomi* of the congregation granted a lease, they did so with the permission of the bishop.¹⁸¹

Similarly, while the 'congregation' of Capua cathedral had a *procurator* acting on its behalf in property transactions in April 1179, he was careful to note that he was doing so with permission of the archbishop. Admittedly, almost two years later, in March 1181, two 'rectors of the congregation of the Capuan church' made a sale on its behalf 'with the consent and permission' of the dean and chapter, but this was almost certainly because the archbishopric was then vacant (Archbishop Alfano is last recorded in March 1180).¹⁸² And, as we have already seen (above, pp. 386–7), prelates were still themselves conducting transactions on behalf of their cathedral churches even in the very last years of the twelfth century. It is then problematic as to when the chapter had its own clear legal identity, and property entirely separate from that of the bishop. However, by the early thirteenth century this division seems to have been accomplished. So, for example, in February 1200 the 'procurators and rectors of the house of the congregation of Caiazzo' reduced the payment owed to their church for an anniversary commemoration because of the destruction wrought by the conflicts in the region – testimony to the breakdown of law and order after

¹⁸⁰ For the congregation of St Paul, *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 70–5 nos. 41–3 (1140–1), and for the land *ibid.*, 75–7 no. 44; but compare, for example, Figliuolo, 'Alcune nuove pergamene aversane', 388–90 no. 6 (April 1183).

¹⁸¹ *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 196–8 no. 107.

¹⁸² *Pergamene di Capua*, 1.89–91 no. 38, 94–6 no. 40; *Pergamene normanne della Mater Ecclesia capuana*, 167–70 no. 23.

the death of the Empress Constance. There is no mention of the bishop in this document, although the see was certainly not vacant, nor was the bishop's permission included in subsequent transactions undertaken by its representatives on behalf of the chapter of Caiazzo.¹⁸³ Similarly the procurators of the cathedral church of Capua began to conduct property transactions without archiepiscopal permission in the 1190s.¹⁸⁴

Yet while the evidence from these dioceses in the principality of Capua shows that cathedral chapters were emancipating themselves from episcopal control, it reveals nothing about the division of property and revenues between prelate and canons. Fortunately some light is shed on this process in other regions. The archbishop of Taranto assigned half of the offerings made at his cathedral to the canons as early as 1094/5, while the bishop of Aprutium gave a church and a hospital at S. Flaviano, and their income, to his canons in 1122. The bishop of Troia gave a tithe from his demesne lands to his canons in 1130. Forty years later, to compensate the canons for the loss of their income from the town of Troia, one of his successors, Bishop William III, granted the canons half his revenues from his village of Vaccarizia. Further concessions followed from Bishops William IV (1180–7) and Walter of Pagliara in 1195, these last including a tithe of the income from the bishop's olive presses and mills. By this time a number of churches had also been specifically assigned to the chapter.¹⁸⁵ It would appear therefore that separation of episcopal and chapter property, or at least the creation of a separate income for the chapter, took place relatively early at Troia, even if the revenues assigned to the chapter proved inadequate, and had to be augmented. One can note, too, that donations were already being made to the chapter at Troia, without mention of the bishop, by the middle of the twelfth century.¹⁸⁶ (It is unfortunate that the archdiocese of Taranto, where there was this remarkably early grant to the canons, is not better documented.) But it is clear that a similar process followed in other sees as well, with a proportion of the revenues being reserved for the canons. When the bishop-elect of Minervino was deposed for simony during the 1170s, the principal charge against him was that he had promised to increase the chapter's customary share of the tithes owed

¹⁸³ *Pergamene dell'archivio vescovile di Caiazzo*, i.95–7 no. 37. Cf. *ibid.*, 101–2 no. 40 (July 1205), 104–6 no. 42 (February 1208), 122–6 no. 52 (March 1221).

¹⁸⁴ *Pergamene normanne della Mater Ecclesia capuana*, 225–9 no. 39 (August 1195), 236–8 no. 41 (May 1197); *Pergamene sveve della Mater Ecclesia capuana*, i.77–82 no. 2 (February 1202).

¹⁸⁵ *Pergamene dell'archivio arcivescovile di Taranto*, 7–9 no. 2; *Cartulario della chiesa teramana*, 82–3 no. 47; *Chartes de Troia*, 195–6 no. 55, 263–5 no. 87, 331–3 no. 113.

¹⁸⁶ *Chartes de Troia*, 211–13 no. 63 (1142), 226–9 no. 70 (1154).

and oblations made to his see if they should elect him.¹⁸⁷ Archbishop Bertrandus of Trani assigned a quarter share of his tithe of royal income to the canons in June 1180, and at the same time he promulgated wide-ranging regulations covering both liturgical provision in the cathedral and the fees and gifts relating to it, and also the appointment of clerics there.¹⁸⁸ When Frederick II confirmed the archbishop's possession of the dye-works at Palermo in 1211, he instructed him to divide its revenues with the canons, as the archbishops had been accustomed to split their other income from the royal *dohana* with their chapter.¹⁸⁹

While, for example, at Trani it would appear that concord prevailed between archbishop and canons, elsewhere the growing strength and independence of the chapter could pose problems between its members and their diocesans on both practical and religious issues. The archbishop of Messina was in dispute with his canons in 1172 over canonical appointments, also as to who appointed the *custodes* of chapels at the cathedral, the division of oblations there, the perquisites of the capitular officers, especially with regard to candles, the organisation of processions outside in the city, as well as concerning two of the individual prebends.¹⁹⁰ The bishop of Troia made further provision to regulate the division of the revenues from Vaccarizia with his canons in 1175, and the charter recording this suggests that there had earlier been some dispute as to the management of this share-out.¹⁹¹

The emergence of fixed prebends for individual canons is a process which seems, if anything, more obscure than the division of episcopal and capitular revenues. Prebends, or something suspiciously like them, already existed among the clergy of St Maximus, Salerno, in the early eleventh century, and indeed it has been argued that their creation was one factor, though not necessarily the most important one, contributing to the economic problems of that church during the reign of Guaimar IV.¹⁹² Presumably similar arrangements existed in some other collegiate churches at the same period. Yet we know very little about other such churches, nor about the internal organisation of cathedral chapters during the eleventh century. Roger II's foundation charter for his Palatine chapel in 1140, which carefully assigned prebends of different value to each of the eight

¹⁸⁷ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.103–7 no. 54.

¹⁸⁸ *Carte di Trani*, 148–52 nos. 69–70. These chapter regulations remained in operation for a long time: they were confirmed and amplified by Archbishop Giacomo in 1260, *ibid.*, 252–5 no. 122.

¹⁸⁹ *Friderici II Diplomata*, i.269–72 no. 140. ¹⁹⁰ *Documenti inediti*, 103–6 no. 45.

¹⁹¹ *Chartes de Troia*, 272–3 no. 90. ¹⁹² Ruggiero, *Principi, nobiltà e chiesa*, 121–44.

canons, shows that the concept was well understood by this date.¹⁹³ However, this appears to be a precocious example – we cannot say whether such fixed portions were already usual for cathedral canons at this date, and it may be that arrangements were still often on an *ad hoc* basis.

One obvious means of support for the chapter was for its members to hold other benefices, especially in or near the town where the cathedral was situated. Thus Alferius, archdeacon of Capua in the early twelfth century, was also *abbas* of the church of St Marcellus in that city.¹⁹⁴ Similarly, in the 1120s the cathedral *primicerius* at Capua was *abbas* of the church of St John Landepaldus, inside the walls of the city, while in 1141 Archbishop Gregory of Benevento appointed one of his canons to a church in the city, although this was expressly a lifetime grant, and not a set prebend.¹⁹⁵ At a somewhat later date, however, the *abbas et rector* of the church of St Mennas at Sant'Agata dei Goti was habitually a cathedral canon of that see.¹⁹⁶ Sometimes, however, other property or revenues might be assigned to members of the cathedral clergy. For example, a knight who sold some land to St Paul, Aversa, in 1141, perhaps on favourable terms, specified that one particular priest of the cathedral should have a life interest in it, and only after his death should it go to the congregation.¹⁹⁷ This arrangement may have resulted from some particular connection between the vendor and the priest, but it probably also have represented an attempt by the chapter to endow one of its clerics. Certainly the more-or-less contemporary list of the 'land of the congregation of St Paul' at Aversa included not only land held in common, but portions (some of them albeit quite small) held by individual canons and clergy – notably two we have already encountered: Guiscard the archdeacon and William the Poitevin, as well as William the dean.¹⁹⁸ Similarly, in July 1166 Archbishop Bertrandus of Trani, with the express consent of his chapter, granted one of the priests of his cathedral a vineyard 'of our fraternity' (*nostrae fraternitatis*) for his lifetime, to return to the ownership (*ius et potestas*) of his *confratres* after his death.¹⁹⁹ Such arrangements appear to be embryo prebends, although as yet lacking the institutional continuity that marked prebends proper.

¹⁹³ *Roger II Diplomata*, 133–8 no. 48.

¹⁹⁴ As noted in an inscription recorded by F. Granata, *Storia sacra della chiesa metropolitana di Capua* (2 vols., Naples 1766), i.220–1. Alferius was archdeacon in 1116, *Pergamene di Capua*, i.33–5 no. 13.

¹⁹⁵ *Pergamene di Capua*, i.41–3 no. 19, 63–5 no. 25; *Più antiche carte di Benevento*, 196–8 no. 65.

¹⁹⁶ *Pergamene della società napoletana di storia patria*, i, ed J. Mazzoleni (Naples 1960), 59–60 no. 8 (1181), 84–6 no. 31 (1214).

¹⁹⁷ *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 74–5 no. 43.

¹⁹⁸ *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 75–7 no. 44.

¹⁹⁹ *Carte di Trani*, 126–7 no. 55.

Yet by this time we do find some references to actual prebends held by members of the cathedral clergy. The first stage may have been the endowment of capitular officials. Certainly the *primicerius* of Benevento cathedral had an established *beneficium* assigned to his office by 1159, comprising a church, houses, oven, vineyard and various other plots of land.²⁰⁰ Soon such portions were extended to other canons, and even the lesser *clericati*. A cleric at Gaeta complained to the pope in 1168 that he had been deprived of a benefice worth 50 shillings a year, as well as a lodging, previously assigned to him; the pope instructed the archpriest and chapter to provide him with these once more (the bishopric was vacant at this time). Was this a fixed portion for one of the cathedral clergy there?²⁰¹ In December 1169 the bishop of Mazara granted two estates to compensate the holder of the prebend – the word was expressly used – that had formerly enjoyed the tithe from a *casale* in his diocese, which he had given to the nunnery of St Mary of the Latins, Palermo, recently founded by the royal vice-chancellor Matthew. It also appears that prebends were becoming attached to particular places within the diocese – the bishop referred at one point to the ‘prebend of Calatafimi’.²⁰² The dispute between the archbishop of Messina and his canons in 1172 was concerned, among other issues, with appointments to prebends, again the actual word was used, and in 1195 part of the endowment of the prebend of Master Michael, one of the canons of Messina, was two shops in a house that also contained a horse-powered mill belonging to the archbishopric.²⁰³ Similarly, in 1198 Innocent III commissioned an investigation into the alleged alienation by the bishop of Vieste of property and churches belonging to the prebends of his archdeacon and canons.²⁰⁴ Thus by the end of the twelfth century not only was the property of the chapter becoming separated, both practically and legally, from that of the bishop, but prebends for the canons, and sometimes other cathedral clergy, were emerging. It appears, however, that these developments occurred more rapidly at some places than others.

Capitular revenues were also assigned for particular purposes and occasions. In 1161, for example, Count Jonathan of Conza gave a church and its dependent lands and peasants to the cathedral of Conza, to provide food for the clergy, ‘who serve God day and night there’. He did so on condition that neither the archbishop nor his successors ever alienate his donation

²⁰⁰ *Più antiche carte di Benevento*, 234–6 no. 80. ²⁰¹ *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.* ii.289–90 no. 349.

²⁰² *Documenti inediti*, 115–18 no. 50. ²⁰³ *Diplomi della cattedrale di Messina*, 40–2 no. 27.

²⁰⁴ *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, iii.383–6 appendix no. v (*Register Innocenz’ III. 1 Pontifikatsjahr 1198/1199*, 31–3 no. 21). This followed earlier charges that he had alienated the property of his see.

from its proper purpose of serving the *mensa clericorum* at the cathedral.²⁰⁵ This might suggest that the clergy of Conza cathedral still observed a communal life, although even if they were accustomed to eat in common this does not necessarily mean that they lived in a common dormitory or adjacent chambers. But the link between the liturgical celebrations of the cathedral clergy and their dining arrangements was a frequent one. As we have seen, the commemoration of benefactors was often linked with a celebratory meal for the canons, as were some of the major church festivals. One of the reasons why Bishop William IV of Troia increased his canons' revenues was to allow them to have an extra four special meals a year, on Palm Sunday, Saint Mark's day (25 April, when there was also a procession), the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist (24 June) and Trinity Sunday.²⁰⁶ The bishop of Ravello provided a meal for his canons on Easter Thursday and at the Assumption of the Virgin. The canons of Chieti enjoyed a banquet on the feast day of their patron saint, Saint Thomas (21 December), provision of food for which was part of the rent owed by the nephews of Bishop Rainulf and their descendants for the episcopal property they leased (above, p. 372). Archbishop Bertrandus of Trani specified that he or his successors should provide either a meal or a monetary payment in lieu to their cathedral clergy on the feast days of Saint Nicholas the Pilgrim, one of the two patrons of the cathedral (along with the Virgin), and Saint Leucius. The feast of Saint Nicholas (a Greek hermit who had died at Trani in 1094) also saw the celebration of special masses and an opportunity for worshippers to make morning confession before these were celebrated.²⁰⁷ Similar provision was also made in monastic houses – Abbot William of St Sophia, Benevento, ordered that his monks should enjoy an extra dish on the feast of Saint Thomas Becket – here he was surely influenced by Archbishop Lombard of Benevento (1171–9), an unusually cosmopolitan prelate, originally from northern Italy, who had once been a member of Becket's *familia*.²⁰⁸

Another particular assignment of cathedral revenues was towards the expenses of construction. The period immediately after the Norman conquest had seen one wave of cathedral building, especially in the principalities of Capua and Salerno, and also in the Capitanata, and in many dioceses the cathedral was largely complete by 1130. But elsewhere, and in

²⁰⁵ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vi.810–11. ²⁰⁶ *Chartes de Troia*, 331–4 no. 113.

²⁰⁷ *Pergamene di Amalfi e Ravello*, i.118–20 no. 74; *Regesto delle pergamene della curia arcivescovile di Chieti*, 4 no. 10; *Carte di Trani*, 150 no. 70.

²⁰⁸ Museo del Sannio, Fondo S. Sofia, vol. 28 no. 9, edited Loud, 'A Lombard abbey in a Norman world', 303–4 no. 6. Cf. *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, ii.400–1 no. 228, 416–17 no. 231.

particular in many Apulian sees, the cathedral clergy must have become accustomed, often for decades, to the background noise of construction or rebuilding going on around them. Among the bequests in the will of John son of Disigius of Trani in 1138 was one to the fabric fund of the cathedral. This came at a time when rebuilding was commencing in earnest. The new, twelfth-century cathedral at Trani was constructed on two levels – the lower (crypt) church was presumably near completion when Archbishop Bisantius (III) supervised the translation of the relics of Nicholas the Pilgrim to a new tomb there in 1142. But work continued for a long time thereafter: the bronze doors of the main (upper) church were installed in 1170, but building was still far from finished, and in August 1222 Archbishop Bartholomew decreed that a quarter of the tithes owed to his church should henceforth be devoted to the fabric fund. The upper part of the façade and the rose window therein date from the reign of Frederick II.²⁰⁹ Similarly Bari cathedral was reconstructed after the destruction of the city by the royal army in 1156. The archbishop was exchanging property in 1177 to acquire houses to the immediate east and south of the cathedral, the demolition of which would enable the building to be completed. The houses to the south stood on the site where he intended the bell tower to be erected. A decade later the interior may have been near completion, since a local baron, lord of Triggiano (9 km south-east of the city), left a substantial bequest to construct a *ciborium* above the high altar. Nonetheless building still continued: another deathbed testament in February 1191 specified that an annual payment should be made for the next three years to the cathedral fabric fund. Here again work continued into the early thirteen century.²¹⁰ Similar operations continued elsewhere as well: among the various pious bequests in the will of a woman from Taranto in December 1175 was a small payment to go towards rebuilding the cathedral roof. Interestingly, she appears to have been Greek.²¹¹ A woman at Troia in 1183 left a legacy to the fabric fund of the cathedral; although this had been substantially completed some 50 years earlier, it is clear that repair and alteration continued, not least since this charter reveals that one of the clerics, Landulf de Guttualda, held the post of ‘Master of the Fabric’. (The rose window in the west front at Troia probably dates c. 1200.)²¹² And even when no major alterations were made to a building,

²⁰⁹ *Carte di Trani*, 92 no. 36, 217–18 no. 106. Bertaux, *L’Art dans l’Italie méridionale*, 361–6.

²¹⁰ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.102–3 no. 53, 174–6 no. 94; *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, v.270–1 no. 158. Bertaux, *L’Art dans l’Italie méridionale*, 366–72.

²¹¹ *Pergamene di Taranto*, 31–4 no. 9.

²¹² *Chartes de Troia*, 296–8 no. 100. Bertaux, *L’Art dans l’Italie méridionale*, 356.

there might still be additions to the internal decoration and furnishing, as at Salerno, where each of the twelfth-century archbishops added something to the interior of the cathedral.²¹³ The operation of a cathedral also required other specific assignments – thus in 1157 Archbishop Henry of Benevento ordered that the census owed to his see for a church just outside the city walls should be used for the illumination of the cathedral. Some years earlier, the consuls and city government of Gaeta had granted the proceeds of a tax on oil in the city to be used for lighting the cathedral.²¹⁴

In addition, part of some cathedral revenues would be used for charitable activity. Apart from the distribution of food to the poor, especially as part of anniversary commemorations of the deceased, several cathedrals had hospitals attached to them by the mid-twelfth century, notably at Capua and Troia. The hospital of St Stephen at Capua was established in the suburb of the city, near the main bridge over the Volturno, while that of Troia cathedral was next to one of the city gates. (The hospital at Troia, one should note, was in 1160 already firmly ‘the hospital of the chapter’, like the one held by the canons of Teramo at S. Flaviano.) Bishop William of Troia, who made a donation to it in that year, observed that it was proper to provide charity for the poor, since ‘Our Lord often appears in the guise of a poor man.’²¹⁵ But the provision of hospitals, for the sick, the poor and for pilgrims was not confined to those associated with cathedrals – which phenomenon was likely anyway to have been limited to the richer sees, which could afford to set up a hospital. Some towns supported more than one of these institutions. Capua had a second hospital, dedicated to Saint Agnes, by 1189, while Salerno also had two hospitals, one dedicated to Saint Lawrence, in existence by 1163, while a second, intended expressly for the poor, was founded by the royal vice-chancellor Matthew, a native of the city, in 1183; the foundation involved an exchange of churches with the archbishop, who was conveniently his son.²¹⁶ There were two hospitals near Foggia, in the Troia diocese, one for pilgrims on the road between Foggia and Troia, founded shortly before 1125, which was subject to the bishop, and a leper hospital near the village of S. Lorenzo in Carminiano, which belonged to the bishop, attested in the early thirteenth century. This was attached to the Order of St Lazarus of Jerusalem. Another leper

²¹³ Sangermano, ‘La cattedrale e la città’, 152.

²¹⁴ *Più antiche carte di Benevento*, 226–8 no. 77; *Cod. Dipl. Caietanus*, ii.258–9 no. 327.

²¹⁵ *Pergamene di Capua*, ii(2).22–4 no. 12 (1165); *Chartes de Troia*, 244–5 no. 77. For the hospital at S. Flaviano, above n. 185.

²¹⁶ *Pergamene normanne della Mater Ecclesia capuana*, 204–7 no. 33. Paesano, *Memorie*, ii.225–9. Vitolo, ‘Città e chiesa’, 143.

hospital was established on the coast near Trani in 1168.²¹⁷ These last were actual hospitals, in the modern sense, in that they ministered to the sick, although we should understand 'lepers' to mean not just those with actual leprosy, but patients with a wide variety of disfiguring or infectious diseases. Other hospitals, such as that attached to the church of St Nicholas, Bari, or the hospital of the Augustinian canons of St Leonard, near Siponto, were rather places of rest and refreshment for pilgrims – St Leonard's was close to the so-called *strata perigrinorum* running between Siponto and Candelaro, and presumably linking to the Via Appia further west.²¹⁸ (The pilgrims in this case would be particularly those going to Monte Gargano.) Hospitals/hospices were, of course, as this last example reminds us, often attached to religious houses, as with another pilgrim hospital, founded near the sanctuary of St Michael on Monte Gargano, by Count Henry of Monte Sant'Angelo and his maternal uncle John in 1098, and made subject to Montecassino.²¹⁹

Within the diocesan network of bishops and cathedrals lay the ordinary, local churches where the majority of the population worshipped. These, however, ranged from collegiate churches that were almost secondary cathedrals within the diocese, as was S. Maria, Troina, within the diocese of Messina,²²⁰ or served as the primary focus for devotion within an important urban centre in the diocese, such as the church of S. Maria at Barletta – sometimes itself described as the *episcopium* (cathedral) or 'mother church' of that town²²¹ – down to rural chapels where mass might be said, but otherwise no other sacraments were administered, such as the *ecclesiae billanae* of Salernitan charters of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

At the time of the Norman conquest proprietary churches were still the norm, and relatively few of the churches within a diocese might be under the direct authority of the bishop. Nor was there any organised system of baptismal churches, staffed on a collegiate basis, and with networks of subordinate chapels, as was usual in northern Italy. There were some *pievilplebes*,

²¹⁷ *Chartes de Troia*, 178–9 no. 48, 409–11 no. 149; *Carte di Trani*, 129–30 no. 58.

²¹⁸ *Regesto di S. Leonardo di Siponto*, 6–7 no. 6 (1132), 8–9 no. 10 (1137).

²¹⁹ *Le colonie cassinesi in Capitanata*, ii. *Gargano*, 35–7 no. 3.

²²⁰ This had been the original seat of the bishopric, before its transfer to Messina in 1095/6; for its later status, see *Diplomi della cattedrale di Messina*, 29–30 no. 19 (June 1177), where the archbishop specified that a census from a country church should be payable to 'the mother church of Troina', and the witnesses included the cantor of that church and a 'canon of Troina'.

²²¹ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, viii.167–8 no. 122, 174 nos. 129–30, 208 no. 162. Barletta was, however, part of the diocese of Trani.

as these collegiate baptismal churches were called, but these were relatively few, and limited to certain regions, primarily the principalities of Capua and Salerno, and the immediate hinterland of Bari. They co-existed, however, with a multitude of private churches, and while some of these may have had baptismal rights and cemeteries, many did not. Furthermore, given the complications of Lombard inheritance law, ownership of many churches was divided, sometimes among a considerable number of co-owners. Thus, to take but one typical example, at Trani in 1145 a lay proprietor invested a priest with a half share of one church and a quarter share of another.²²² Sometimes the priests who staffed churches might be among the owners, often they would not be. While such private churches were not confined to southern Italy – plenty might be found in the north and in papal territory in central Italy as well – what distinguished the south was their ubiquity, and the absence in the eleventh century of any organised structure of public churches under episcopal direction. Given that in many regions the diocesan structure was itself still developing during and after the Norman takeover, and indeed continued to do so until the early twelfth century, this was hardly surprising. Furthermore the structure of settlement was also still evolving. The Capitanata, for example, remained an under-developed and thinly settled region in the late eleventh century. While this region became more heavily cultivated and intensely populated thereafter, there were other areas, notably the Murge ridge in inland Apulia, and the valleys of the Basento and Bradano on the borders between Apulia and Lucania, where settlement was scattered and relatively thin even at the end of the twelfth century.²²³ As lands were settled, villages founded and new urban centres developed, new churches were needed, and the ecclesiastical structure evolved. Foggia is an obvious example of a new town that developed, and by the end of the twelfth century was overshadowing what had hitherto been the primary centre in the diocese, Troia. However, other long-standing towns also expanded. Barletta was one hitherto minor urban centre that seems to have been flourishing in the later twelfth century, possessing a large collegiate church headed by an archpriest, and which also saw the foundation of a number of new churches; in particular it became a major centre for the military monastic orders (below, p. 492).

Two factors in particular led to a change in the hitherto inchoate organisation of the Church: the strengthening of episcopal authority within the diocese and the spread of the Gregorian reform concept of the

²²² *Carte di Trani*, 101–3 no. 42.

²²³ Martin, *Pouille*, 368–71

sinfulness of lay ownership of churches. They were to some extent linked, although the bishop was not necessarily the one who profited from lay guilt about owning what ought to belong to God – monasteries were often the primary beneficiaries, and in particular the powerful exempt houses like Montecassino and Cava, the development of whose congregations did little for episcopal authority, and as we have seen was often bitterly resented by diocesan bishops. Nor did this lead to the speedy disappearance of the proprietary church, some of which still remained with their status more or less unaltered even into the second half of the twelfth century.²²⁴ Nevertheless, by that stage the ecclesiastical structure was very different from the chaotic situation a century or more earlier. A diocesan organisation and diocesan norms had evolved, albeit more developed in some dioceses than in others.

An illustration of this comes with a bull of Alexander III to Archbishop Romuald (II) of Salerno in March 1169. This was a relatively routine confirmation of the rights and property of the archdiocese, although it was the first such bull granted to the Salernitan archbishopric for a century or more. What was notable about it was twofold. First it confirmed as the suffragan sees those six bishoprics that were genuinely part of the province, and over which the archbishop actually exercised authority – unlike earlier bulls that listed distant sees to which the archbishop may have had a historic claim but which he had no chance of vindicating. Secondly, and in the context of our discussion here more significantly, it listed within the diocese of Salerno itself not only those monastic houses directly subject to the archbishop but also eight ‘archpresbyteries’. A subsequent bull of Lucius III in 1182 not only reiterated what was in the earlier document, but added three further archpresbyteries to those already mentioned – all in the south-eastern part of the diocese, Montecorvino, Eboli and Battipaglia.²²⁵ By the late twelfth century, therefore, the diocese was subdivided into a number of territorial districts, each centred on a *pieve*, with an archpriest at the head of the local clergy; in other words a structure much more reminiscent of the dioceses of northern Italy than before. There had been a few churches in the Salerno region designated as *plebes/plevi* even in the Lombard period – the church of S. Maria of Nocera went back to the ninth century, and had long been the focus for both the administration of archiepiscopal property and the archbishop’s ecclesiastical influence in the

²²⁴ Martin, *Pouille*, 635–8.

²²⁵ Paesano, *Memorie*, ii.176–8, 229–31 (*Italia Pontificia*, viii.358 no. 45, 360 no. 51). The first charter reference to an archpriest at Eboli comes in 1123, *Documenti per la storia di Eboli*, i.45 no. 95.

northern part of the diocese (above, p. 46). But these had been very few, and not always directly subject to the archbishop. The beginnings of this organisational change probably date back to the pontificate of Alfano I, the great reformer of the later eleventh century and the real creator of the archdiocese. Here one may compare with the list of archpresbyteries some of the particulars recorded for the ceremonies already alluded to that took place in and around the cathedral on the feast of Saint Matthew (6 May), and on the Sunday that followed this festival. It was specified that at these services there should appear representatives both of the 15 urban parishes and of 13 *parrocchie* in the diocese, beginning with Eboli and then Campagna, Olevano, Montecorvino, etc. There are problems with this text, not least in that it is only preserved in a very late copy, made c. 1700, which may therefore reflect later terminology. In particular, the use of the term *parrocchia* is problematic for the eleventh century, especially for the urban churches, but the list of extra-urban districts directly matches that of the archpresbyteries in the 1169 and 1182 bulls, although with the addition of a further two not in those bulls, Giffoni and *Ioum* (this last locality unidentified). It has been plausibly suggested that the ceremony goes back to the *inventio* of the relics during the pontificate of Alfano in 1080, and thus that the beginnings of the territorial organisation of the diocese does likewise. And it was of course Alfano who took the lead in creating the subordinate sees of the province as well.²²⁶ He also, in his foundation charter for the diocese of Sarno in 1066, set down rules for the ordination of the clergy, who must be both literate and moral, the canonical times for ordinations and baptisms, and the division of tithes and oblations among the bishop and his clergy, following a standard canonical model, taken from the *Liber Diurnus* (they were divided into four equal parts, for the bishop, the clergy, the poor and the churches' fabric).²²⁷

Yet if the organisation of the diocese of Salerno reflected the pioneering work of an especially dynamic archbishop, it is unlikely that the structure revealed above was complete in his own day. Certainly the evidence from other towns would suggest that urban 'parishes' only developed later, in some cases during the first third of the twelfth century and in others only in the years around 1200, and that, moreover, in the time of Alfano I two of

²²⁶ B. Ruggiero, 'Per una storia della pieva rurale nel Mezzogiorno medioevale', in his *Potere, istituzioni, chiese locali*, 61–4; Delogu, 'Città e chiesa', 139.

²²⁷ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vii.571–2. Discussed by Ramseyer, *Transformation of a Religious Landscape*, 138–9, and by G. Andenna, 'Il chierico', in *Condizione umana e ruoli sociali nel Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo* (Atti della nona giornata normanno-sveve, Bari 17–20 ottobre 1989), ed. G. Musca (Bari 1991), 301–3.

the city churches mentioned in the document concerning the feast of Saint Matthew, the prestigious princely foundations of S. Massimo and S. Maria *in Domno*, were still *Eigenkirchen* belonging to a number of proprietors. (Both later ended up in the possession of the abbey of Cava, although that did not preclude them from functioning as parochial churches in the town: we know that S. Maria *in Domno* had an archpriest as early as 1092 (above, p. 214).) Furthermore, we must ask if other dioceses developed in quite the same way. If we compare the Salerno bull of 1169 with similar papal confirmations of the property and rights of other dioceses from round about the same date, while episcopal right in various named places is frequently mentioned, and often long lists of churches directly dependant on the bishop or archbishop are included, we do not find similar references to a structure of archpresbyteries within the diocese. Thus the developments in Salerno may well have been precocious. In addition, Salerno was by south Italian standards quite a large, and heavily populated, diocese, which therefore required a degree of organisation. One should also remember that Alfanus, with his time spent at the papal court and Montecassino (albeit brief), his intellectual interests, both in medicine and in canon law, and his close connections with leading figures in the reform movement, notably Peter Damian, was hardly typical of the south Italian prelates of his time.²²⁸

However, some papal confirmations of episcopal property during the later twelfth century do refer to *plebes*, and in a way that suggests there was a coherent structure of *pievi* within the diocese. Thus a bull of Lucius III confirming the possessions of the bishopric of Isernia, in 1183, listed no fewer than 36 *plebes* directly subject to the bishop, in effect one in almost every significant settlement in the diocese.²²⁹ Here, at least, there was clearly a wide-ranging 'plebanal' structure of collegiate churches and dependant chapels. A similar confirmation for the diocese of Chieti in 1173 lists 12 *plebes*, and while there were a considerable number of other churches seemingly not dependant upon them as well, it would appear that in this Abruzzese diocese too there was a framework, albeit perhaps incomplete, of an organised structure of ecclesiastical provision, along conventional lines.²³⁰ But these were dioceses along the northern frontier of the kingdom, and thus most open to external influence, and Chieti was

²²⁸ Peter sent him a long letter outlining the qualities needed in a good bishop, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, ii.195–202 no. 59: for other connections, *ibid.*, iii.411–12 no. 80, 450–1 no. 83. His privilege for Sarno in 1066 refers both to the *Liber Diurnus* and to a letter of Gregory the Great that was later found in some of the main Gregorian Reform canon law collections, Andenna, 'Il Chierico', 302.

²²⁹ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vi.296–7 (MPL 201, 1190–2 no. 101).

²³⁰ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vi.707–8 (MPL 200, 917–19 no. 1041).

in the region only incorporated within the kingdom in 1140. Even in this region, there was not necessarily much consistency. Thus somewhat earlier bulls confirming the possessions of the bishoprics of Penne in 1150 and Valva in 1156 both provided lists of churches directly subject to the bishop, but did not expressly identify any of them as *plebes* – apart from the collegiate church of St Pamphilius at Sulmona, which was the co-cathedral of the diocese of Valva, and to which eleventh-century charters consistently refer as the *plebs* of Sulmona. Admittedly, the references to particular churches ‘with their dependencies’ may amount to the same thing, but there appears to have been no consistency of usage, even in adjoining bishoprics.²³¹ (It should be remembered that such confirmations were invariably drawn up at the request of the bishops concerned.) It would seem therefore that while a network of ‘plebanal’ churches was spreading in the Abruzzi during the twelfth century, it was as yet incomplete. Proprietary churches, owned both by laymen and also by monasteries, were still widespread, and often enjoyed the same sacramental rights as those directly subject to the bishop.²³²

While similar papal privileges either were not issued, or (more probably) have not survived for many other sees, those that do for bishoprics in other parts of the *regno* present a contrast. One would not, obviously, expect to find archpresbyteries or plebanal churches in such minuscule sees as Bitetto or Ravello, where the cathedral must have been the focus for almost all sacramental activity, for it was within walking distance of the entire diocese. Thus when Lucius III confirmed the property of Ravello in 1182 the only churches specifically mentioned were three monastic houses subject to the bishop.²³³ Yet while other similar confirmations provide long lists of churches subject to the bishop, or sometimes more vaguely name places within the diocese where this was the case, they do not mention *plebes*, or archpresbyteries as territorial delineations. Nor at first do many contemporary charters. While we do find churches with archpriests, these were often at the head of large urban churches, as for example at Barletta and Corato in the diocese of Trani, and Terlizzi in the diocese of Giovinazzo.²³⁴ On the other hand, these archpriests and their churches effectively performed the same functions as did those, albeit more

²³¹ *Papsturkunden* v.160–2 no. 6, 166–9 no. 9. ²³² Feller, *Abruzzes médiévales*, 804–5.

²³³ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, i.1185–6 (MPL 201, 1160–1 no. 68).

²³⁴ Leo, archpriest of S. Maria, Barletta, received a donation on behalf of the monastery of Monte Sacro in 1146, *Cod. Dipl. Barese* viii.84–5 no. 53; the archpriest of S. Maria, Corato, first appears in 1100, *Cod. Dipl. Barese* ix.23–4 no. 14, and is extensively attested thereafter. An archpriest is first attested at Terlizzi in May 1129, *Cod. Dipl. Barese* iii.62–3 no. 45.

numerous ones, in the principal settlements of the diocese of Salerno. The latter was, however, at least twice as large as Trani, and the two districts of Barletta and Corato remained the only sub-divisions of that diocese into the later Middle Ages. Naturally there were by then considerably more archpriests in a large diocese like Acerenza, which had a more dispersed settlement pattern.²³⁵ In the mid-twelfth century references to archpriests become more frequent, and not just for large churches in urban centres, or in the thickly settled coastal belt, but also in the more 'backward' Capitanata. The diocese of Larino, on the borders of the Capitanata and Molise, already possessed a functioning network of archpriests in 1166 (above, p. 379).²³⁶ By the early thirteenth century almost all the bishoprics in Apulia had similar networks of archpriests and *pievi* through the diocese.²³⁷ As at Salerno, the archpriests of the diocese of Larino were expected to attend the cathedral on the festival of its patron saint; this may well have been the custom at most bishoprics.²³⁸ It was an obvious mark of episcopal authority.

Archpriests also appear occasionally in charters from the principality of Capua from the mid-twelfth century onwards: for example at Scafati and Cicala on the south-eastern border in 1141 and 1142 respectively, at Saepino in Molise in 1143 and 1175, and at S. Germano on the Cassinese lands in 1211.²³⁹ Further south, in the principality of Salerno we find an archpriest at Atena in the diocese of Marsico in 1137, while in the diocese of Paestum there was an 'archpriest of Cilento' in 1143 – here the reference seems to be to a district rather than to a particular church, although he no doubt had one as his base.²⁴⁰ The evidence is patchy, but it seems clear that a similar development of what were effectively large rural parishes was taking place in the Campania as well, although the diocese of Salerno probably anticipated what went on elsewhere. There were also rural archpriests in Lucania by the second half of the twelfth century, although one should stress that

²³⁵ *Rationes Decimarum, Apulia–Lucania–Calabria*, 45–55, 162–5.

²³⁶ *Più antiche carte di Benevento*, 244–7 no. 85. Note also: the archpriest of the church of S. Maria at S. Severo in 1140–1, in the diocese of Civitate, Fuiano, *Città e borghi in Puglia nel medio evo* i.159–61 nos. 3–4; two archpriests from Ripalta, near Lesina, in 1141, *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, iii.287–91 no. 103; the archpriest of S. Maria, Foggia, in 1174, *Chartes de Troia*, 270–2 no. 89; and in central Apulia the archpriest of the church of St Lucia, near (but not in) Terlizzi in 1164, *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, iii.119–21 no. 93.

²³⁷ Martin, *Pouille*, 642–4.

²³⁸ Pratesi, 'Note di diplomatica vescovile beneventana', 83–5 no. 15 (1224).

²³⁹ *Regesto di S. Angelo in Formis*, 161–3 no. 60; Cava, *Arm. Mag.* G.39; *Le pergamene di Santa Cristina di Sepino*, ed. E. Cuozzo and J.-M. Martin (Rome 1998), 75–6 no. 1, 78–80 no. 3; Montecassino, *Aula II Caps.* cvii no. 8 (unpublished).

²⁴⁰ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* G.29, G.36.

the documentation for this region is less rich than for the Campania.²⁴¹ By 1198, however, the concept of the parish, in a more recognisably northern sense (not just a large district under the supervision of an archpriest, but a relatively small unit with its own priest and centred on an individual church) was well established in the north of the principality of Capua. In that year Abbot Roffred of Montecassino decreed that the church of St Paul of Cervaro (one of the *castella* of the *Terra Sancti Benedicti*) should henceforth have its own parish, where baptism could be administered by its clergy, entirely separate from the neighbouring parish of S. Maria.²⁴² And in that same year Innocent III rebuked some laymen in the diocese of Messina for installing their chaplains in its parish churches (*in parochialibus ecclesiis*): this therefore suggests that a parish structure had also developed on the island of Sicily.²⁴³ Even in the bishopric of Agrigento, where the rural population was still predominantly Muslim throughout the twelfth century, a royal diploma of 1177 refers to *parrochia*, although one might doubt how effectively these were organised over the whole diocese.²⁴⁴

Over most of southern Italy, parishes had also emerged by this stage within urban communities. At the beginning of the period the sacramental role of the cathedral still dominated episcopal towns. In 1088, for example, Archbishop Robert of Capua not only ruled that baptisms should only be administered on Easter Saturday and in Pentecost, but on the former day it should only be done in the cathedral, and not in other churches with baptismal rights, while a Gaetan charter from 1135 seems to imply that baptisms were confined to the cathedral there.²⁴⁵ However, by this time the situation was changing in other towns. City churches in Troia had archpriests in charge of them in the early twelfth century, which strongly suggests that they possessed baptismal and other sacramental rights.²⁴⁶ Meanwhile there were already urban parishes at Aversa during the 1120s.²⁴⁷ A generation later, in 1162, the archbishop of Trani granted baptismal rights to the parish church of the Holy Sepulchre, 'as we have

²⁴¹ Archpriests at Kyrozosimi and Episcopia in the Val di Sinni in 1165 and 1178 respectively, Trinchera, *Syllabus*, 221–2 no. 168; L. Mattei-Cerasoli, 'La Badia di Cava e i monasteri greci di Calabria superiore', *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 9 (1939), 291 no. 11.

²⁴² Gattula, *Historia*, 493. ²⁴³ *Diplomi della cattedrale di Messina*, 52 no. 37.

²⁴⁴ *Più antiche carte di Agrigento*, 65–8 no. 28.

²⁴⁵ M. Monaco, *Sanctuarium Capuanum* (Naples 1630), 236; *Cod. Dipl. Caietanus*, ii.258–9 no. 327.

²⁴⁶ *Chartes de Troia*, 151–3 no. 37 (St Peter, 1105); Pergamene Aldobrandini, Cart. I no. 39 (St Basil, 1129); *Chartes de Troia*, 222–6 nos. 68–9 (Holy Saviour 1146, St Egidius, 1150).

²⁴⁷ *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 368–70 no. 35 (1124): *Radulfus* . . . *qui maneo in parrochia ecclesie Sancte Crucis*; *ibid.*, 373–5 no. 37 (1126): *Gualterius* . . . *qui habito in parrochia ecclesie Sancti Antonini*.

conceded to the other parish churches of that city' (*ceteris eiusdem civitatis parrochialibus ecclesiis*).²⁴⁸

It would appear, however that these developments did not always proceed at the same pace in every urban centre; inhabitants of Capua, for example, described themselves during the twelfth century as living 'near' a church, rather than in its parish, and despite an isolated reference to a parish in Capua in 1178, this usage only became the norm in the thirteenth century.²⁴⁹ Similarly a parish structure emerged in Benevento at the very end of the twelfth century, symbolised by the organisation of the *Obituarium* of the confraternity of the Holy Spirit, drawn up in 1198, on a parish-by-parish basis. That this was a recent development is suggested by a dispute about parish boundaries that was put to the arbitration of the cathedral archdeacon in April 1199.²⁵⁰ Thus developments at Troia, Aversa and Trani, and probably also at Salerno, considerably anticipated those in other towns.

While cathedrals and monasteries had long possessed confraternities, the development of urban confraternities attached to other churches only occurred towards the end of the twelfth century. The nature of these confraternities has been debated. It has been suggested that they began, and for the most part remained, as purely clerical bodies, attached to particular churches, in the way that cathedral clergy would sometimes describe themselves as a 'fraternity'.²⁵¹ However, some of them were clearly more than this. Our best evidence relates to Benevento, where by the late twelfth century there were three confraternities, those of the Holy Spirit (founded in 1177), St Bartholomew (in existence from 1179), and St Euphemia (probably founded between 1192 and 1199), all three centred upon city churches. This last brotherhood was expressly described in the latter year as a 'fraternity of priests'. However, the other two had both lay and clerical members – some 35 per cent of the almost 9,000 names inscribed in the *Obituarium* of the Holy Spirit are of laymen, and it seems that the fraternity of St Euphemia also soon had lay as well as clerical members – a layman received a donation on its behalf in 1236, for example.²⁵² These confraternities therefore provided an impetus to lay

²⁴⁸ *Carte di Trani*, 118–22 no. 52, at 120.

²⁴⁹ Loud, *Church and Society*, 221–2; see *Pergamene di Capua*, ii(2).26 no. 19 for the earlier reference.

²⁵⁰ *L'Obituarium S. Spiritus della biblioteca capitolare di Benevento (sec. XII–XIV)*, ed. A. Zazo (Naples 1963); *Più antiche carte di Benevento*, 358–61 no. 134.

²⁵¹ G. Vitolo, *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche e vita religiosa dei laici nel Mezzogiorno medievale. Il codice della confraternita di S. Maria di Montefusco (sec. XII)* (Rome 1982), 12–19.

²⁵² Benevento, Museo del Sannio, Fondo S. Sofia, vol. 14 nos. 2 and 7.

piety, and not just clerical. They were intended both for the liturgical commemoration of their members, and for charitable activity, to help widows, orphans and the poor, as the statutes of the confraternity of the Holy Spirit laid down. This last group, based upon a recently founded church of secular canons, had, however, a further role, having as it did members throughout the city and from its *contado* as well (it was clearly much larger than the other two confraternities). Open to all the city clergy, and lay people, it developed precisely at the moment when the emergence of a parochial structure was, to some extent anyway, diluting the religious unity of the city, hitherto very much focused on the cathedral. It was therefore an assertion of the common religious identity of the people of Benevento, emerging only a few years before the city's civic identity was crystallised in its first statutes, in 1202.²⁵³

Unfortunately we know relatively little about confraternities elsewhere, although at Ravello there was a 'fraternity of the congregation of the city', whose members included lay people, entry to which was dependent on a fee.²⁵⁴ This was, however, probably based on the cathedral, as most religious life in this tiny town and diocese must have been. The confraternity of S. Maria of Montefusco, the twelfth-century statutes of which survive, presents a contrast. This was a primarily clerical association, certainly in origin, to which laymen were only belatedly admitted and in a very subordinate role. Its catchment area was largely rural, in one part of the diocese of Benevento. Furthermore, it was much older than the other confraternities, probably dating back as far as the tenth century. It was intended to provide a sense of corporate identity for these rural clergy, holding both prayer meetings and meals (that combination of worship and dining so beloved by cathedral canons), and providing help for those sick and appropriate funerals and spiritual commemoration for its members.²⁵⁵ But whether similar organisations existed in other places we do not know.

If the organisation of the diocese was still developing during the twelfth century, albeit faster in some places than others, the authority of the bishop over its clergy had been much more clearly established. So too had the status of the clergy as a separate and distinct group in society. King Roger decreed, in the 1140s, that priests must be free from all servile dues and labour (*angaria*), although those in lesser orders might still be subject to them. He also forbade bishops to ordain serfs without the permission of

²⁵³ Loud, 'Politics, piety and ecclesiastical patronage', 309–11.

²⁵⁴ *Pergamene di Amalfi e Ravello*, i.118–20 no. 74. ²⁵⁵ Vitolo, *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche*, 22–6.

their lords.²⁵⁶ The tendency, however, was to seek a more extensive definition of clerical immunity. So, for example, a papal bull for the bishopric of Rapolla, in southern Apulia, could proclaim in 1152:

We have decreed that the clergy of your diocese shall be subject only to your rule and jurisdiction, free from the lordship of secular persons, nor should they be burdened by any secular power with regard to the revenues of [their] churches, from which they ought to serve those churches. Clerics, of whatsoever grade, shall remain under your power and at your disposal, nor shall any cleric be permitted to be enserfed [*angariari*] or sold into serfdom.²⁵⁷

This injunction contrasts with the situation revealed by earlier documents, up to and including the first third of the twelfth century, in which priests were on occasion transferred from one owner to another along with other unfree men, animals and assorted lands and other property.²⁵⁸ That the pope in 1152 still needed to proclaim clerical freedom suggests that the battle had not yet, quite, been won, but by that stage the principle had been established, and victory was in sight, even if the fiscal burdens to which clerics might be subject could still be a matter of negotiation.²⁵⁹ By the late twelfth century it was clearly established that clerical status (and not just that of priests) was incompatible with servile obligations. In a legal case at Barletta in 1185, it was noted that a 'villein' who had received clerical orders had as a result left the *feudum* he held (notice that characteristic south Italian usage for a peasant holding), and thus ceased to pay tribute to his erstwhile lord.²⁶⁰ Similarly, if lay ownership of churches still persisted, it was in decline, the principle that churches should be free was well established, and the concept of patron's right, rather than actual ownership, was well understood. From the last years of the eleventh century onwards, lay proprietors proclaimed their qualms about secular possession of what pertained to God, and renounced their rights. So, in 1094 a Norman count gave a nunnery to Montecassino, stating that it had been held by his predecessors *male et seculariter*. In 1101 a donor offered his share of a church to the Cassinese pilgrim hospice on Monte Gargano, 'because I have heard from wise men that no laymen should have what is from God

²⁵⁶ Vatican Assizes, viii and x, Monti, *Stato normanno-svevo*, 121–2. ²⁵⁷ *Papsturkunden*, ii.416–17.

²⁵⁸ E.g. *Regesto di S. Angelo in Formis*, 119–20 no. 41 (1115), 129–31 no. 44 (1129). Among the large number of men in the Cilento region granted to Cava by Turgisius of S. Severino in October 1113 were 'Mirandus the priest' and 'Manso the subdeacon', Cava, *Arm. Mag.* E. 27.

²⁵⁹ Andenna, 'Il Chierico', 293–4, 312–13, who cites especially an agreement between Bishop Peter of Teano and Guimund of Rocca Romana in February 1189, contained in a later bull of Celestine III, MPL 206, 1013–14.

²⁶⁰ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, viii.187–8 no. 144.

under his power'. One of the sailors who had brought the body of Saint Nicholas back to Bari renounced his rights in the saint's church in 1105, for he now understood: 'that it is a sin and against ecclesiastical law and the canons that a lay person should have any lordship over a church or church property, except for the right of common entry to pray and hear the office'.²⁶¹ And as late as 1158, three citizens of Vieste, on the advice of the bishop, and considering that 'the Church of God is the bride of Christ and ought not to be subject to any layman', gave a church in that town, 'belonging to them by hereditary right under Lombard law', to the abbey of Tremiti.²⁶²

Most of these examples quoted resulted in donations to monastic houses; however, we should remember that the preponderance of monastic sources among those that survive may distort our perception of the impact of such Gregorian reform ideas. But it is worth noting from the last case cited the role of the bishop in the transaction, and also the provision in this agreement that if the abbey did not install monks at the church it had been given, then the bishop had the right to appoint a priest there, and that while the former lay owners were to remain as the advocates of the church they were to receive nothing for this except for the prayers of the clergy. Episcopal right was increasingly a factor, even for monastically owned churches. Archbishop Bertrandus of Trani insisted in 1169, for example, that the rector of the Templar church in Barletta should swear an oath of obedience and canonical subjection to him and his see, and to respect all his episcopal rights and pay him his traditional share of the oblations and mortuary donations.²⁶³ The later dispute between Bertrandus and the clergy of Corato was primarily concerned with his exercise of judicial authority over the clerics of his own diocese, which authority was duly vindicated by the papal judges-delegate, albeit with the reservation that the powers of any vicar acting as his representative should be limited. Only the archbishop himself could suspend clerics from office.²⁶⁴ But it was not denied that he had the right to do this.

The development of episcopal authority and the emancipation of churches from lay ownership were relatively slow, evolutionary processes. A key feature of the latter was (as has already been suggested) the change from a layman owning a church to his becoming the patron of that church,

²⁶¹ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, v.73–5 no. 42; cf. Gattula, *Accessiones*, 713–14; *Colonie cassinesi in Capitanata*, ii. Gargano, 42–3 no. 6. For other examples, Vitolo, *Insedimenti cavensi in Puglia*, 12–14.

²⁶² *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, iii.308–10 no. III. ²⁶³ *Carte di Trani*, 132–3 no. 60.

²⁶⁴ *Carte di Trani*, 157–60 no. 73 (October 1182).

who still retained some rights over it, but much more limited ones. References to the *ius patronatus* begin in the late eleventh century, but for a long time remain sporadic. One of the first such instances came not, strictly speaking, from the Norman lands at all, but when Montecassino was given a church at Veroli, in the south of the papal Campagna, in 1082.²⁶⁵ From the early twelfth century onwards we also find the term used within southern Italy proper. The abbey of St Sophia, Benevento, was for example given the *ius patronatus* over two churches near Bovino in the Capitanata in 1117.²⁶⁶ A charter of June 1142 referred to a layman (the future royal justiciar William of Pistiglione) having the patronage of a monastery 'according to the custom of this kingdom'; he then consented to the donation of this monastery to Cava by the bishop of Paestum and renounced the *patronatus*.²⁶⁷ In this instance the lay patron appears to have renounced all rights and claims over the church. However, in some cases, especially in earlier years, the patrons retained the right of appointing the clerics who officiated in the church and some fiscal rights as well. Thus when Montecassino was given the church at Veroli in 1082 the former owners – a group of a dozen local citizens – gave the church with all its property and rights, apart from the patronage itself (*excepto patronatum quod in nobis reservavimus*), of which the key feature was probably the appointment of the clergy who ministered there. The separation of ownership from patronage was also made clear when during the mid-1120s Abbot Oderisius II of Montecassino paid the 'consuls' who ruled Fondi to allow his abbey to have the right of appointment (*ius ordinandi*) to all the churches that it already possessed within that town's territory, or when a donor specifically renounced the right of appointment in future.²⁶⁸

By the middle of the twelfth century the rights pertaining to patronage had been clearly established. The fiscal rights of patrons became limited to a nominal census, and perhaps symbolic gifts at Christmas and Easter, but not to a share of the church's revenues.²⁶⁹ The patron might also retain the right of advocacy – being the church's representative in legal cases – as with a church at Vieste that the lay owner gave to the bishop, and the bishop in

²⁶⁵ Dormeier, *Montecassino und die Laien*, 248–9, appendix no. iv.

²⁶⁶ Pergamene Aldobrandini, Cartolario I no. 47, ed. Loud, 'A Lombard abbey', 298–9 no. 2.

²⁶⁷ Cava, *Arm. Mag. G. 36*: *videlicet monasterium sancti angeli predicti Guillelmi de Pistilione patronatum habebat secundum istius regni consuetudinem*. Cf. *Arm. Mag. G. 38*, William's own charter.

²⁶⁸ *Chron. Cas.* IV.84, p. 547. Cf. Gattula, *Historia*, 414 (February 1122) for a renunciation. There is an excellent discussion of this issue by Dormeier, *Montecassino und die Laien*, 81–7.

²⁶⁹ As established in the legal disputes between Archbishop William of Salerno and Landulf son of Ademarius in 1150–1, *Roger II Diplomata*, 274–6 appendix II.7 (discussed above, pp. 295–6).

turn gave to the abbey of Tremiti in 1158.²⁷⁰ The situation that now prevailed can be seen from the foundation of a new church at Roccapiemonte, in the diocese of Salerno, the arrangements for which were set out by Archbishop Romuald in February 1159. This church had been built by a group of co-owners on their own land, and would therefore once have been a 'proprietary church'. The patrons still had the right to present the rectors of the church, and each received a small annual monetary census, 'as a sign of their right of patronage' (*in signum suorum iuris patronatus*). However, the archbishop had the right of visitation and disciplinary supervision of the clergy there. The use of the term 'presentation' is also significant, suggesting as it does that while the patrons retained the right of formal appointment, their candidate required the approval of the diocesan (although this was not expressly spelled out).²⁷¹ Earlier charters for proprietary churches, by contrast, simply state that the owners would appoint a priest to officiate.²⁷² By the end of the twelfth century what was implied by the term *ius patronatus* was clearly understood. In his privilege for the men of Pontecorvo of 1190, Abbot Roffred of Montecassino could simply 'concede the right of patronage in churches, according to ancient custom', without specifying matters in any more detail. However, in another privilege of the same year, he was prepared to allow people who founded churches and who had sons who were clerics to install them in those churches.²⁷³ But whatever concessions might be granted on the lands of Montecassino – very much a rule unto themselves – the rights of patrons were a great deal more limited than those of the owners of proprietary churches had been. Furthermore, one of the most important aspects of clerics being presented to the diocesan for institution in their churches was that as part of the ceremony they formally acknowledged their obedience to him.²⁷⁴

The concept of the proprietary church died slowly, and while some charters refer to 'patronage', others simply recorded the donation of churches and their property, to monasteries or bishops, and sometimes to other local churches. The process was complicated by the divided ownership of Lombard law; so, for example, in February 1140 a Lombard

²⁷⁰ *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, iii.305–8 no. 110.

²⁷¹ Cava, *Arca* xxxii.9 (a copy of the archbishop's charter, made in March 1165).

²⁷² E.g. Cava, *Arca* xviii.5 (February 1106): *si quolibet tempore presbiterum [sic] in ipsa ecclesia ordinandus fuerit comuniter ipsi Petrus et Lupenus et eorum heredes illum ibidem ibidem ordinent*.

²⁷³ Fabiani, *Terra di S. Benedetto*, i.429, 432 (for the men of S. Angelo in Theodice).

²⁷⁴ As Innocent III pointed out to those ignoring the archbishop of Messina's rights in 1198; above n. 243.

aristocrat gave 'the share that pertained to him' of a church inside Salerno and two others outside the city to the archbishop. The great advantage of outright episcopal ownership was not just that it gave the bishop a share of the tithes and other revenues of the church – bishops, as we have seen, increasingly claimed a share of the revenues of churches owned by monastic houses also – but that it gave the diocesan the undoubted right of appointment. In another case from the diocese of Salerno, in March 1163, a court at Eboli heard the history of a church in the territory of that *castellum* recounted, from its foundation in the time of Archbishop Alfano II (1087–1121) onwards, and of the series of priests appointed by successive archbishops, beginning with the founder, a Greek priest called Nicholas.²⁷⁵ In turn the right of appointment allowed the diocesan to ensure the appropriateness of the cleric chosen, to an even greater extent than the right of approval implied by the *ius patronatus*. Unfortunately such vetting is rarely revealed outright in the sources, but for example, in 1187 the diocesan court at Trani, held by the archdeacon and cathedral archpriest in the absence of the archbishop through ill health, agreed to the appointment of a new priest to take charge of a church in Barletta, 'who by the testimony of both clerics and laymen is of praiseworthy life and unblemished reputation'.²⁷⁶

The growth in the number of episcopal churches, the change from rights of lay ownership into the more restricted rights of patronage, and the increasing stress on the disciplinary authority of the diocesan (the duty of clergy to attend his synods, and the bishop's right to intervene where clergy were guilty of serious infractions) transformed the role of the bishop from the essentially passive, sacramental function his predecessors had fulfilled in the pre-Norman era. South Italian dioceses may still have lacked something of the governmental tradition that their counterparts in northern Europe had developed by the thirteenth century, especially in record-keeping – so Robert Brentano cogently argued a generation ago – but that was to a considerable extent because with so many small dioceses, and with bishops usually resident, less of an administrative infrastructure needed to be developed.²⁷⁷ Nevertheless, by 1200 the south Italian bishop ruled his diocese and its clergy in a way that his predecessors had not.

²⁷⁵ Salerno, Archivio diocesano, Mensa archiepiscopalis, *Arca* I no. 45, *Arca* II no. 58 (a summary of which is given in *Documenti per la storia di Eboli*, 1.107–8 no. 214).

²⁷⁶ *Carte di Trani*, 167–8 no. 80. ²⁷⁷ Brentano, *Two Churches*, 291–324.

Some discussion is also needed of the resources that local churches might have at their disposal, and in particular for the fulfilment of their religious duties, the provision of the liturgy and sacraments (insofar as they were entitled to dispense them) for their congregations. The primary role of the clergy there was, of course, the performance of the mass, 'to say the office day and night', as charters recording the institution of priests so often said. Some of these documents also provide details of the furnishings and resources available to churches. Thus St Nicholas of Gallucanta, at Vietri, had in 1058 two chalices and their pattens (one in silver-gilt and one pewter), two thuribles, and various candlesticks, crosses and icons (as a church staffed at this period by Greek priests it may have been especially well furnished with these). Its vestments comprised 14 assorted *sindones* (linen or cotton cloths, perhaps for altars or chalice veils), a chasuble, two stoles, and a linen *amictum* (a liturgical scarf worn when saying mass). There were 16 books, almost all liturgical. In addition, the church possessed two stone vats, for storing foodstuffs, and other vats or barrels (presumably wooden), two of which were in nearby Salerno rather than at the church. Its livestock comprised an ox, a donkey, seven sheep and fourteen goats.²⁷⁸ If the latter appear relatively exiguous, this church seems to have been well equipped for liturgical provision and internal adornment, if anything rather lavishly supplied for the latter. Fifty years later, by which stage part of the ownership of this church had passed to the abbey of Cava and the priest in charge was a Latin called Bartholomew, the books had not changed – indeed they were probably the very same ones (some were still Greek), although by now it was somewhat better furnished with vestments, there were three chasubles for example, and the animals now comprised three oxen, two horses, a donkey and seventeen goats.²⁷⁹

We may compare with this a similar list of the furnishings of a country church just outside Bari in 1067, a somewhat more modest foundation, but still adequately equipped. Its books comprised two antiphonaries, for day and night respectively, a hymnal according to the Ambrosian rite, a Psalter, a prayer book, a book of homilies with the deeds of the saints, and 24 loose quaternions, also with the deeds of the saints. It possessed five altar cloths of linen and one of silk, eight vestments (six decorated with crosses and two with pictures of the saints), a chalice and patten, a thurible and a broken bell. The altar vessels may have been the absolute minimum, but the books

²⁷⁸ *Pergamene di S. Nicola di Gallucanta*, 193–6 no. 76.

²⁷⁹ *Pergamene di S. Nicola di Gallucanta*, 309–15 nos. 126–7.

appear to have been sufficient for the provision of services and the instruction of the faithful.²⁸⁰ Books were of course rare and valuable items, and gifts of books were occasionally recorded in legal documents, as when two books 'of chronicles' (*duos libros gestarum*) were given to the collegiate church at Corato in 1100. The donors specified that these were to remain the property of the church, and should they be alienated then they or their heirs had the right to revoke the gift and recover them.²⁸¹

Clerics were anxious to acquire more vestments, sacred vessels and books, but also perhaps to recover these from lay hands. Thus in 1131 Archbishop Angelus of Bari exchanged a house belonging to his church in the city for a cope, a dalmatic of white silk, a Gospel book with gilded silver boards (obviously a very valuable *de luxe* version), two silver thuribles and a pair of silver candlesticks', the other party being a layman.²⁸² These were intended, the archbishop (or his notary) said, for the work of his church, although presumably the cathedral was already adequately supplied with such things; but it cannot have been seen as desirable that ecclesiastical vestments or vessels for use during the mass remained in lay hands. (There were, one might note, a number of similar transactions in which the abbey of St Benedict, Conversano, acquired altar vessels, vestments and sacred books from laymen in the years 1149–69.)²⁸³ For lesser churches, however, the acquisition of such valuable items may often have fulfilled a real need. At Terlizzi in 1162 the owners of what was still a proprietary church, situated on the town walls, exchanged a vineyard with the main collegiate church in return for another 'book of chronicles' (*liber gestarum*), 'in which we are greatly lacking'. This transaction reminds us also that owners of churches did not necessarily view these as simply a source of profit – two of the five owners of this church were priests, who may well have officiated there.²⁸⁴ (There were also instances of owners of churches, particularly if they were clerics, giving some of their own property to endow the church.)²⁸⁵ However, a less happy instance of a similar phenomenon, as well as a reminder of the sometimes tenuous nature of churches' endowment with valuable and portable commodities, comes from Corato in 1206. The archpriest of the principal church there recorded the loss of two silver chalices that had been in his keeping, during the recent sack of the city. In recompense for this, he gave the church a house and a

²⁸⁰ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.44–6 no. 26. ²⁸¹ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, ix.23–4 no. 14.

²⁸² *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i.81–3 no. 43.

²⁸³ *Pergamene di Conversano*, 208–9 no. 99, 215–17 no. 103, 221–3 no. 106, 233–9 nos. 112–13, 257–9 no. 123.

²⁸⁴ *Cod. Dipl. Barese* iii.115–16 no. 90. ²⁸⁵ E.g. *Cod. Dipl. Barese* ix.13–17 nos. 7–8.

vineyard, which could be sold to ransom the lost chalices or to pay for new ones.²⁸⁶ This is one minor piece of evidence, among many, for the damage done to the Church by the conflicts that beset the kingdom after the death of the Empress Constance.

Given the unsatisfactory nature of our sources for the secular Church, and the need to qualify much of the discussion by taking account of regional differences and the patchy survival of the evidence, it is worth concluding by some more general thoughts on ways that this Church had changed between c. 1050, when the pace of the Norman takeover of the south quickened, and c. 1200. Institutionally the secular Church had changed. The structure of dioceses and provinces had been established, and was to remain more or less unaltered until demographic decline and the abandonment of many settlements led to the collapse of many churches, and in Apulia even some bishoprics, in the fifteenth century. The authority of the bishop had been consolidated within his diocese, and over the great majority of his clergy. The property of the bishop and his cathedral chapter had, however, split, although this was a slow process, and in some sees may not yet have been complete even by 1200, although it would have been very soon afterwards. Proprietary churches owned by laymen had largely disappeared; many had been surrendered into ecclesiastical hands and in the remainder the rights of proprietors had been transformed into much more restricted ones of 'patronage'. A parochial structure, which was decidedly not present in the eleventh century, had been established, although this was based upon a relatively small number of collegiate churches, headed by archpriests, with dependent chapels, and not parishes in the north European sense.

What happened in southern Italy during the twelfth century was to create a church structure within the diocese more or less the same as the one that had prevailed in northern Italy for several centuries. Ironically this took place at a time when in the north the distinction between the *pievi* and their subordinate chapels was beginning to break down.²⁸⁷ In the larger towns there were now parishes *stricto sensu*, although in some this was probably a very recent development; at Capua, indeed, the city parishes may only have been consolidated in the first years of the thirteenth century. Similarly there were some exceptions to the development of the village

²⁸⁶ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, ix.88–9 no. 79. Quite when this sack took place is a good question – the major period of fighting in northern Apulia during the minority of Frederick II occurred in the autumn of 1201: however, we are not well informed about this region during these years.

²⁸⁷ Boyd, *Tithes and Parish Churches*, 155–6.

pievi, in a few very small dioceses where sacramental functions remained concentrated in the cathedral, and perhaps also in some parts of Sicily where there was only to be a majority Christian population after the 'ethnic cleansing' of the 1220s and 1230s, which removed much of the Muslim population of western Sicily. Confraternities were beginning to develop, as in northern Italy, although this is an aspect of southern ecclesiastical history that undoubtedly needs further investigation.

In one respect, however, the Church in the south may not have changed significantly. In the pre-Norman period many of the lower clergy, and even the occasional bishop, were married and had families. The reform movement sought to change this – Nicholas II launched a campaign at the Council of Melfi, 'for the priests, levites and all the clergy of this region were openly joining themselves in marriage', thus he 'exhorted priests and ministers of the altar to arm themselves with chastity'.²⁸⁸ A number of bishops were deprived of their sees as a result (above, p. 182). But while papal influence, and that of local centres of moral reform like Montecassino, may have enforced chastity upon the higher ranks of the clergy (there were occasional accusations of simony against bishops in the twelfth century, but not of unchastity), such exhortations seem to have been far less successful with the rank and file. Admittedly, at least one well-informed modern historian has argued that such cases as remained of clerical marriage (or as the reformers undoubtedly would have said, concubinage) were isolated ones, and that as the clergy became a more clearly defined and separate group within society, so their observance of ideal standards improved. It may be that, as Andenna has suggested, such cases rarely came to papal attention during the twelfth century; the famous letter of Alexander III to the bishop of Salpi about the marriages contracted by deacons and subdeacons (which subsequently found its way into the *Compilatio Prima* of Bernard of Pavia and the Decretals of Gregory IX) was exceptional.²⁸⁹

However, the sons and daughters of the clergy continued to appear in south Italian charters, and notwithstanding the legislation of twelfth-century papal councils clerical sons continued to receive ordination. So, for example, in September 1144 John the cleric son of John the priest and his wife Maria, inhabitants of the *Terra Lanei* between Capua and Aversa,

²⁸⁸ *W. Apulia*, II lines 390, 394–5, p. 152. For the ubiquity of clerical marriage in the region, see also the mid-eleventh-century *Miracula Sancti Dominici*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, i. (1882), 301.

²⁸⁹ Andenna, 'Il Chierico', 314–15. Holtzmann, 'Kanonistische Ergänzungen', 143 no. 190 (*Italia Pontificia* ix.348 no. 3).

sold some land to John the priest son of Maraldus the cleric, and in October 1152 a knight from Aversa sold land to John the priest son of the priest Grisius, in a transaction witnessed by Bishop John (III) of Aversa.²⁹⁰ The man who had founded a church at Troia in the 1150s, and subsequently functioned as its 'prior', was married.²⁹¹ The clergy continued to marry and beget children, and it appears that some bishops tacitly accepted this situation. The bishop of Salpi who requested the guidance of Alexander III may have been unusually scrupulous, but why in the late twelfth century did he still have to ask if it was permissible for deacons to marry? It was not as if Salpi, in the north of Apulia, would have contained Greek clergy, for whom marriage was still permissible. However, it was only towards the very end of the twelfth century that the sons of priests began sometimes to be recorded expressly as bastards, and even then this was not invariably the case.²⁹² That as late as 1232 Gregory IX launched a major campaign against clerical marriage in southern Italy suggests that the tacit acceptance of such unions continued largely unaltered throughout our period.²⁹³ Hence, while the Gregorian reform's hostility to lay control of churches did have a lasting impact upon the south Italian Church, the dislike among the reformers of clerical marriage appears to have been notably ineffectual.

²⁹⁰ *Regesto di S. Angelo in Formis*, 198–200 no. 69; *Cod. Dipl. Aversa*, 111–13 no. 64. And among the men whom Prince Robert II of Capua gave to the monastery of S. Angelo in Formis in 1129 were 'John and Maio the deacon, sons of John the Priest' and 'Pandulf son of Pandulf the priest', *Regesto di S. Angelo*, 129–31 no. 44. Cf. also, *Pergamene normanne della Mater Ecclesia Capuana*, 123–6 no. 14 (1174).

²⁹¹ *Chartes de Troia*, 260–2 no. 86 (1170), for the foundation, *ibid.*, 249–51 no. 80.

²⁹² *Pergamene normanne della Mater Ecclesia capuana*, 204–7 no. 33 (1189). Loud, *Church and Society*, 234–7.

²⁹³ *Ryccardi de Sancto Germano Chronica*, 181.

Monasticism

If the secular Church changed considerably during the course of the twelfth century, the pace of change within monasticism was slower. From the time of the Norman conquest onwards the south Italian Church was dominated by the great Benedictine monasteries. While the period of their greatest influence and efflorescence was between c. 1060 and c. 1130, they remained by far the most significant element within the monastic part of the Church right through the twelfth century. There were other influences as well, notably a local eremitic movement, the impact of which was modest but far from negligible, although as time went on this tended to become subsumed into the mainstream Benedictine tradition. By contrast, the 'new religious orders' that were so influential and successful in northern Europe had little impact upon the kingdom of Sicily until the 1190s. They were, however, to become much more influential during the thirteenth century.

The Norman conquest undoubtedly benefited Benedictine monasticism. It led to a number of new foundations by the Normans themselves, notably those by the new rulers: Venosa and the various Calabrian abbeys founded by Robert Guiscard and his brother Count Roger, and the three Sicilian houses set up by the latter in the late 1080s and early 1090s (above, pp. 85–9). Other Norman aristocrats followed their example, notably Guiscard's nephew Count Geoffrey of Conversano, who founded the abbeys of St Stephen at Monopoli and S. Maria at Nardo, as well as the nunnery of S. Maria at Brindisi. Similarly the new Norman lords of Montescaglioso, who were loyal supporters of Robert Guiscard, installed in their seignury by the duke after the rebellion against him in 1079–80, founded the abbey of S. Maria there in the early 1080s. There were also a number of other new houses at the same period, the origins of which are more obscure. For example, the monastery of St Nicholas at Troia was first mentioned in a papal bull of 1067: we know nothing of the circumstances of its foundation. And in particular, one or more nunneries were

established in almost all of the larger towns along the coast of Apulia during the century after 1060, although in only a couple of instances do we know anything of their founders. In these two cases: St Benedict, Polignano (pre-1109) and St John, Lecce (pre-1133), the founders were the local Norman lords; but it is by no means certain that this was the case with other nunneries in the region, some of which were in towns where there was little or no Norman settlement.¹

One should also stress that while some of the Norman foundations, especially Venosa, St Lawrence, Aversa, and the Sicilian abbeys of Catania and Lipari, were wealthy and successful houses, the principal ecclesiastical beneficiaries of the conquest were existing, and often long-established monasteries: in particular Montecassino, Cava and St Sophia, Benevento. These gained the favour and protection of the new rulers, attracted Norman benefactors, expanded their congregations of dependent cells and churches, and acquired property over a wide geographical area, and not just in the immediate vicinity of the mother house. Montecassino and Cava, as well as St Lawrence, Aversa, gained lands and churches in Apulia, almost all to begin with through donations from the dukes, their relatives, other leading Norman-French aristocrats, and in the case of St Lawrence, Aversa, through its good relations with French members of the episcopate. Montecassino and Cava both also benefited from their continued links with the surviving indigenous nobility in their home regions (above, pp. 93–102).

To some extent, as suggested earlier, the expansion of these congregations of Campanian monasteries into Apulia was explicable through the lack of existing monastic institutions in parts of this region. It also led to the transfer of existing monasteries into the ownership of these expanding monastic empires, as with the donation of St Peter Imperialis at Taranto to Montecassino by Duke Robert in June 1080, quite possibly as thanks for the assistance of Abbot Desiderius in the negotiations with the papacy that led to the peace agreement at Ceprano in that very month.² But there were some existing monasteries, mainly located on the northern and southern fringes of Apulia, that also benefited from the pious generosity of Normanno-French aristocrats, particularly S. Maria on the Tremiti islands in the Adriatic, S. Maria, Banzi, in Lucania, and St Benedict at Conversano

¹ Martin, *Pouille*, 668–71. For the lords of Montescaglioso, W. Jahn, *Untersuchungen zur normannische Herrschaft in Süditalien (1040–1100)* (Frankfurt 1989), 286–9. For St Nicholas, Troia, *Chartes de Troia*, 106–7 no. 14.

² Ménager, *Recueil*, 101–4 no. 31.

in southern Apulia. This last abbey profited, both directly and indirectly, from the favour of the local Norman counts. Count Geoffrey made six donations of land to the monastery of St Benedict between 1072 and 1099, and in July 1098 he granted it and its men an extensive fiscal and legal immunity, as well as permission to pasture its animals and cut wood on his lands.³ Tremiti, meanwhile, benefited especially from its links with the Norman Counts of Lesina and Loritello (above, p. 104). But along with the, often generous, donations of territorial lords, these monasteries also profited from the gifts of a host of lesser men. The value of seigneurial support was probably as much in protection, and encouragement to others, as direct endowment.

Almost all of these monasteries acquired, not merely gifts of land or urban property, but also of churches. Here the impact of reforming ideas as to the sinfulness of lay ownership of churches had a considerable impact. Occasionally, as was suggested in the previous chapter, this was reflected in the phraseology of donation charters, although many donations of churches, especially in the eleventh century, were made without such overt justification, but rather to secure forgiveness in the hereafter for the donor or a deceased relative. As a judge at Civitate recorded in 1059, in one of the more eloquent examples of the genre; 'having taken counsel with priests and learned men about how to redeem my sins and evade the wrath of the Eternal Judge', he decided to endow Tremiti with all his property, including his large stone house in Civitate, and a church there, and six other churches in its territory, as well as miscellaneous huts, grain pits, vineyards and other property.⁴ But what is really eloquent is the sheer scale of these acquisitions of churches by the major monasteries during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.

Montecassino, unsurprisingly, led the way. During the abbacies of Desiderius and Oderisius I (from 1058 to 1105) this abbey was given no fewer than 134 churches, and shares in more than 30 others, while a further 28 churches were given to Cassinese cells. The vast congregation of subordinate churches gathered by Montecassino was not simply a product of the Gregorian reform: the abbey started to acquire subordinate churches in some numbers from the early years of the eleventh century, but the scale increased dramatically after c. 1050, prompted both by 'Gregorian' ideas and by the Norman conquest.⁵ Some of these gains were a consequence of

³ *Pergamene di Conversano*, 94–6 no. 41 (1072), 104–5 no. 45 (1081), 110–13 no. 48 (1087), 122–4 no. 53 (1089), 131–2 no. 57 (1095/6), 135–41 no. 59 (1098: the immunity); Jahn, *Untersuchungen*, 391–3 (1099). The text of the 1098 charter is problematic, see Jahn, *Untersuchungen*, 250–2.

⁴ *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, ii.198–203 no. 65.

⁵ Dormeier, *Montecassino und die Laien im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart 1979), 56–8; these donations are listed in *ibid.*, 28–52.

the close links that Montecassino had with the secular authorities, both before and after the conquest. Thus in October 1039 Guaimar IV of Salerno gave a church in Amalfi, which he had just taken over, to Abbot Richer 'for the good service that you have rendered to us'.⁶ The many territorial gains that Montecassino made in the 1060s from the new Norman Prince of Capua were undoubtedly in recompense for its alliance and support, using the abbey as a counterweight to the still restive Lombard nobles of the north of the principality. But the princes also gave the abbey churches, and in particular the church of S. Angelo in Formis on Monte Tifata, about 5 km east of Capua, which Richard gave to Montecassino in February 1072.⁷ Abbot Desiderius proceeded to rebuild the church and develop the monastic community there, which within a few years housed more than 40 monks, and in turn acquired a number of city churches in Capua. Not surprisingly, this proved very unpopular with successive archbishops of Capua – for the archbishop had once owned this church, before exchanging it with the prince, in return for one within the city, in 1065. Sporadic dispute continued for the next half-century, including an armed attack on the monastery at the instigation of Archbishop Sennes in 1106, apparently in retaliation for another bishop being invited to dedicate a new chapel there. But this had no effect. S. Angelo in Formis remained as one of the most important dependent cells of Montecassino.⁸ The princes of Capua continued to give churches to Montecassino and its daughter house, notably the church of St Agatha at Aversa, given by Jordan I in 1086, which had once been held by Constantine the African, a distinguished medical scholar and refugee from his native Tunisia, who became a monk at Montecassino and died shortly before Jordan's donation.⁹ But the vast nexus of subordinate churches controlled by Montecassino was not just the consequence of the favour of the new Norman rulers: there were a great many donors, Norman and Lombard, great aristocrats and lesser men, and family or community *consorterie*.

Other monasteries also gathered extensive congregations of churches and dependent cells. The growth of the Cava congregation can be seen by

⁶ H. M. Willard, *Abbot Desiderius and the Ties between Montecassino and Amalfi in the Eleventh Century* (Miscellanea Cassinese 37, 1973), 55. Dormeier, *Montecassino und die Laien*, 63.

⁷ *Regesto di S. Angelo in Formis*, 43–5 no. 15.

⁸ Loud, *Church and Society*, 53–6. For the 1106 incident: *Chron. Cas.* IV.28, pp. 493–4.

⁹ *Regesto di S. Angelo in Formis*, 62–3 no. 22; *Chron. Cas.* III.35, pp. 411–12, which suggests that Constantine himself gave this church to Montecassino. However, Jordan's diploma makes clear that its immediate past holder had been one of his chaplains, called Walter. For Constantine, A. Hettinger, 'Zur Lebensgeschichte und zum Todesdatum des Constantin Africanus', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 46 (1990), 517–29.

comparison of two bulls confirming the abbey's property, one from Paschal II in 1100 and the second from Alexander III in 1169. The list contained in the first of these was certainly incomplete (some known dependencies have been omitted), but still included some 42 churches and seven monastic houses (the latter all in the Cilento region). The bull *Commissae nobis* of January 1169 listed 21 dependent monasteries and 98 churches subject to Cava, spread throughout southern Italy – although more than half were, as one might expect, in the principality of Salerno. There was even a church and a monastery on the island of Sicily, the latter (S. Archangelo at Petralia) given to the abbey by King Roger in 1131. A royal diploma for St Sophia, Benevento, in 1170, the contents of which seem genuine even if the diplomatic is doubtful, listed four churches within Benevento subject to the abbey, and some 40 others outside the city.¹⁰ And while other houses whose circle of benefactors was more restricted, and catchment area more local, lacked such large congregations, they might still have quite impressive local circles of dependent churches. Thus Holy Trinity, Mileto, had 17 dependent churches and three 'little monasteries' (probably Greek) in Calabria, and three more churches on Sicily, as early as 1100. In the Abruzzi, St Bartholomew of Carpineto had some 20 dependent churches by 1116, while in southern Apulia, S. Maria, Nardo, had 13 dependent churches in 1121, and the nuns of S. Maria, Brindisi, 23 in the early thirteenth century.¹¹ The influence of reforming ideas did not therefore eliminate the proprietary church; rather it encouraged their transfer on a large scale by laymen to monastic ownership.

Furthermore, monasteries also deliberately encouraged such acquisitions. Montecassino's propaganda in favour of reforming ideas, including those about the sinfulness of lay possession of churches, notably in the *Vision of Alberic*, an eschatological text written, at least in its present form, c. 1120, was far from disinterested.¹² Montecassino indeed went further, attempting quite deliberately to take over other monasteries to which its monks felt that they had a claim, sometimes on very tenuous grounds. Abbot Desiderius tried to do this with Tremiti, to which he first laid claim at the council of Melfi in August 1059. This attempt failed. A second, made c. 1071/2 after various internal problems and scandals at the Adriatic abbey,

¹⁰ Loud, 'The abbey of Cava', 152–6, based upon Pflugk-Hartung, *Acta*, ii.169–71 no. 206; *Papsturkunden*, ii.422–6 no. 12. *Roger II Diplomata*, 45–8 no. 16. Loud, 'A Lombard abbey in a Norman world', 281–2.

¹¹ *Papsturkunden*, ii.334–6 no. 9; *Chron. Carpineto*, 271–3 no. 128. Martin, *Pouille*, 669.

¹² Dormeier, *Montecassino und die Laien*, 26. *La Visione di Alberico*, ed. A. Mirra (Miscellanea Cassinese 11, 1932, part V).

was for a time successful. Abbot Ferro of Tremiti was removed from office, and imprisoned for a time at the Cassinese cell at Ascoli, then reinstated on condition of recognising Cassinese overlordship. But eventually, in December 1081, Desiderius was forced to abandon his claims. At a court at Dragonara, in the presence of the archbishop of Benevento and five of his suffragans, as well as the Norman counts of Lesina and Loritello, he was forced to admit that 'he has sinned and unjustly detained the abbey'. Given that the judges present were men of the counts, and that they, as well as Robert, lord of Devia, who was also present, were benefactors of Tremiti, one might suspect that here pressure from these powerful laymen had assisted the monks of Tremiti in vindicating their independence.¹³ Montecassino also made repeated efforts, with slightly more historical justification, at papal councils from 1078 onwards to claim ownership of another of the really successful houses in the south, St Sophia, Benevento (which had once, in the dim and distant past when it had been a nunnery, actually been subject to St Benedict's). These attempts were, however, uniformly unsuccessful, although the continued pressure of Cassinese claims may have been one factor in encouraging the monks of St Sophia to record the muniments of their house in an elaborate chartulary in 1119.¹⁴ Montecassino was, however, ultimately more successful in its claims of ownership over the nunnery of S. Maria at Cingla, in the diocese of Alife, although this case was first raised at the council of Bari in 1098, and only eventually settled, after some heavy-handed papal intervention and the deposition of a recalcitrant abbess, in the autumn of 1122.¹⁵

Other monastic houses lacked the political influence and high-level contacts, and indeed the claims conferred by half a millennium of history, of the monastery of St Benedict. But there were still influences that could work upon lay piety, and stimulate generous donations by laymen. Enrolment in the monastery's confraternity, with the liturgical commemoration and prayers for salvation that this embodied, was a powerful incentive. For favoured donors there might indeed be burial within the monastery. Confraternities had begun as communities of prayer with other monasteries, or the commemoration of distinguished individual churchmen. But at Montecassino, for example, laymen were also admitted to the *societas* of the monastery from the mid-eleventh century, and perhaps

¹³ *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, ii.197–8 no. 64, 250–3 no. 84. *Chron. Cas.* III.25, pp. 392–3.

¹⁴ J.-M. Martin, 'Quelques réflexions en vue de l'édition du *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae*', *BISIME* 99 (1993), 308–10; Loud, 'A Lombard abbey in a Norman world', 279–80.

¹⁵ Loud, *Church and Society*, 120–1.

earlier – the first such reference we have here comes in 1040, and it is unlikely that this was an innovation then. Other, much less prominent, monasteries appear to have possessed confraternities not much later. A lay benefactor was ‘written down among the holy congregation’ of St Erasmus at Formia, near Gaeta, in 1064.¹⁶ We also possess several surviving necrologies from Montecassino and its dependencies, notably the so-called ‘Necrology of Leo of Ostia’ (c. 1098) – in fact a combination of calendar, martyrology and necrology – the necrology of St Nicholas della Cicogna, in use from the late eleventh century onwards, and in particular the much more elaborate one contained in Cod. Cas. 47 (c. 1165), as well as a number of more fragmentary survivals. In all of these manuscripts we can see benefactors of the abbey recorded on the anniversary of their death, so that prayers might be said for them.

While the survival of such texts outside the Cassinese orbit is much less common, a mid-twelfth-century necrology from Venosa, as well as a late twelfth-/early thirteenth-century example from S. Maria in Gualdo, outside Benevento, show that the practice was by no means confined to Montecassino.¹⁷ Admittedly, references to such confraternities from other monasteries are sporadic, and often quite late; although without the survival of its necrologies we might almost say the same about Montecassino. However, a local lord who restored a church to Tremiti was received into its ‘society, prayers and confraternity’ in 1136.¹⁸ For Cava, the evidence is surprisingly sparse, but in October 1113 Turgisius of Montemileto, one of the powerful S. Severino clan, gave it various men in Cilento in return for him, his wife and his children being included in the ‘society and prayers’ of the monastery.¹⁹ There are also references to the liturgical celebration of anniversaries, and in August 1189 the bishop of Frigento recorded that he was one of the *confratres* of the monastery.²⁰

However, by contrast we do have abundant evidence from Cava of the importance of burial at the monastery. Thus in September 1112, a judge from Salerno gave the abbey his share of the monastery of St Nicholas

¹⁶ *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.* i.344–6 no. 173: *susceptus in oratione a sancti viris fratribus; et conscriptum me et coniugem meam. Cod. Dipl. Caiet.* ii.57–9 no. 222: *me qui supra Petrus et meis genitoribus in sancta congregatione scripsistis.* Dormeier, *Montecassino und die Laien*, 165–172.

¹⁷ H. Houben, *Il ‘Libro del capitolo’ del monastero della SS. Trinità di Venosa (Cod. Casin. 334): una testimonianza del Mezzogiorno normanno* (Galatina 1984), 13–20, gives a useful summary and discussion of the surviving evidence of this type. For a recent edition, *The Necrology of San Nicola della Cicogna*, ed. C. Hilken (Toronto 2000).

¹⁸ *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, iii.282–4 no. 98. ¹⁹ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* E.26.

²⁰ Pratesi, ‘Note di diplomatica vescovile beneventana’, 76–8 no. 12. For anniversaries, e.g. Cava, *Arca* xxiv.41 (January 1138), *Arm. Mag.* L.31 (July 1188), the will of James, lord of Flumine Frigido.

Gallucanta at Vietri, in recompense for the recent burial of his son in the abbatial cemetery. Deathbed donations to Cava in return for burial at the monastery were common, and those seeking this included women as well as men.²¹ Agreements with the abbey might also include provision for future burial there, as with a married couple from Nocera who gave their property to Cava, to be retained by them on a life-tenure, in return for burial at the monastery, in January 1171.²² A member of the S. Severino clan who sold a substantial property to Cava in March 1182 received both a cash price and the promise of a marble tomb in the abbey cemetery.²³ A number of benefactors also made reference to parents who were buried in the monastery.²⁴ The ultimate inducement was of course the possibility of becoming a monk, though this was an option which many laymen would only seek in old age or on their deathbed, as for example Roger of S. Severino, Cava's benefactor (and sometimes opponent), who became a monk shortly before his death (1121 × 1125).²⁵ In some cases, admission to the confraternity was the first step towards eventually becoming a monk. In one transaction of 1186 this was made explicit: a woman became a member of the confraternity of Cava's Lucanian dependency of S. Maria of Kyrozosimi, specifying that on her deathbed she was to receive a nun's habit, and then be buried in the priory's cemetery.²⁶

The terms of the liturgical commemoration granted to *confratres* can be seen from the admission of Count Richard of Avellino to the confraternity of Montecassino in 1149, in return for the donation of a *feudum* (that ambiguous word once again!) at Pontecorvo. The abbot promised that every year 50 shillings would be spent on charitable activity for his soul, and an annual mass would be celebrated for him, with a meal for the monks. After his death there would be a mass and a meal for the brothers on his anniversary.²⁷ The mid-twelfth-century necrology of Montecassino also contains a brief ritual for the receipt of a new member of the confraternity:

²¹ *Pergamene di S. Nicola di Gallucanta*, 317–18 no. 129; cf. Cava, *Arca* xxiv.33 (November 1137), xxx.73 (March 1161), 109 (March 1162), xxxii.30 (June 1166), xxxviii.112 (January 1183), in which the donor noted that he had already arranged for a sarcophagus/coffin (*receptaculum*) to be provided for him.

²² Cava, *Arca* xxxiii.78. ²³ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* I.35.

²⁴ Cava, *Arca* xxiii.103 (November 1135); F. Scandone, *Storia di Avellino* (3 vols., Naples 1947–50), ii(2).188–9 no. 253 (April 1174); L. Mattei-Cerasoli, 'Taurasi nei documenti Cavensi', *Samnium* 20 (1947), 181–3 no. 5 (June 1184).

²⁵ Cava, *Arm. Mag.* F.36 (March 1125).

²⁶ Mattei-Cerasoli, 'Badia di Cava e i monasteri greci' (1938), 173–4. More generally, Dormeier, *Montecassino und die Laien*, 191.

²⁷ Gattula, *Accessiones*, 256–7.

Through this rule, we give to you our society, that you may be a sharer with us in [our] prayers, vigils, psalms, sacrifices, alms, and in all the good things that pertain to the salvation of the soul.²⁸

Although it was against strict canon law, and was the subject of repeated legislation at papal councils, most monasteries expected new recruits to bring a 'dowry' with them. In some cases the person taking the habit might give not only themselves, but all their worldly property to the monastery, as for example Gemmatius son of Maraldus of Monopoli did when, 'inspired by Jesus', he became a monk at St Benedict, Conversano, in June 1092.²⁹ But such extreme generosity was hardly possible for those with heirs expecting to inherit. More usual were such arrangements as that made by Roger, archdeacon of Molfetta cathedral in 1165, who took advantage of a visit to Apulia by Abbot Marinus of Cava to request that his nephew might become a monk, and in return for this he gave the abbey's cell at Molfetta an olive grove.³⁰ A number of donors, and indeed sometimes vendors, of property to monastic houses included a provision in their donation/sale charter that, should they wish to become a monk in future, no further gift would be necessary.³¹

The expansion of monastic property and dependencies, and their circles of benefactors, could be illustrated from many examples, but a few must suffice here. There were, of course, significant contrasts between different institutions. St Sophia, Benevento, for example, was a long-established house, the origins of which stretched back to the eighth century. Originally a nunnery, and refounded as a monastery for men during the early tenth century, probably between 938 and 945, it retained the claims to the property and rights of the older establishment, many of whose charters were copied into its early twelfth-century chartulary. However, there was in practice far less continuity in its property ownership than a superficial perusal of its older documents might suggest. While from 972 onwards the monks had continued to obtain confirmations from the Ottonian emperors of their rights to properties over a substantial part of the Lombard principalities, stretching from the Adriatic coast to the Terra di Lavoro,

²⁸ *Necrologio del Cod. Cas.* 47, 71.

²⁹ *Pergamene di Conversano*, 122–4 no. 53. Cf. a father and son who both became monks at the same house in October 1134, *ibid.*, 178–80 no. 80.

³⁰ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, vii.53 no. 38; cf. *ibid.*, 58–60 nos. 43–4 (1167), in which men made donations to accompany their sons making their profession.

³¹ Cava, *Arca* xiv.104 (December 1088), xxx.104 (March 1162), *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, ix.146–8 no. 143 (August 1190). In March 1169 a woman sold a house at Salerno to Cava on condition that she might, if she wished, later become a nun in a house subject to Cava, *Arca* xxxiii.17.

most of these properties had actually been lost. Like the other ancient Campanian abbeys, St Sophia no longer held its properties and fisheries along the coast of northern Apulia, and during the twelfth century almost nothing remained of what it had once held in the principality of Capua apart from some churches near Caserta, and the *casale* that grew up around one of them, which for almost all of that period was actually leased to the nearby house of St Lawrence, Aversa.³² In fact, St Sophia retained little of its original endowment apart from what lay in the immediate vicinity of Benevento itself. But, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the abbey gained an extensive, but almost entirely new, landed portfolio, to make it one of the most substantial ecclesiastical landowners in southern Italy. These possessions were concentrated in four areas: in the immediate vicinity of Benevento itself, in Irpinia (the region to the east of the city along the border with Apulia), in the inland northern Capitanata, particularly in the dioceses of Troia and Fiorentino, and in Molise, the mountainous inland region to the north of Benevento.

This process began before the arrival of the Normans. St Sophia, had, for example, already acquired the church of S. Angelo in Altissimo, near the River Biferno, its first significant property in Molise, by 999, and the monastery of S. Angelo at Ariano (25 km to the east of Benevento), by 1006. The latter was to be one of its most important cells throughout the 'Norman' period.³³ Similarly, it had obtained the church of St Donatus at Leocubante by 1022, when it was listed among the properties confirmed to the abbey by the Emperor Henry II. The village and estate complex that developed around this church, a few kilometres to the south of Benevento, was to remain one of its valuable resources throughout the Middle Ages.³⁴ But it was the patronage of the new Norman aristocracy that propelled St Sophia into the front rank of monastic houses in the south. Thus between 1065 and 1149 the abbey acquired at least seven *castella*, principally in Molise, of which five were definitely donated to it by Norman lords. The earliest of these acquisitions, Ripalonga, near Troia – the abbey's only *castellum* in the Capitanata – was given by a certain Niel or Nigel, and then

³² Martin, *Pouille*, 295–9, 677–9. For leases of the churches and the *casale* of S. Fide, F. Bartoloni, 'Additiones Kehrianæ', *QFIAB* 34 (1954), 43–5 no. 4 (1093); Girgensohn, 'Documenti beneventani', 290–6 no. 5 (1123), 300–2 no. 8 (1152).

³³ Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Lat. 13490, document 2 (this 'manuscript' is actually a folder of original charters).

³⁴ A. Zazo, 'Chiesa, feudi e possessi della badia benedettina di Santa Sofia nel secolo XIV', *Samnium* 37 (1964), 36–40.

confirmed to it by Duke Robert Guiscard in March 1065. Its subsequent gains of *castella* largely came between 1090 and 1130.³⁵

The abbey also acquired most of its considerable number of dependent churches during this same period, and again very largely from Norman donors. Thus, for example, it was given three churches by Count Jordan of Ariano in 1112; a monastery, four churches and a part-share in another, all in the vicinity of Saepino in Molise, by Count Simon of Boiano in 1113; and a church and a one-third share in three others, by a knight called Robert in 1121.³⁶ And in a number of instances, churches that had been donated to the abbey either already were or became foci for settlement, and *casalia* accompanied them, or subsequently developed around them, both in Molise and in the Capitanata. The renders from the inhabitants were a valuable source of income for the abbey. One of its patrons who endowed it with such *casalia* was a minor baron called Gerard de Marchia, lord of the *castellum* of Reino, about 20 km north of Benevento, and about 5 km from the abbey's own *castellum* of Fragneto, which was given to it by Count Herbert of Ariano in 1100. Gerard was almost certainly a vassal of the counts of Ariano. Furthermore, he expressly identified his father, a certain Rao *Pinellus*, as a Norman. In March 1122, Gerard gave St Sophia the church of S. Maria *de Sipagno*, in the territory of Reino, and the *casale* that already existed around it. Four years later, in failing health, for he died soon afterwards, he gave it another church, St Peter *de Laureto*, not far from Fragneto. By the late twelfth century this too had its own village, although its development later embroiled the abbey in a legal dispute with Gerard's grandson (above, p. 288).³⁷ By 1170 St Sophia possessed nine or possibly ten such unfortified villages, in addition to eight *castella*.

St Sophia, Benevento, was thus a long-established house that nonetheless owed its prosperity very largely to Norman patronage. Much of this came within a period of about 40 years, between c. 1090 and 1130. Foremost among its benefactors were the counts of Ariano and Boiano and their vassals; it also benefited, albeit to a lesser extent, from the counts of Monte Sant'Angelo. By contrast, the patronage of the dukes of Apulia was relatively limited, not least because of the areas where the monastery was influential only the Capitanata was within the ducal sphere of influence.

³⁵ Ménager, *Recueil*, 62–5 no. 14. For a detailed discussion, Loud, 'A Lombard abbey in a Norman world', 281–6.

³⁶ *Chron. S. Sophiae*, ii.724–6, 731–4; Benevento, Museo del Sannio, Fondo S. Sofia, vol. 12 no. 39.

³⁷ Museo del Sannio, Fondo S. Sofia, vol. 2 no. 6 (copy in Pergamene Aldobrandini, Cart. I no. 51); Pergamene Aldobrandini, Cartolario I, nos. 56, 59 (the latter a confirmation by Gerard's son Robert).

Thus apart from Guiscard's confirmation of the donation of Ripalonga, it received only a minor gift of land near Troia in 1094, and (more significantly) exemption from dues on its flocks and market levies in 1110, both of these from Roger Borsa.³⁸ But although ducal patronage was limited, St Sophia still saw a major expansion in its lands and congregation of dependent churches in the wake of the Norman conquest. Furthermore, this was despite the fact that Benevento itself remained independent, under papal rule, and in consequence it appears probable that the great majority of the monks there were drawn from the indigenous Lombard population rather than from the French interlopers.

However, one cannot simply ascribe the development of Benedictine monasticism in the south to the influence of the Normans alone. For a contrast with the expansion of St Sophia we may look to the monastery of Sts Mary and James on the island of Tremiti in the Adriatic. This was also a pre-Norman foundation, although a more recent one, first recorded in 1005, and probably founded shortly before that date. But whereas St Sophia, for all its long historical tradition, and long-standing links with the princes of Benevento and the emperors, was actually a relatively modest landowner before the Norman conquest, Tremiti had become a significant property-owner in northern Apulia before the Norman takeover of the region. There were already some 20 churches in this area under its jurisdiction in 1053.³⁹ Tremiti had also acquired landed property in a long arc along the coast from Vieste in the Gargano peninsula to Vasto on the border of the Abruzzi, as well as in the Biferno valley, and some modest donations in the inland Capitanata, such as a church at Dragonara in 1039 and another at Troia in 1040. Indeed the bishop of Dragonara vowed to join the monastery in 1045.⁴⁰ Its patrons included the Lombard counts of Campomarino and Larino, and the Attonid counts of Chieti in the southern Abruzzi, all of whom made repeated donations to the abbey, but especially in the 20 years after the early 1040s. Some of the gifts that it received were of substantial tracts of land. In 1034, for example, it was given 5,550 *modii* in the county of Chieti and another 1,850 *modii* in Molise (the *modius* was a measure equivalent to about 0.3 hectares).⁴¹ Tremiti also acquired several *castella*, notably one at Aquaviva in the county of Chieti in

³⁸ Museo del Sannio, Fondo S. Sofia, vol. 12 no. 29.

³⁹ *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, ii.156–8 no. 49: a bull of Leo IX confirming the abbey's property.

⁴⁰ *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, ii.80–3 no. 26, 87–91 no. 28, 108–11 no. 34.

⁴¹ *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, ii.49–54 no. 15.

1039, and a controlling interest in the *castellum* of Guglionesi in the Biferno Valley during the 1050s.⁴²

Tremi was therefore already a successful and expanding monastery before the Normans pushed into the Gargano peninsula and the northern Capitanata in the 1050s, and sufficiently prestigious to obtain a privilege confirming its property from the Emperor Henry III in 1054.⁴³ But despite their links with the indigenous aristocracy, the monks of Tremi were able successfully to make the transition into the new order dominated by the Normans. From the late 1050s onwards their existing Lombard patrons were replaced among the abbey's benefactors by the Norman counts of Lesina, the first of whose donations came in 1056,⁴⁴ their vassals and allies like Osmund of Ripalta, who made a gift in 1060;⁴⁵ and other Norman lords such as Count Robert of Monte Sant'Angelo,⁴⁶ the lords of Devia,⁴⁷ and subsequently the counts of Loritello.⁴⁸ The support of the counts of Lesina and Loritello was probably instrumental in protecting Tremi from the ambitions of Desiderius of Montecassino. Indeed, the acquisitive instincts of that prince of ecclesiastical entrepreneurs had almost certainly been aroused by the very success of Tremi, for Montecassino had no historical claim upon it. Tremi continued to receive benefactions from its Norman patrons into the early twelfth century. Furthermore, in the years after 1060 Tremi's influence expanded into the coastal region south of Monte Gargano, although much of its property at Siponto was surrendered to the archbishop in an exchange in 1068 (for which Tremi received a share of a saltpan, clearly a very valuable resource).⁴⁹ However, the abbey was also given a church near Barletta in 1096, by a man called Mauger who was about to depart on the First Crusade, and another church at Trani in 1121; this last, dedicated to St Basil, being donated to the monastery by its founder, who was a Greek.⁵⁰ Tremi was therefore an example of a monastery that was already successful before the Norman conquest, but suffered no harm during the conquest and continued to prosper thereafter.

Our third and final example is of a monastery that was of little or no importance until the early twelfth century, but thereafter prospered modestly, within a relatively restricted catchment area, and whose patrons were

⁴² It was given a $\frac{1}{6}$ share of Guglionesi in 1051, and a $\frac{1}{2}$ share in 1059, *Cod. Dipl. Tremi*, ii.140–3 no. 44, 190–2 no. 61. For Aquaviva, *ibid.*, ii.83–7 no. 27.

⁴³ *Cod. Dipl. Tremi*, ii.163–5 no. 52. ⁴⁴ *Cod. Dipl. Tremi*, ii.168–70 no. 54.

⁴⁵ *Cod. Dipl. Tremi*, ii.211–13 no. 69. ⁴⁶ *Cod. Dipl. Tremi*, ii.231–5 nos. 77–8.

⁴⁷ *Cod. Dipl. Tremi*, ii.159–63 no. 51, iii.260–2 no. 89.

⁴⁸ *Cod. Dipl. Tremi*, iii.262–4 no. 90, iii.284–6 nos. 99–100.

⁴⁹ *Cod. Dipl. Tremi*, ii.235–9 no. 79. ⁵⁰ *Cod. Dipl. Tremi*, iii.259–60 no. 88, 269–77 no. 95.

for the most part of modest status, but nevertheless became a house of some significance. The abbey of the Holy Trinity on Monte Sacro, sited at the highest point (2,800 feet) overlooking the eastern side of the Gargano peninsula, was first attested as a cell of another house, S. Maria of Calena (on the northern coast of the peninsula), in 1059. From the 1120s onwards the brothers of Montesacro made repeated attempts to free their monastery from its erstwhile mother house, in which efforts they were eventually successful, when Adrian IV declared their abbey to be an exempt house, directly dependent upon the papacy, in 1159 (see below, p. 454). Although situated in the mountains of the Gargano massif, Montesacro found its patrons and acquired property primarily in and immediately around the coastal towns of northern and central Apulia, to the south of the Gargano peninsula. It had property in Andria by 1138, a married woman at Barletta gave it a residual interest in her property in 1139, and it possessed houses in Molfetta by 1142.⁵¹ Montesacro also started to gain churches outside the Gargano area. It had acquired Sts Philip and James outside Molfetta by 1143, the church of St James at Barletta by 1147, and St Thomas at Bisceglie, Sts Sergius and Bacchus at Trani and St Vitus at Canne by 1159.⁵² By 1160 it owned a house in Salpi and gained land at Bitetto; and it was buying urban property in the 'new suburb' (*burgus novus*) of Barletta in 1164.⁵³ It was also given the church of St Matthew, outside Bari, in 1168.⁵⁴ Outside the Gargano peninsula the nexus of subordinate churches was relatively modest, but situated as they were in or near the flourishing coastal towns of northern Apulia, these churches became foci for donations and economic activity, probably to a greater extent than the relatively remote mother house. Montesacro had some connections with the upper class – a royal justiciar of baronial rank acted as its advocate in transactions in 1164 and again in 1167, while a knight from Molfetta made an exchange with it in 1163, another knight gave property to its cell in Barletta in 1182, and it bought a house from a knight there in 1194.⁵⁵ But more so than the other houses discussed, its primary circle of benefactors came from the prosperous bourgeoisie of the Apulian coastal towns, and even those knights with whom it had dealings appear also to have been urban-dwellers. However, we should also note that while the prosperity of St Sophia, Benevento, was

⁵¹ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, viii.70–1 no. 42, 74–5 no. 44; *ibid.*, x.20–2 no. 11.

⁵² *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, x.22–4 nos. 12–13; MPL 188, 1608–10 no. 238 (a confirmation of the abbey's property by Adrian IV in January 1159).

⁵³ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, viii.126–7 no. 87, 138–9 no. 98; *ibid.*, x.34–5 no. 21.

⁵⁴ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, viii.153–5 no. 109.

⁵⁵ *Cod. Dipl. Barese* x.34–5 no. 21, 39–40 no. 25, 51–2 no. 34; *ibid.*, viii. 133–5 no. 94, 181 no. 137.

largely owed to the new Norman upper class in the central regions of the peninsula, it too profited, albeit on a smaller scale, from the pious generosity of the burgesses of Benevento.⁵⁶

However, while the significant expansion of monastic property that accompanied the Norman conquest and continued in the generation thereafter was very largely the product of pious donation, whatever other factors may in turn have contributed to this, the further growth of monastic property during the twelfth century was, for some houses at least, the result of purchase. In the principality of Capua, for example, which was heavily settled and intensively cultivated, churches increasingly bought land after c. 1140, rather than being presented with it. The monastery of S. Angelo in Formis, for example, expended some 1,889 *tari* on buying property during the five years 1141–5, whereas in previous years almost all its acquisitions had been through donation, and some years later the provost of this house allocated some 4,000 *tari* to buy property for the hospital that was attached to it. Other churches in the same area appear to have entered the land market on a substantial scale during the decades 1150–70.⁵⁷ In Apulia, the Augustinian canons of St Leonard, Siponto, made some fifteen purchases between 1155 and 1164. None of these was very substantial, involving as they did small portions of vineyard (sometimes terms like *petiola* were employed), part shares in land, or huts (*casalina*), and the sums involved were generally only a few *solidi* per transaction. But by this time the priory was acquiring property more often through purchase than gift, and over a considerable area to the south and west of the Gargano peninsula (from Monte Sant'Angelo, Siponto, and Rignano as far west as Foggia).⁵⁸

By far our fullest information relates to Cava, and this abbey appears to have been active buying property, on a quite spectacular scale, from soon after the Norman conquest onwards. This reached a peak during the decade 1110–19, during which Cava expended some 40,000 *tari* in purchases, and just over 4,000 *tari* more in loans. While the abbey's outlay never reached this scale again, and there was not surprisingly a hiatus during the decade of civil war in the 1130s, Cava continued to purchase both land, and increasingly urban property, throughout the twelfth

⁵⁶ For example, gifts of a house near the upper gate of the city by Romuald son of John in July 1137, of water rights by Riso and John, sons of Roffred of the Porta Aurea, in August 1142, of a vineyard just outside the city by the three sons of a certain Amatus in January 1150, and of a vineyard to the monastery's infirmary by Transmund the notary and his wife in September 1161, Benevento, Museo del Sannio, vol. 13 nos. 4, 7, 9, 13 (the last edited by Loud, 'Genesis and context of the chronicle of Falco', 197–8 no. 2).

⁵⁷ Loud, *Church and Society*, 225–6. *Regesto di S. Angelo in Formis*, 212–13 no. 74 (1149 × 1159).

⁵⁸ *Regesto di S. Leonardo di Siponto*, nos. 37–9, 41–2, 47, 49, 51–3, 56, 58–9, 63–4.

century. More than 16,000 *tari* were thus paid out during the 1140s, and over 8,000 more in the years 1170–4. What is also notable about these payments is that they were for the most part not spectacular large-scale purchases of blocks of territory from major landowners but rather a large number of smaller transactions, occasionally with territorial lords but much more frequently with local entrepreneurs or even actual cultivators. This land-purchasing was concentrated in the vicinity of the monastery itself and in the region around Salerno. One function was clearly to round off acquisitions that had already been made by donation, and to consolidate the abbey's lordship in various places, to facilitate a more effective economic exploitation.⁵⁹

One must stress that Cava was, after Montecassino, the wealthiest monastery in Norman Italy, and that the survival of its charter archive almost in its entirety allows an unrivalled understanding of its policy. While it is clear that other monastic houses were also buying land, there is no evidence for purchasing of property on a similar scale, or on such a systematic basis, elsewhere. Indeed, if one compares Cava's expenditure with the other notably wealthy (and well-documented) monastery in the same region, Montevergine, the contrast is striking. The monks of Montevergine made very few purchases until quite late in the twelfth century. This may be explicable in terms of a difference in ethos – Montevergine was an eremitic foundation that only belatedly adopted the Benedictine rule, and while its abbots cannot entirely have avoided mundane economic preoccupations – the monks after all had to be fed, clothed and housed – they may well have consciously eschewed the active economic expansion that characterised Cava during the twelfth century. But the involvement of the *Cavenses* with the land market is also explicable in terms of the density of settlement and economic sophistication of the Salerno region compared with the less populated and more backward interior. The agrarian economy of the region around Montevergine was largely based on the chestnut. The economy of Cava's home region was much more diversified, and Salerno – and nearby Amalfi – provided markets where surplus agricultural products could be turned into cash, in what was by the twelfth century a flourishing, and highly monetarised, economic system. This was a necessary corollary to the abbey's expenditure in purchasing property, for although Cava derived some of its income from money rents, especially from urban property in Salerno and short-term leases of land in the immediate environs of the city, the bulk of its income

⁵⁹ Loud, 'Monastic economy', 163–7, and the tables appended, 171–7.

was from rents and other customary payments in kind. While the needs of the monastery itself and its many cells undoubtedly absorbed much of these crops, the market was therefore necessary to use the surplus to provide cash for land-purchasing. Furthermore, the exploitation of Cava's lands was, by the late twelfth century, quite sensitive to the needs of this market.⁶⁰

Monasteries also interacted with lay society, and benefited themselves, in other ways. A number of people surrendered themselves and all their property to monasteries, but without the intention of becoming monks themselves. Rather they then received the property back on a life-tenure, holding it from the monastery on payment of a nominal annual census, for it to pass definitively into the abbey's possession at their death (and in some cases after that of their spouse also). When this occurred at the time of the conquest, one might well consider it as an expedient to obtain the abbey's protection and to retain the property against potential interlopers (above, p. 114). Such transactions were not, however, confined to these years of uncertainty. In many instances they might be explicable through childlessness, or at least the death of children, for such surrenders were obviously easier where there were no heirs whose interests had to be considered. Sometimes the provisions might differ, depending on whether or not the donor left children at their death.⁶¹ Furthermore, obtaining the protection of a monastic house was an obvious strategy for old age: the monastery, as the heir, would support the donor and/or his spouse when he could no longer do so himself. Thus a married couple who gave themselves and their property to Montevergine in 1177 specified that the monastery would support them 'if we are to come to such feebleness that we are unable to feed and clothe ourselves'.⁶² A widow from Salerno gave her lands to Cava in 1166, in return for not only retaining the life-tenure but also a cash-down payment, five measures of wheat and one of beans every year, and burial in

⁶⁰ G. Vitolo, 'I Prodotti della terra: orti et frutteti', in *Terra ed uomini nel Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo* (Atti delle settime giornate normanno-sveve, Bari 1985), ed. G. Musca (Bari 1987), 177–8; Loud, 'Monastic economy', 167–70.

⁶¹ E.g. *Regesto di S. Leonardo di Siponto*, 39–40 no. 62 (1164): a couple at present childless surrendered themselves to a church, which was to be their heir, but if they then had children who survived, the latter were to retain three-quarters of their property and the church was to receive only a quarter. Two similar surrenders to St Benedict, Conversano, in 1139 and 1140 envisaged a variety of possible outcomes, depending both on whether the donors left children and on their possible profession as monks at a later date, *Pergamene di Conversano*, 189–91 no. 87, 193–4 no. 89.

⁶² *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, vii.72–4 no. 619.

the monastery.⁶³ Sometimes such surrenders might be a consequence of economic problems, as with an inhabitant of Monte Sant'Angelo who surrendered himself and his property to the canons of St Leonard of Siponto in 1176, on condition that the latter pay the debts he owed to his creditors.⁶⁴ And in some cases, the person entering the monastery's *clientela* pledged themselves in future to provide particular services for the house, as with a man who gave himself and his property to St Leonard, Siponto, in 1129, who would in future make shoes for the brothers. In return for this work, he would receive 15 measures of wheat, a pig and a small sum of money every year, and the contract would be heritable if he had a son.⁶⁵ Effectively therefore he was securing a fixed salary for himself, although the priory was to be his heir if he did not leave children. (In other instances, monasteries secured the services of such skilled artisans through the terms of leases.)⁶⁶ A different sort of service was provided by a cleric who gave himself and his property to St Sophia, Benevento, in 1180. He was invested with one of the abbey's churches, where he and his brother, a layman, were to live. They were to cultivate its lands, and arrange for the provision of the liturgy, paying the abbey a *census* in kind.⁶⁷

There are also references to lay persons who were *oblati* of monastic houses, not in the sense of child oblates given by their parents at a tender age to become monks, but rather as wards or dependants of the house. The distinction between these two types of 'oblate' can be seen from a charter of September 1143, when a young man 'raised from infancy' as an *oblatus* of Cava decided to enter the monastic life, and conveyed all his property to the abbey. The document makes clear that this was his own choice, and that the property had hitherto belonged to him. He had therefore been raised as a ward of the abbey.⁶⁸ Even the nunnery of S. Maria Palazzolo, near Aquino, had a male *oblatus*, Homodei, who in two transactions in 1157 and 1164 received land on behalf of the nunnery, of which he was to have the usufruct for his lifetime, and his sister after him.⁶⁹ The effect was therefore to create a corrody for lay dependents of the nunnery. A widow testified to a court at Siponto in 1181 that her husband had been an oblate of

⁶³ Cava, *Arca* xxxii.37: *partes suprascripti monasterii omni anno in festo sancte marie de mense augusto dent ipsi gemme donec vixerit quinque modios de grano et unum modium de fabis quod voluerit et / cadaver eiusdem gemme honorifice ut decet in monasterio recipiant absque donatione.*

⁶⁴ *Regesto di S. Leonardo*, 52 no. 83. ⁶⁵ *Regesto di S. Leonardo*, 5–6 no. 5.

⁶⁶ E.g. *Pergamene di Conversano*, 270–2 no. 129 (1175), a smith was to serve the monastery in return for a house; Cava, *Arca* xli.107 (1188), a cobbler at Sarno would make shoes for the abbey's servants there in return for a house.

⁶⁷ Pergamene Aldobrandini, Cartulario IV no. 58. ⁶⁸ Cava, *Arca* xxv.79.

⁶⁹ Montecassino, *Aula II Caps.* LXVI nos. 14–15.

Cava, and in obedience to his wishes she now surrendered herself to the jurisdiction of the abbey (*in iure et dominio*). She would continue to enjoy her property, with the abbey's help, in return for constituting it as her heir. The abbey was thus to act as the widow's protector.⁷⁰ Cava also occasionally acted as guardians of young women, whose marriages it would then arrange, to dependants of the abbey, again usually in return for some sort of *census* from the property involved – although to be fair not necessarily a very onerous one.⁷¹

Most of the lay dependants of monasteries, as with other churches, were, however, cultivators. The majority held their land from the church by lease, often perpetual, or if not relatively long-term (29 years was a common time-frame for leases reflecting a provision in Roman law), but they could also be for a lifetime or more than one life.⁷² Some monasteries possessed areas of demesne land – *startia* was the usual term for this – and sometimes they exacted labour services from their peasants to cultivate it. Both ecclesiastical and secular demesnes were to be found, for example, in the Capitanata in the early twelfth century. However, the long-term tendency was for the burden of such labour services to diminish. Landlords in the Capitanata increasingly employed paid labour, especially at harvest time.⁷³ The abbots of Montecassino issued franchises to the inhabitants of particular *castella* on the *Terra Sancti Benedicti*, for example that of Abbot Rainald (II) to the inhabitants of Cervaro in 1142, that considerably reduced the obligations which they owed to the abbey, although labour services had never been widespread on the Montecassino lands – the Cervaro privilege refers to reaping and threshing during the harvest rather than week-work.⁷⁴ Elsewhere, for example in Cilento, they may have been more usual, but once again the tendency was towards diminution. Thus in the early twelfth century the inhabitants of S. Angelo in Cilento owed their lord, the abbot of Cava, two days work a week: in 1138 Abbot Symeon reduced this to one day only, as well as

⁷⁰ *Actes de l'abbaye de Cava concernant le Gargano (Codice diplomatico pugliese, xxxii)*, 143–4 no. 50.

⁷¹ E.g. Cava, *Arca* xxxiv.32 (June 1172), xl.46 (June 1185). Loud, 'Monastic economy', 154–5.

⁷² Thus Abbot William of St Sophia, Benevento, leased land belonging to the cell of St Mercurius of Alife for 25 years, renewable for another 25 thereafter (for a fee) in September 1179, and a house in the city to two brothers for their lifetimes in August 1183, Benevento, Museo del Sannio, vol. 28 no. 10, vol. 15 no. 2. For a lifetime lease from the St Sophia cell of St Agnellus, Trivento (undated, but late twelfth century), Pergamene Aldobrandini, Cart. II no. 70.

⁷³ Martin, *Pouille*, 320–4.

⁷⁴ P. Toubert, 'La Terre et les *homines* dans l'Italie normande aux temps de Roger II: l'exemple campanien', in *Società, potere e popolo nell'età di Ruggero II* (Atti delle terze giornate normanno-sveve, Bari 1977, Bari 1979), 67–71. The Cervaro privilege was edited by Fabiani, *Terra di S. Benedetto*, i. 424–5.

regulating other dues and services they owed to the abbey.⁷⁵ Cava certainly continued to possess some demesne lands and sometimes to exact labour services – some 33 named men ‘and various others’ were recorded as working on its *startia* at Sarno, on the northern border of the principality of Salerno, in a legal case of 1183, and a small number of Cava leases from around this same period, all from the region around the abbey itself and Salerno, also included labour services. But such terms occurred in only a tiny minority of abbatial leases, and one should also note that in none of these cases was the obligation to provide labour a consequence of the unfree status of the peasant, but of an agreement freely entered into in return for a grant of land, in addition to, rather than instead of, a sharecropping arrangement. Such labour services were anyway better suited to a primarily cereal-growing economy, rather than to the mixed agrarian economy that prevailed over much of southern Italy.⁷⁶

To what extent peasant dependants were unfree is a vexed question, and has not been fully and satisfactorily addressed by modern scholars. Cava charters from the later twelfth century increasingly refer to peasants who were *cenfiles* of the abbey, thus subject to monetary dues and some customary payments, often referred to as *exenia* (elsewhere the term *salutes* was sometimes used), usually payable two or three times a year, especially at Christmas and Easter, invariably in kind, occasionally with some small monetary render as well. Yet such obligations were usually associated with tenure rather than status, and while the lord of a particular place might exact dues and services from its inhabitants, these were not confined to the unfree. There were those of servile status – monasteries were given not just land but those living upon it, and sometimes pejorative terms like *villani* or *servi* were employed to describe the latter.⁷⁷ Men were themselves conveyed to monastic houses, especially in donations made by territorial lords in the generation or so after the conquest.⁷⁸ But over much of southern Italy an indirect, leasehold economy prevailed, and servitude was therefore

⁷⁵ Cava, *Arca* xxiv.61.

⁷⁶ Loud, ‘Monastic economy’, 158–60. The Sarno case: Cava, *Arca* xxxix.13.

⁷⁷ For example, the 12 *rustici* given along with the monastery of St Nicholas de Serra by Robert de Bohun; and the church, land and 17 *villani* and their families, given by Robert Borellus, both to Holy Trinity, Mileto, in 1092, Ménager, ‘L’Abbaye bénédictine de la Trinité’, 27–8 no. 8, 32–4 no. 10.

⁷⁸ Thus in August 1104 Turgisius of S. Severino gave Cava one Richard son of Peter de Radualdo and his sons, in May 1110 Guaimar II, lord of Giffoni (a Lombard, one should note), gave it a *homo censilis* called John and his sons, with their wives and children, with all the labour services and dues they owed, and in September 1112 Roger of S. Severino (brother of Turgisius) gave Cava a man called John son of Angelo and his family, Cava, *Arm. Mag.* D.45, E.10, E.23.

increasingly irrelevant, or at most no more than a contributory factor towards the economic prosperity of monasteries and other lords. Hereditary labour services, such as that remitted by the lord of Taurasi, south of Benevento, to a peasant in return for a payment of one ounce of gold in 1200, were decidedly unusual.⁷⁹ This was not, however, to say that the burdens imposed on peasant cultivators were light. Sharecroppers often owed half of their wine, olive, or fruit and nut crop, as well as a smaller proportion of cereals, which in the Salerno region was often a tenth; in other areas it might be heavier. On the Montecassino lands the standard renders before the coming of the Normans had been a third of the wine crop but a seventh of the grain. During the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries these burdens were sometimes even heavier, although by the later twelfth century the usual render from cereals had been reduced to a tenth, and some rents were being commuted to money payments.⁸⁰ The *exenia*, usually in the form of chickens, eggs, or shoulders of pork, added another burden, which had been largely institutionalised by the mid-twelfth century.⁸¹ Payments were also exacted for the use of a lord's mills, and wine and olive presses; and in places dominated by one particular landowner such essential resources would tend to belong to the lord. On the *Terra Sancti Benedicti* such machinery could only be built with the abbot's permission, and would owe either a set rent or a proportion of the revenues to the monastery.⁸²

It was not therefore surprising that monasteries sometimes faced discontent among their tenants. There were periodic revolts on the Montecassino lands, especially during the early twelfth century. The peasants (*rustici*) of Interamna betrayed that *castellum* to the counts of Aquino in 1108, and the inhabitants of S. Angelo in Theodice and S. Vittore, two of the larger settlements of the *Terra Sancti Benedicti*, demanded a lowering of their dues and the right to have their own courts in 1124.⁸³ The men of Metiliano and Passiano, the two villages closest to the abbey of Cava, tried to deny the abbot's right to any *census* from them in

⁷⁹ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, xi.319–22 no. 1091.

⁸⁰ Fabiani, *Terra di S. Benedetto*, ii.219–20; Loud, *Church and Society*, 130. For a *terraticum* render commuted to a money rent, *Registrum Bernardi I Abbatibus Casinensis*, ed. A.M. Caplet (Montecassino 1890), 80 no. 170 (1187).

⁸¹ Fabiani, *Terra di S. Benedetto*, ii. 364–5. There survives a list of the *salutes* owed to St Nicholas de Sellectano, a Calabrian dependency of Montecassino (1171 × 1174), Dormeier, *Montecassino und die Laien*, 232–4. Cava leases refer to *exenia* 'according to the custom' of particular places, e.g. *Arca* xl. 106, a lease of land and a house at Transboneia, near Salerno (February 1187).

⁸² E.g. *Registrum Bernardi I*, 126–7 no. 299. Fabiani, *Terra di S. Benedetto*, ii.383–4.

⁸³ *Chron. Cas.* IV.32, 79, pp. 498, 543.

1191, and in February 1198 a vassal (*homo*) of the monastery was sentenced to pay a substantial fine for stirring up his fellow tenants not to pay the *census* they owed, and calling the abbot a leper.⁸⁴ Most shockingly, the peasants of Faiano murdered the abbot of St Benedict, Salerno, in 1178, an incident that was brought to the attention of the king himself, who sent the justiciars of the principality of Salerno to punish those responsible.⁸⁵

Some monasteries were also major owners of urban property. Montesacro, for example, owned a number of houses in the 'new town' (*burgus novus*) of Barletta, and the prior of its church there leased land there for a layman to build a house in 1191.⁸⁶ St Benedict of Conversano owned houses not just in Conversano, but also in Monopoli, 15 km away on the coast, the rents for which were usually paid in wax (always a useful commodity given the need for lighting churches). The abbot of this monastery was also prepared to lease plots of urban land for housebuilding.⁸⁷ Cava owned a large number of houses and other property within Salerno, almost all of it leased out for cash rents. This included houses in the Jewish quarter, which the abbey was seemingly happy to rent out to members of that community.⁸⁸ Cava was indeed buying urban property, often for substantial sums, during the later twelfth century. Thus it paid 24 *unciae* (or 720 *tari*) for a house with a shop near the old princely palace in Salerno in October 1170, 18 *unciae* for a house near the monastery of St Benedict in September 1174, 13 ounces for a two-storey house just outside the city in September 1174, and no fewer than 56 *unciae* for a house, land, a wine press and an oven, again just outside the city walls, in April 1177.⁸⁹ And shortly before his death in 1193 the royal chancellor Matthew, a native of Salerno, gave Cava 36 *unciae* specifically to purchase property within the town.⁹⁰

These substantial sums expended show how much disposable cash this especially wealthy abbey had at its disposal. The inevitable interaction with secular society through this urban involvement may well be why the abbey employed a layman, Roger son of Amatus de Madelmo, as its specialist agent for property dealings in Salerno during the 1170s. Roger himself made over his person and property to Cava in November 1175, although he was not without secular heirs – he had a brother, to whom he leased land on

⁸⁴ Cava, *Arca* xlii.62, xlv.68. ⁸⁵ *Romuald*, 296–7. Faiano is 12 km east of Salerno.

⁸⁶ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, viii.210–11 no. 165; cf. *ibid.*, 138–9 no. 98, 141–2 no. 102 (both 1164).

⁸⁷ *Pergamene di Conversano*, 279–81 no. 134 (1185), 285–7 no. 137 (1187), 291–3 no. 140 (1189): house-building, *ibid.*, 223–5 no. 107 (1162), 241–4 no. 115 (1166).

⁸⁸ Cava, *Arca* xxvii.41 (April 1149), xxxii.56, 59 (both February 1167).

⁸⁹ Cava, *Arca* xxxiii.65, xxxiv.48, 106, xxxv.105. ⁹⁰ Cava, *Arca* xliii.78.

behalf of the abbey in 1171. He continued, however, to act as Cava's secular representative in Salerno for several more years, and indeed when he formally became an *oblatus* of the abbey he swore an oath 'to administer without deceit the business entrusted to him by the abbot and convent'.⁹¹ By the early thirteenth century, however, a monk had been formally appointed as the 'administrator' of the Cava property in Salerno.⁹²

The abbots of the larger houses usually kept a tight grip on their subordinate cells, and often intervened personally to make arrangements for their property. So, for example, Abbot Bernard of St Sophia, Benevento, leased the half share of a mill that belonged to the abbey's dependent priory of S. Angelo, Ariano, to a local nobleman in January 1115, and when the prior of this cell wanted to lease a vineyard and some gardens in 1130, in return for some wheat during a famine, he was unable to do this without the abbot's express permission.⁹³ Some years later, probably in the 1160s, the provost of another priory, St Arontius at Vaccarizza (near Troia) made an exchange of lands on the instructions of Abbot John IV of St Sophia, while Abbot William of St Sophia personally leased property belonging to the dependent monastery of St Mercurius of Alife in 1179, and again in 1181. Abbot Rainald II of Montecassino supervised internal administrative arrangements made by the provosts of S. Angelo in Formis on several different occasions while visiting this dependency.⁹⁴ Similarly Abbot Symeon of Cava personally supervised the grant of a lease by its daughter house of S. Archangelo in Cilento in January 1133.⁹⁵ The abbots of Cava were active in defending the interests of their far-flung subordinate cells, in regulating their relations with their dependent peasants, for example at St Peter in Olivola in 1126 and at S. Angelo in Cilento in 1138,⁹⁶ but they allowed little freedom of action for the monastic provosts placed in charge of them, especially for those cells that were relatively close to the mother house, where even quite minor transactions required the abbot's express permission. Cava dependencies, monastic houses as well as churches, usually owed an annual census or *terraticum* to the mother house, from which Abbot Symeon exempted the monks of S. Archangelo of Cilento in 1127.⁹⁷

⁹¹ Cava, *Arca* xxxv.43. For the lease to his brother, *Arca* xxxiv.2. Loud, 'Monastic economy', 152–3.

⁹² Cava, *Arca* xlv.112 (March 1207).

⁹³ Pergamene Aldobrandini, Cart. I no. 45; Cod. Vat. Lat. 13490, doc. no. 25.

⁹⁴ *Regesto di S. Angelo in Formis*, 214–15 no. 75 (1145), 212–13 no. 74 (1149 × 1159), 133 no. 46 (1159).

⁹⁵ Cod. Vat. Lat. 13490, doc. no. 59 (undated, but certainly from the time of John IV, abbot 1142–76); Benevento, Museo del Sannio, vol. 28 nos. 10–11; Cava, *Arca* xxiii.46.

⁹⁶ Martini, *Feudalità e monachesimo cavense in Puglia*, 51–2 no. 13; Cava, *Arca* xxiv.61.

⁹⁷ Cava, *Arca* xxii.35. Loud, 'Monastic economy', 162–3.

As time went on, however, there was a tendency for some monastic houses that had originated as cells of another, larger house, or had been given by a proprietor to another monastery, to seek more autonomy. One of the marks of this was the right of the dependency to choose its own head. So, for example, in July 1143 Abbot John (IV) of St Sophia, Benevento, granted the monks of St Onufrius 'de gualdo Mazzocca', the right to elect their own prior in future, to be presented to the abbot of St Sophia for confirmation. Previously the abbot had appointed the prior, who might have been a monk chosen from the mother house and not necessarily directly from the cell. The monks of St Onufrius had clearly disliked this (the charter refers to 'not a little discord') and had unilaterally elected a monk called Absalon as their prior; Abbot John now acquiesced in their choice, provided that the ultimate dependence of this cell upon St Sophia was acknowledged.⁹⁸

Some dependencies went further than this, and sought to rid themselves of ties with the main abbey entirely. This was an obvious temptation for the monks of dependent houses that were well endowed in their own right, and at some distance from the mother house. Hence, although Montecassino granted them the right to have their immediate superior an abbot (rather than just a provost) in 1150, the monks of St Nicholas of Trontino, one of its principal dependencies in the Abruzzi, remained unsatisfied, and sought complete independence. The case was appealed to the papal court, and eventually the two cardinals sent as judges-delegate arranged a compromise in 1184, whereby the monks could elect their own abbot, provided that he was a monk of the Cassinese congregation, but their choice had to be confirmed by the abbot of Montecassino, to whom the abbot of St Nicholas had to swear obedience. In this case, the papal decision allowed a free election – despite the change of title earlier Abbot Rainald of Montecassino had then retained the right to appoint the abbot – but upheld the *status quo* as to the legal status of St Nicholas as part of the Cassinese empire, and a subsequent oath of obedience by an abbot of St Nicholas to the abbot of Montecassino survives (undated, but from internal evidence 1197 × 1209).⁹⁹

St Nicholas *de Truntino* had been a Cassinese dependency for a very long time, since the early eleventh century, and it is possible that this long

⁹⁸ Benevento, Museo del Sannio, Fondo S. Sofia, vol. 2 no. 7. St Onufrius had been made subject to St Sophia by a previous prior, Adam, about 30 years previously, which cession had been confirmed by Archbishop Landulf of Benevento and Count Jordan of Ariano in June and July 1114 respectively, *Chron. S. Sophiae*, ii.693–5, 727–8.

⁹⁹ Gattula, *Historia*, 197–200, 473. Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, 292–3.

subjection was a factor in the decision of 1184. Another subordinate house of Montecassino, St Matthew *Servorum Dei* on Monte Cairo, secured the right freely to elect its own provost by 1147, and soon afterwards to have an abbot as its head, again to be freely elected. By the time that these arrangements were formally confirmed by Lucius III in 1183, this house was to all intents and purposes independent of Montecassino, despite being situated within the *Terra Sancti Benedicti*, and this *de facto* independence was recognised by Abbot Roffred of Montecassino in 1188.¹⁰⁰ In this particular case, the growing independence of the subordinate house appears to have developed gradually, and there is no evidence of conflict – although by the later thirteenth century the abbot of Montecassino managed to reassert his control over this house.¹⁰¹ However, in other cases there was often considerable dispute, and sometimes a dependency was entirely successful in its quest for independence. Although, for example, Montesacro was first attested as a cell of S. Maria of Calena in 1059, its monks made repeated attempts during the early twelfth century to free their house from this subjection, not least because, as a later papal bull suggested, the prosperity of the daughter house soon overtook that of its erstwhile superior. Several popes from Honorius II onwards attempted to negotiate a compromise, allowing Montesacro a measure of independence while acknowledging ultimate dependence on Calena, whose abbot was to have the right of supervising and confirming the election of the abbot of Montesacro, as in the two cases discussed above. But eventually, in 1159, Adrian IV declared Montesacro to be an exempt house, directly subject to the papacy. The only remnant of its erstwhile dependency on Calena was a nominal annual census of two *solidi*. However, as was the nature of such cases, the dispute between the two abbeys rumbled on, until a further sentence vindicating the independence of Montesacro was finally promulgated by Innocent III in 1198.¹⁰²

It was Innocent's bull, or rather what it repeats from earlier and now-lost documents, which suggests that Montesacro sought its independence because it had grown substantially, both in the number of monks and in the size of its endowment, and because 'religious enthusiasm (*fervor religionis*) was very largely lacking' at S. Maria, Calena. The latter reason

¹⁰⁰ Loud, *Church and Society*, 217–18. MPL 201, 1229–31 no. 124; *Ryccardi de Sancto Germano Chronica*, introduction, xlv–xlvii.

¹⁰¹ *Registrum Bernardi I*, 158 no. 384 (1273). Here, however, the abbot of Montecassino claimed to be acting with the consent of the brothers of St Matthew, after an internal crisis there. Nonetheless, he rejected their first choice as abbot, one of their own number, and instead appointed a monk of Montecassino.

¹⁰² *Italia Pontificia*, IX.248–53, largely based upon *Register Innocenz' III. 1 Pontifikatsjahr 1198/1199*, 637–41 no. 427. The 1159 bull: MPL 188, 1608–10 no. 238.

may, of course, have been no more than an excuse put forward by the monks of Montesacro to justify their rebellion, but it is also not inconceivable that it may have been true – the quest for a stricter, purer, religious life led to many such secessions in early twelfth-century Christendom, the origins of Cîteaux being a case in point. The monks of Montesacro indeed claimed that in an effort at reform their brothers at Calena adopted the *habitus et ordo* of Cava. There is, however, no evidence that this monastery was associated with Cava in any formal way.

Not all subordinate monasteries flourished in this way. Several of the priories of St Sophia, Benevento, ceased to be monastic cells during the course of the twelfth century: thus S. Angelo, Ariano, was still a monastic establishment in 1135, but by 1178 was described only as a church, and had a provost who was a priest, but not apparently a monk.¹⁰³ The ‘church’ of St Arontius of Vaccariza, near Troia, another erstwhile dependent monastery, was leased to two laymen in 1200, in return for a substantial render in kind, and while the lease made provision for the continuance of services there, the office only had to be said three times a week, and could be suspended in time of war.¹⁰⁴ A third former monastic dependency, St Mercurius of Alife, was only a ‘church’ by 1211 when Abbot Albert of St Sophia gave it and its revenues to the *vestiarium* of the mother house, the latter to be devoted to providing clothing for the brothers, and an anniversary meal to commemorate the abbot after his death.¹⁰⁵ Monastic observance had also ceased by the early thirteenth century at two of the dependencies of Montecassino in the diocese of Aquino (just outside the *Terra Sancti Benedicti*), St Peter and St Paul *de Foresta*, outside Pontecorvo, both originally independent houses given to St Benedict in the later eleventh century.¹⁰⁶ There would therefore appear to have been a degree of retrenchment and reorganisation by c. 1200, perhaps encouraged in some houses by a decline in the number of professions. By this stage indeed even some formerly quite significant monasteries were in difficulties, like St Benedict, Conversano, where according to Celestine III in 1194 there were only three or four monks, where once there had been forty.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Benevento, Museo del Sannio, Fondo S. Sofia, vol. 13 no. 3; Pergemene Aldobrandini, Cart. II no. 31.

¹⁰⁴ *Ecclesiam ipsam officari faciemus q(uam)diu pax fuit. Si non guerra fu(er)it, quod absit, tribus vicibus in ebdomada divinina in ea celebrari faciemus*, Pergemene Aldobrandini, Cart. III no. 14.

¹⁰⁵ Museo del Sannio, Fondo S. Sofia, vol. 4 no. 7.

¹⁰⁶ *Regesto di Tommaso decano o cartolario del convento Cassinese, 1178–1280*, ed. M. Inguanez (Montecassino 1915), 7 no. 4 (1227). A. Nicosia, ‘La Valle della Quesa e il monastero greco di S. Pietro’, *Benedictina* 24 (1977), 125. St Peter was still described as a monastery in a charter of Abbot Roffred of Montecassino in October 1202, Montecassino, *Aula II Caps. LI* no. 18.

¹⁰⁷ *Pergemene di Conversano*, 301–2 no. 145.

There may also have been some reluctance, either among some of the monks themselves, or by their abbots, to staff the smaller or more obscure cells. A monk of Cava recalled that he had been instructed to move to one of that monastery's cells, but wanted to remain at the mother house and had set off without permission to return, before being injured in a fall from his horse. While he was recovering in the infirmary, Abbot Constable appeared to him in a vision to reprove him for his disobedience.¹⁰⁸ The *Lives of the First Four Abbots of Cava* also reported instances of negligence or worse among monks who had been despatched to dependent priories, all of whom allegedly received miraculous punishment.¹⁰⁹ Such cells might indeed be very small communities: thus both those of the Montesacro priory of St James, Barletta, in 1161, and of the Cava priory of St James at Lucera, in 1203, appear to have comprised only three monks. Yet it would appear that most of the monasteries subject to Cava still retained the Benedictine observance by this latter date, even if they may only have been staffed by a handful of monks. The era of catastrophic decline for the dependencies of the Cavense congregation began only after 1250.¹¹⁰

A reluctance to send monks to live away from the community may also explain why many, if not most, churches that became subject to monasteries were entrusted to secular clerics to officiate there. This appears to have been almost always the case with St Sophia, Benevento, from which several charters investing priests or other clergy with such churches survive. The agreement which St Sophia made with the bishop of Lucera in 1147 concerning its churches in his diocese also assumed that these would be staffed with secular priests, not monks.¹¹¹ In one of these investiture documents, in 1131, not only was a secular priest appointed to minister at one of the abbey's churches for his lifetime, but provision was made for him to be succeeded by one of his nephews, provided that he too had been ordained and was unmarried, while in another in 1187 a laymen was granted a church, where the ministry was to be carried out by his clerical son.¹¹² However, while acknowledging the ties of family in a way that strict canon lawyers might not have approved, it should be stressed that these and other similar documents also contain clauses specifying that services were to be

¹⁰⁸ *Vitae Quatuor Priorum Abbatum*, 30–1. The incident must have taken place between Constable's death in 1124 and the composition of this work c. 1140.

¹⁰⁹ *Vitae Quatuor Priorum Abbatum*, 23–4.

¹¹⁰ *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, x.31–2 no. 19; Vitolo, *Insediamenti cavensi in Puglia*, 28–34, 55.

¹¹¹ Pratesi, 'Note di diplomatica beneventana', 70–2 no. 9.

¹¹² Benevento, Museo del Sannio, Fondo S. Sofia, vol. 4 nos. 1 and 5, the latter edited in *Pergamene di Santa Cristina di Sepino*, 318–19 appendix no. IV.

maintained on a regular basis, repairs to the church and associated buildings carried out, and its property safeguarded and enhanced.¹¹³

The appointment of secular clergy to abbatially owned churches was probably usual; it was, for example, assumed that this would be the case by the bishop of Ostuni when he granted a church in that town to the recently founded monastery of Sts Nicholas and Cataldus at Lecce in 1182.¹¹⁴ But this was not necessarily inevitable. Abbot Leonas of Casauria appointed monks to officiate in several churches that he recovered for his abbey in the 1160s.¹¹⁵ The church of St Nicholas in the suburb of Monopoli, which was subject to the abbey of St Benedict, Conversano, was held by a monk during the 1160s; however, when its abbot sought to have one of its churches in the territory of Castellana (10 km south of Conversano) rebuilt in 1171, it was specified that it would be served by secular priests.¹¹⁶ A legal dispute concerning the staffing of churches owned by the Holy Saviour on Monte Majella, in the Abruzzi, in 1183, was ended by a compromise whereby two of the four churches in question were to be staffed by monks, and the other two by secular priests.¹¹⁷ Episcopal privileges for the Cava dependencies at Trani in 1177, Nola in 1181 and Sarno in 1183 all appear to have envisaged either monks or secular clergy staffing these churches, although the principal emphasis in such documents was not who should officiate there but that ordination and other sacraments and services from the bishop would be freely administered without the exaction of dues.¹¹⁸

The whole issue of the staffing of churches subject to monasteries requires further investigation, particularly in the numerous *inediti* in the Cava archive. Cava, which had a very large community – the biographer of the early abbots claimed that Abbot Peter (1079–1123) professed more than 3,000 monks during his long abbacy,¹¹⁹ and in the 1170s it could provide

¹¹³ Thus in January 1180 the priest invested with St Nicholas in the territory of Trisebono was to officiate day and night 'as is proper', repair the houses belonging to it, cultivate its lands and preserve its ornaments, Pergamene Aldobrandini, Cart. IV no. 58; while in October 1192 the subdeacon who was granted the church of St Martin at Ariano was to repair it at his own expense, and arrange for the office to be said at its altars 'as is suitable', while any gifts received must be used for the good of the church, Cod. Vat. Lat. 13491, doc. no. 22.

¹¹⁴ Holtzmann, 'Papst-, Kaiser- und Normannurkunden aus Unteritalien, III', (1963), 67–9 no. 3.

¹¹⁵ *Chron. Casauriense*, 900.

¹¹⁶ *Pergamene di Conversano*, 223–5 no. 107, 241–4 no. 115, 263–6 no. 126.

¹¹⁷ Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio di S. Pietro, Pergamene Caps. lxxii fasc. 53(1), fol. 15v.

¹¹⁸ *Concedimus quoque vobis vestrisque successoribus et confirmamus ut crisma, oleum sanctum et consecrationes ipsarum ecclesiarum et eorundem altarium, ordinationes monachorum vel clericorum qui deo ibidem deservire videbuntur, a nobis nostrisque successoribus sibi gratis et absque pravitate dare voluerimus recipiatis*, Cava, *Arm Mag.* I.29 (August 1181), cf. *ibid.*, I.18, L.3.

¹¹⁹ *Vitae Quatuor Priorum Abbatum*, 18.

the 'multitude of monks' who colonised Monreale (later tradition suggested that they were 100 strong). Even if we treat such figures with healthy scepticism, and Cava also had a lot of monastic priories to staff, not all of which had such exiguous communities as that at Lucera, it may be that this monastery had the 'surplus' monks in priestly orders who could exercise a parochial ministry in impropriated churches.¹²⁰ Yet when Cava was given the *ius patronatus* of a church, and donations were increasingly in this form, the implication was surely that this comprised the right to nominate secular clergy to serve it, rather than to appropriate the church to be served by monks.¹²¹ For other houses, even wealthy ones like St Sophia, Benevento, the provision of monks was not necessarily an option; the community was simply not large enough to spare choir monks, especially those in priestly orders. And monasteries were well aware of the temptations that might await monks when they ventured outside the cloister, as the tales of negligence, sin and punishment in the *Lives of the First Four Abbots of Cava* show. On the other hand, in 1172 the Augustinian canons of Cefalù gave one of the churches belonging to their house to a brother who had '*irrationabiliter* and without cause' abandoned their community, but then returned penitent 'for the abject errors of his wickedness and licentiousness'. It seems that they sought to provide a suitable post for him, but to keep his potentially disruptive influence at arm's length from the convent, although the prospect of his being eventually readmitted to the community, should he so wish, was also envisaged.¹²²

However they were staffed, and this is often unclear, churches belonging to monasteries usually owed the diocesan bishop either a fixed annual *census* or a proportion of the oblations made to them, usually a quarter (above, p. 384), occasionally more, and sometimes both. The bishop of Gravina granted a church outside the walls of that town to Cava in 1155, at the request of Abbot Marinus, but in return for both a census in both wax and incense, and one-third of all oblations. When the bishop of Caserta gave Cava two dilapidated churches in his diocese to rebuild and staff in 1158, complaining of the neglect of the local inhabitants, he still required an annual *census* of 10 *tari* and a quarter of the burial oblations.¹²³ The particular purpose of the *census* was not, however, the economic gain, but

¹²⁰ L. Mattei-Cerasoli, 'Il ministero parrocchiale nei monasteri cavensi', *Benedictina* 2 (1948), 27–34.

¹²¹ For example, Cava, *Arm. Mag.* I.27, I.32 (March 1181): grants by the co-proprietors of the *ius patronatus* of the church of S. Maria de Abbate Alfano, near Roccapiemonte.

¹²² *Documenti inediti*, 161–2 no. 75.

¹²³ F. Carabellese, *Il comune pugliese durante la monarchia normanno-sveva* (Bari 1924), 161–3 no. 3; Cava, *Arm. Mag.* H.31.

rather the recognition of the bishop's ultimate authority. This point was clearly not lost on Abbot Benencasa of Cava (1171–94) who secured privileges from several diocesans that completely exempted particular Cavense churches within their dioceses, and confirmed them in the possession of full sacramental rights of baptism and burial, as well as allowing them to hold public processions and to receive gifts and monastic professions freely. Furthermore, if the diocesan should charge any fee for his spiritual services, the abbey had the right to seek these from another prelate. Only at Sarno in 1183 did the bishop expect any *census*, and Bishop Unfridus was also cautious enough to include a clause forbidding clergy accused of any offence from taking the monastic habit until they had received trial before him and his chapter. Bishop Bernard of Nola reserved a quarter of bequests in the wills of his parishioners for his see, but abandoned his claim to all other dues, including those normally payable at synods. The archbishops of Naples, Trani and Bari allowed the Cavensi full exemption, without any reservations.¹²⁴ Such a degree of freedom for churches subordinated to monasteries, even exempt ones like Cava, was, however, unusual.

The larger abbeys developed a considerable degree of internal administrative organisation; indeed it is hard to see how houses as substantial as Montecassino or Cava became could have functioned without this. At Montecassino the cellar, infirmary, vestry, abbatial household (*camera*) and pilgrim hospice/almshouse (*xenodochium*) were separate administrative departments by the early twelfth century. It is possible that the organisation of the cellar went back some years earlier, although the office of cellarer was, of course, mentioned in the original Rule of Saint Benedict.¹²⁵ The *vestiarius* in the 1130s and 1140s was an Englishman called Amfredus, and in 1145 the dependant monastery of St Lawrence, Salerno, was made subject to his department.¹²⁶ Meanwhile Abbot Rainald (II) provided for the infirmary by granting it a large piece of land near Monte Trocchio in 1141.¹²⁷ By 1150 the hospital at Montecassino was also a distinct organisation.¹²⁸ Internal discipline within the monastery was the

¹²⁴ Cava, *Arm Mag.* I, 16 (May 1177: Naples), I.18 (November 1177: Trani), I.23 (December 1179: Bari, edited from a later copy in *Cod. Dipl. Barese* i.191–4 no. 103), I.29 (August 1181: Nola), L.3 (September 1183: Sarno).

¹²⁵ *Colonia cassinesi in Capitanata*, ii. Gargano, 49–50 no. 9; Gattula, *Historia*, 159; *Chron. Cas.* III.40, IV.59, pp. 418, 522–3. Fabiani, *Terra di S. Benedetto*, ii.113–14. *Regula Sancti Benedicti*, clause 31.

¹²⁶ *Chron. Cas.* IV.108, pp. 570–1, 573; *Pergamene di monasteri soppressi conservate nell'archivio del capitolo metropolitano di Salerno*, ed. B. Mazzoleni (Naples 1936), 1–4 no. 1.

¹²⁷ Montecassino, *Aula III Caps.* CXXXII (fasc. 2), no. 1.

¹²⁸ *Abbazia di Montecassino. Regesto*, ix.122–3 no. 2.

responsibility of the claustral dean; the monks were reluctant to elect Seniorectus as abbot in 1127 because of the strictness he had earlier shown as dean, and it was precisely for this reason that Honorius II wanted him to be elected, to impose firmer discipline on the recalcitrant brothers.¹²⁹ A similar organisational infrastructure also existed at S. Angelo in Formis, which had its own hospital and sacristy, the latter by 1145.¹³⁰ However, this was one of the largest and best endowed of the Cassinese houses, with about 40 monks in the late eleventh century, at least one dependent priory of its own and several churches subject to it; we cannot assume that all subordinate monasteries possessed such organisation. Other major independent abbeys clearly did. The administration of St Sophia, Benevento, for example, was also compartmentalised by the early to mid-twelfth century. In 1120 St Sophia had almost 50 monks. It possessed a pilgrim hospice, supervised by its own provost, by 1122; the provost of the infirmary bought some land in the immediate environs of Benevento in December 1130, and its sacrist purchased a shop in the town for his sacristy in 1143. A claustral dean was attested for the first time during the abbatial election of 1120.¹³¹ However, these references probably postdate the introduction of an obedientiary system at St Sophia; certainly an early thirteenth-century charter refers to a (now lost) privilege of Abbot Madelmus (1074/5–1107) permitting the offices of the obedientiaries to receive death-bed oblations.¹³² The development of this internal administration at the abbey may well therefore date back to the late eleventh century.

Monasteries with widespread possessions such as St Sophia also needed to take steps to administer them. Monks were deputed as provosts to administer each of the *castella* of St Sophia, and another provost administered the abbey's complex of lands at Leocubante, south of Benevento – the first time that this provost of Leocubante appears, in 1140, he was not specifically described as a monk, although later holders of this post were. A monk called Seguala acted as provost in general charge of the abbey's lands in the Capitanata between 1167 and 1172. And by 1218 St Sophia had a 'chief provost' (*Maior Prepositus*), who was entrusted with the overall supervision of its property.¹³³ At Cava, the *vestiarius* often acted as the abbot's

¹²⁹ *Chron. Cas.* IV.94, p. 555. ¹³⁰ *Regesto di S. Angelo in Formis*, 212–15 nos. 74–5.

¹³¹ Pergamene Aldobrandini, *Cart.* I no. 51; Museo del Sannio, Fondo S. Sofia, vol. 36 nos. 7 and 9; *Falco*, 54.

¹³² Museo del Sannio, Fondo S. Sofia, vol. 4 no. 7. The dean, for example, first appears in the charter evidence only in 1143, Fondo S. Sofia, vol. 2 no. 7, although Falco's account mentions him in 1120.

¹³³ Loud, 'A Lombard abbey', 292. The first reference to the provost of Leocubante, Museo del Sannio, Fondo S. Sofia, vol. 13 no. 5; the *Maior Prepositus*, *ibid.*, vol. 28 no. 14.

representative for the administration of its Apulian properties and dependencies.¹³⁴ As one might expect, such posts, both within the monastery and administering its property and dependencies, provided the training for future abbots. At Montecassino these officials may have moved quite rapidly from one post to another. Abbot Seniorectus had been successively the provost in charge of the cells of S. Maria in Luco (in the Abruzzi) and St Nicholas in Pica (near Fondi). He was then claustral dean for three years, and subsequently provost of St Benedict, Capua, which post he held when chosen as abbot in 1127. His predecessor Nicholas (abbot 1126–7) had held the deanship before his election, but since he was appointed by Oderisius II, who became abbot early in 1123, he too cannot have held this post for more than three years. He had previously been the *rector* of Sujo, the *castellum* at the south of the *Terra Sancti Benedicti*. One should note that Seniorectus had been a child oblate, raised in the monastery ‘from infancy’. He did not therefore have any background of worldly experience before undertaking his varied administrative career.¹³⁵

Insofar as we have evidence, abbots of other monasteries were also drawn from among those who had previously held administrative posts therein. Franco, abbot of St Sophia 1128–40, had previously been the *mansionarius* (sacristan, or perhaps guest-master?) of this abbey, while Marinus, abbot of Cava 1146–70, had been the *vestiarius* for at least five years before his election.¹³⁶ Bartholomew, abbot of St Sophia 1192–1207, would appear to have been the monk of the same name who was successively provost of the *castellum* of Toro and then dean, in which post he was attested between 1173 and 1179 (evidence for the 1180s is unfortunately lacking; we do not know whether he was still dean when elected abbot).¹³⁷ The dean, as the second-in-command of the monastery, was obviously a potential next abbot. Oldrius, abbot of Casauria 1127–52, had previously been the claustral dean of that house, although once again it is not clear whether he still held that office on the eve of his election.¹³⁸ At Montecassino Abbots Peter II (1174–86), Peter III (1209–11) and Atenuulf (1211–15) had all previously been the dean, although Atenuulf had ceased to hold that post some years before he became abbot.¹³⁹

¹³⁴ E.g. *Cod. Dipl. Barese* vii.66–7 no. 51 (1173), 80–1 no. 63 (1180), 96–7 no. 75 (1189), all of which relate to Molfetta; and *Cod. Dipl. Barese* viii. 194–5 no. 150 (1187).

¹³⁵ *Chron. Cas.* IV. 89, 94, pp. 550, 554.

¹³⁶ *Falco*, 104; *Annales Cavenses*, MGH SS iii.192; Cava, *Arca* xxiv.102, xxv.115.

¹³⁷ Pergamene Aldobrandini, Cart. II no. 27; Museo del Sannio, Fondo S. Sofia, vol. 28 no. 9.

¹³⁸ BN MS Lat. 5411, fol. 243v (1115).

¹³⁹ *Annales Casinenses*, MGH SS xix.312, 320; *Ryccardi de S. Germano Chronica*, 13–14, 32. Atenuulf was last recorded as dean in August 1197, Peter (III) was dean by April 1207, *Regesto di Tommaso Decano*, 18–19 no. 12, 36–8 no. 23.

Monks inevitably tended to elect abbots from among their own brothers, although we cannot assume that when outsiders were chosen these were always imposed upon a reluctant convent. Although the Casauria chronicler claimed that Abbot John, elected c. 1092, was a monk from that house, it appears that he had briefly been abbot of the neighbouring monastery of St Bartholomew of Carpineto, c. 1075, and indeed that he was originally from one of the Cassinese dependencies in the Abruzzi (he may have transferred to Casauria after resigning as abbot of Carpineto). When John subsequently resigned the abbacy of Casauria soon after his election as bishop of Valva, first the local baron Hugh Mamouzet tried to impose one of his chaplains (or so the chronicle claimed). The monks resisted this, but then elected another outsider, Grimoald, who was provost of one of the Abruzzi cells of St Vincent on Volturno. The chronicler claimed that at this time 'the brothers were few in number and poor in goods' and that Abbot Grimoald, though not a man of learning, was 'good at agriculture and experienced in secular affairs': just the man therefore to restore the fortunes of the abbey at a time of crisis, which indeed he did over the course of his abbacy (c. 1095–1110).¹⁴⁰

Smaller houses were more likely to look to an outsider – and at St Bartholomew of Carpineto, for example, this occurred on several occasions, with the election of the Cassinese John (II) in 1075, John III (1110–48), who had previously been prior of the hermits of Holy Saviour on Monte Majella, Bohemond de Luco (1181–93), who had been a monk at Casauria, and his successor Walter (1194–1217), who was from Montecassino. Furthermore, although Abbot Sanso (1076–1110) had begun his monastic career at Carpineto, and indeed was a scion of the founding family, he had then transferred to St John in Venere (on the Adriatic coast about 50 km away), which was where he was when elected abbot of Carpineto.¹⁴¹ One also ought not to underestimate the influence of the most important and prestigious monasteries, such as Montecassino. Cassinese monks were elected as abbots of St Vincent on Volturno between 1109 and 1117 and St John in Venere about 1116. That Amicus, dean of Montecassino, should be chosen as abbot by the monks of such an important house as Volturno, which by the early twelfth century had been to a considerable extent restored to its former prosperity, and almost entirely rebuilt – and that shortly afterwards he was appointed as a cardinal – shows quite how influential Montecassino was at this period.¹⁴² After a period of relative

¹⁴⁰ *Chron. Casauriense*, 868–9; *Chron. Carpineto*, 38–9. ¹⁴¹ *Chron. Carpineto*, 39, 57, 98, 121.

¹⁴² *Chron. Cas. IV.42*, p. 515; *Chron. Carpineto*, 70. For Amicus as cardinal in 1117, *Chron. Vult.* i.33. For the rebuilding of the abbey of St Vincent, Hodges, *Light in the Dark Ages*, 171–5.

decline from the 1120s onwards, Montecassino appears to have reasserted its influence, and its links with the papal court, towards the end of the twelfth century, during the abbacy of Roffred *de Insula* (1188–1209), who like a number of his predecessors was also a cardinal.

However, monks from other monasteries might also be installed through external pressure, especially when there were internal problems within a house, or there was an obvious need for reform. Such was the case at Venosa in 1141, when according to one of the fragments that have survived from this abbey's chronicle, King Roger secured the agreement of Pope Innocent II to introduce an abbot and monks from Cava to reform what had become a divided and moribund house. The 12 monks who accompanied Abbot Peter were 'excellently trained and fully experienced in the monastic life and regular observance', although the choice of who was to be the new abbot was left to the abbot of Cava. The description of Peter by the Venosa chronicler was very much that of the ideal abbot: 'he displayed the utmost understanding of both temporal and spiritual matters. He was learned and wise, and most celebrated [for his knowledge] in both Divine and human laws.' Peter was the author of a commentary on the Books of Samuel, and also of the *Lives of the First Four Abbots of Cava*, and he appears to have turned around a failing abbey.¹⁴³ On the other hand, the election of another monk of Cava, Constantine, as abbot of Venosa in 1158 had, according to the chronicler, most unhappy results, for he was 'malevolent, untrustworthy and variable', and a number of monks fled to other monasteries to escape his 'instability'. After his death in 1167, the monks asked the pope and royal government to provide them with a new abbot, and the choice (presumably royal, with papal approval) fell upon Egidius, a Spaniard who had come to southern Italy with Queen Margaret, but who had subsequently become a monk, and cellarer of the abbey of Fossanova in southern Lazio.¹⁴⁴ A complete outsider like Egidius was clearly likely to be a product of royal, or royally sanctioned, interference. One assumes that it was similar influence that led to the appointment of William of Blois as abbot of Matina at about the same time.

As with the bishoprics of the kingdom, what evidence we have suggests that the overwhelming majority of abbots were chosen through a free election, albeit one that required royal permission to take place, and the

¹⁴³ Houben, *Venosa*, 154–7, 437–9 (quote 439). Cf. H. Houben, 'L'autore delle "Vitae quatuor priorum abbatum Cavensium"', in his *Medioevo monastico meridionale* (Naples 1987), 167–75.

¹⁴⁴ Houben, *Venosa*, 440.

king's confirmation before the *electus* could take office. As with the episcopate, the sheer number of abbeys, and the relative unimportance of most of them, meant that the ruler had no interest in the widespread manipulation of appointments. But discounting in exceptional circumstances, and it looks as though the situation at Venosa in 1141 and again in 1167 was exceptional, this same policy of avoiding interference generally applied to the major abbeys as well. The one other exception known was the attempt by the government to secure the transfer of Egidius from Venosa to Montecassino in 1168, which was vetoed by Alexander III.¹⁴⁵ By contrast, after 1197 any outside interference was likely to be papal, as for example the appointment of two successive abbots of St Vincent on Volturmo from Montecassino, in 1218 and 1228, once again probably as a reforming measure – Honorius III seems to have anticipated that his appointment in 1218 would not be popular with the monks.¹⁴⁶

Abbatial elections might be contentious, even without external pressure. The Montecassino chronicler Guido suggested that at the election of Abbot Oderisius II in 1123, 'our congregation was at that time deeply divided by many quarrels, and hence everyone suggested a different person as abbot', although in the end the election of Oderisius was unanimous. However, the election of his successor Nicholas in 1126 was undermined by some of the older monks, who 'secretly sent a letter to Pope Honorius claiming that he was a troublemaker and had not been canonically elected', and thereby giving the pope an opportunity to meddle in the monastery's affairs and ultimately to overturn the election.¹⁴⁷ By the 1120s Montecassino was a troubled community, and anyway its size and the resources of the monastery made it by definition exceptional, as well perhaps as a victim of its own success.

The most detailed description of an abbatial election that we possess is of the one that took place at Casauria in 1127. Here too the community was divided:

Some among the many brothers of Pescara believed that they could attain to rule as abbot because of their fleshly nobility, others through their earthly power, some indeed through seniority and the religious life.

Furthermore, a number of 'powerful noblemen' also came to the abbey to attend the election, and indeed the chronicler's account suggests that there

¹⁴⁵ *Annales Casinenses*, MGH SS xix.312.

¹⁴⁶ *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, ed. P. Pressutti (3 vols., Rome 1888–95), i.284 no. 1707; *Ryccardi de Sancto Germano Chronica*, 150.

¹⁴⁷ *Chron. Cas.* IV.78, 89, pp. 542, 550.

was also a disorderly crowd of other lay people present. The monks met in the chapter-house and decided to entrust the election to two sub-committees, each of six monks, one of which was to retire to the dormitory to deliberate and the other to a chapel. Both groups were to choose a nominee, and if their separate choices concurred, then it was agreed that everybody else would acquiesce in this decision. If unanimous agreement proved impossible, then a majority among the 12 electors would suffice. However, while they were still deliberating, 'one of the simple folk' who was in the church (probably, though the account does not make this absolutely clear, a monk who had been excluded from the electoral process) set up a cry for Oldrius, the former, or perhaps still, dean. The chronicler suggested that both sets of electors thought that the cry had come from the other group, and then agreed that they would be happy to see Oldrius elected. At the same time all the people waiting outside set up a chant for Oldrius, and burst into the chapter-house. He was then unanimously elected, despite making the appropriate ritual objections that he was unworthy.¹⁴⁸

Whether we should take this account at face value is, of course, arguable. The chronicler interpreted these events as the will of God frustrating the ambitions of the unworthy, yet an uncharitable reading might suggest that the attempt to hold an orderly election was overtaken by a riot, and the monks pressured into making their choice by a crowd of laymen. Certainly what took place was hardly canonical. Furthermore Oldrius himself was one of the twelve electors, and while the chronicler suggested that he showed no personal ambition, his suggestion to the chapter that improvements might be made to the vestments could be interpreted as a bid for support. The chronicler also omitted the fact that he had been, or still was, dean, and was thus an obvious candidate. The chronicler did, however, make clear that the unusual election procedure was suggested, or indeed decreed, by the senior monks (*a prioribus*), who presumably supplied most, if not all, of the 12 electors. Although the rule specified that all the monks should take part in the election, it was not unprecedented for the 'senior' monks, not just the older men but in a large monastery like Casauria probably especially the obedientiaries, to hijack an election. This had happened at Montecassino in 1105, when the *priores*, claiming that they were the 'wiser and more religious part', had bluntly told the other monks whom they had chosen.¹⁴⁹ Their choice then had been unfortunate, for Abbot Otto proved to be autocratic and unpopular – or an uncompromising reformer whom the more lax monks did not appreciate – and his short

¹⁴⁸ *Chron. Casauriense*, 883–4. ¹⁴⁹ *Chron. Cas.* IV.26, p. 492.

abbacy was a troubled one. Fortunately, whatever the circumstances of his election, Abbot Oldrius of Casauria turned out to be a capable and successful abbot, who successfully negotiated on the abbey's behalf when King Roger conquered the Abruzzi in 1140, and ruled his house for a quarter of a century. It was therefore hardly surprising that the abbey's later chronicler interpreted his election as the result of Divine intervention.

A similar intervention by the senior monks took place at St Sophia, Benevento, in the summer of 1120. Here some of the monks had elected a new abbot two days after the death of Abbot Bernard. Their choice, a monk called Ademarius, was the nephew of the last abbot but one, Madelmus (1074/5–1107). However, this had then been vetoed by a group of senior monks, including the dean; and the pope, who happened to be in Benevento at this time, insisted on a new and absolutely canonical election, at which all the brothers were to be present. One of the 'wiser monks' who had protested at the first, abortive election was then elected (John III 'the Grammarian', abbot 1120–8).¹⁵⁰ The account by the notary Falco, as a lay observer, albeit one who knew the monastery well and drafted its charters, is relatively dispassionate, although he clearly thought well of the new abbot, 'a wise man, of distinguished character'. But he shows that even in an apparently flourishing and well-run house there could be serious internal tensions.

However, the internal life within the monastery is inevitably the aspect that is most difficult to assess, even for those few houses that have left narrative accounts, not least because these tended only to touch upon such matters when there were problems to report. They do, though, suggest that abbatial attempts to maintain appropriate austerity could create tensions. Abbot Otto of Montecassino fell out with his monks when he refused their request for an improvement in their diet, although it does not seem that the regime at Montecassino was that ascetic. Otto in turn expelled some of the protestors from the monastery.¹⁵¹ Peter, the third abbot of Cava (1079–1123), tried to introduce customs derived from Cluny during the period when he was acting as coadjutor for his ageing predecessor Leo, and this proved so unpopular that he was forced to retire for a considerable time to one of its dependencies in Cilento. That he then succeeded as abbot at all was probably because Leo had already designated him as his successor. As abbot he was a stern master, quick to punish, and the account of the visions and miracles associated with him suggests an enthusiastic

¹⁵⁰ *Falco*, 54–8. ¹⁵¹ *Chron. Cas.* IV.29, p. 494.

proponent of corporal chastisement ('regular discipline'). 'Nobody', claimed his biographer, 'was sterner to the troublesome and contumacious', while the negligent 'were reprov'd with regular correction'. After his death one monk actually spat on his tomb, 'since he remembered not his merits but the sharpness of his punishment'. Peter Divinacellus, the author of the 'Lives of the First Four Abbots', commented that the Divine punishment of the monk who had profaned his tomb, and the miraculous cure when he repented and begged forgiveness, 'proved the justice and piety of the father against the mendacity of his detractors', which does not suggest that he was universally popular. He also implicitly contrasted Peter's sternness with the gentler ways of his short-lived successor Constable (abbot 1123–4).¹⁵²

But abbots who were perceived as weak and negligent in defending the monastery's property were equally unpopular. Abbot Nicholas of Montecassino lost the support of his monks not just, or principally through, the circumstances of his election, but after using some of the church's treasures in an unsuccessful attempt to bribe the prince of Capua to secure his assistance in recovering a *castellum* that had been seized by some of its enemies. Prince Robert took the bribe and did nothing, and in an attempt to appease the monastery's enemies Nicholas then made further concessions. Describing these events, the monastery's chronicler of the 1120s twice used the phrase that 'the brothers loathed Nicholas' for giving away its possessions, and said that by his actions 'he had aroused the undying hatred of the monks against him'.¹⁵³ The Casauria chronicler John Berard was unsparing in his condemnation of past abbots who had failed to defend that abbey's property. When recording the losses that Casauria had suffered at the hands of the neighbouring aristocrats in the early eleventh century, he concluded that 'this evil was believed to be entirely due to the cowardice of a lazy and unworthy shepherd' (Abbot Gilbert). Later he suggested that Abbot Adam III (1080–6) was 'overcome to some extent by carnal enjoyment' and was as a result too weak to defend his house against the Normans who were infiltrating into the Abruzzi.¹⁵⁴

On the other hand, abbots who were seen as upholding the monastic virtues, which included both setting an example religiously and defending the abbey's interests, were worthy of commemoration, and were sometimes the foci of cults and wonders after their deaths. Abbot John III of Carpineto, for example, was

¹⁵² *Vitae Quatuor Priorum Abbatum*, 17–18, 25–7, 30. G. A. Loud, 'Monastic miracles in southern Italy, c. 1040–1140', *Studies in Church History* 41 (2005), 114–15.

¹⁵³ *Chron. Cas.* IV.90, 93–4, pp. 552, 554–5. ¹⁵⁴ *Chron. Casauriense*, 837, 867.

watchful in prayers, mortifying his body with fasting, of patient charity, in short he was a lover of all the virtues. Because of this, after his death and even in our own times, as we ourselves have seen through the evidence of our own eyes, the Lord performed many miracles: curing the sick, making a cripple walk, restoring speech to the dumb.¹⁵⁵

John, who had come to Carpineto from the eremitic house of the Holy Saviour on Monte Majella, may have been primarily notable for his personal qualities and asceticism. Abbot Guido of Casauria (1024/5–1045) was commemorated above all for his energy in defending his monastery. John Berard, here basing his late twelfth-century chronicle on a contemporary biography, praised his ‘vigour and invincible will’, as well as his devotion to fasting and prayer. The chronicler recorded two miracles performed through him during his lifetime, and alluded to the many ‘great deeds’ (*virtutes*) that took place at his tomb after his death, curing the sick of a variety of ailments. However, after recording three miraculous cures, he passed briskly onwards, saying that he did not wish to bore his readers.¹⁵⁶ It appears that the eleventh-century author recorded a large number of miracles; John Berard, however, was more interested in this model abbot as the defender of his house.

Accounts of allegedly miraculous events were indicative of the attitudes and priorities of those who recorded them, and of the posthumous reputation of the holy men through whom they took place. At Cava, the miracles associated with Abbot Peter after his death almost all concerned the punishment of backsliders, or of those who had proved disloyal to the abbot’s memory. He appeared, for example, in a dream to a monk who had spoken disrespectfully of him, flogging him so hard that he cried out and woke the other monks in the dormitory, and when he himself eventually awoke his body was marked by the welts that he had received in his dream. By contrast, his milder successor Constable was notable for the healing miracles that were performed at his tomb.¹⁵⁷ But in both the Montecassino and Casauria chronicles most of the miracles recorded were concerned with the defence of the monastery’s lands or the punishment of the impious who had laid sacrilegious hands on its property. Thus a follower of Prince Pandulf IV of Capua dared to take vestments and sacred vessels from the very altar of St Benedict, and was struck down with an epileptic fit and paralysis. The expulsion of the Normans from the abbey’s lands in 1045 was presaged by the appearance of Saint Benedict in dreams to two peasants,

¹⁵⁵ *Chron. Carpineto*, 72. ¹⁵⁶ *Chron. Casauriense*, 854–5.

¹⁵⁷ *Vitae Quatuor Priorum Abbatum*, 27, 33–4.

one of whom saw him beating the intruders with his staff.¹⁵⁸ Saint Clement was believed sometimes personally to punish those who oppressed Casauria; thus he appeared to strike down the Norman count of Manopello as he was feasting on meat from animals stolen from the abbey – the hapless count died whimpering to the saint not to hurt him.¹⁵⁹ The *Dialogues* of Abbot Desiderius revealed a wider spectrum of wonders, but here too the protection of the monastery and its property played a significant role. By contrast, healing miracles, even those at the tomb of Saint Benedict, played a relatively minor role. The patron saints of monastic houses were therefore believed to play a striking personal role in defending their property.¹⁶⁰

But such stories also reveal a little about religious practices within monasteries – and not just about the predilections of flogging abbots. Thus at a time when Casauria was once more under threat from the count of Manopello, c. 1137, both Saint Clement and the monastery's founder Louis II appeared in a vision to two monks who during Lent went very early in the morning to the saint's tomb to pray and sing psalms. Similarly, before they went to meet King Roger in 1140, the abbot and monks spent the night in the church reciting the Psalter before Clement's tomb.¹⁶¹ At Montecassino moments of particular crisis were greeted with fasts and barefoot processions around the different churches within the monastery precinct, not just when the abbey was under attack but also in the face of natural disaster, lightning (a serious problem on a high mountain site), earthquake and drought, all of which tended to be interpreted as Divine displeasure.¹⁶² Montecassino may not have been the most austere of monasteries – one of its most eminent modern scholars points to its 'conventional and moderate' rather than 'outstanding or heroic level of observance', and to its 'lack of a distinctive spiritual and devotional impact upon the church'.¹⁶³ But it seems, at least in its late eleventh-century heyday, to have been a respectable, and respected, proponent of Benedictine virtues, able to draw at least qualified praise and considerable regard from such an outspoken proponent of monastic austerities as Peter Damian – even if he felt that Desiderius (unlike Abbot Peter of Cava) was insufficiently committed to bodily chastisement. He saw the monastery as

¹⁵⁸ *Chron. Cas.* II.59,72, pp. 280–1, 312–14. ¹⁵⁹ *Chron. Casauriense*, 873–4.

¹⁶⁰ Loud, 'Monastic miracles', 116–19. ¹⁶¹ *Chron. Casauriense*, 887–8.

¹⁶² *Chron. Cas.* II.74, III.20, IV.65, pp. 316, 386, 527. *Petri Diaconi Ortus et Vita Iustorum Cenobii Casinensis*, ed. R. H. Rodgers (Berkeley, CA, 1972), 72.

¹⁶³ Cowdrey, *Age of Abbot Desiderius*, 30, 32.

indeed still the ladder stretching up to Heaven that Gregory the Great had envisaged many centuries earlier.¹⁶⁴

While before 1050 there had been considerable diversity in monastic observance in southern Italy, thereafter the great Benedictine houses played an increasingly dominant role. The smaller independent houses tended to be absorbed in the congregations of the major Benedictine monasteries, and new foundations observed the Rule of Saint Benedict from the start.¹⁶⁵ However, just as Cava had begun as an eremitic foundation, and was one of several such eremitic communities in southern Italy during the eleventh century, so the desire for the solitary life never disappeared. Even at Montecassino, respect for the eremitic life as the ultimate manifestation of monasticism, if only for a few select souls 'not in the first fervour of their conversion' as the first chapter of the Rule stated, never disappeared. And alongside the continued expansion of the great Benedictine congregations in the early twelfth century, there was also, as in contemporary Europe north of the Alps, a revival of that wish for solitude and bodily mortification that had always characterised medieval religious ideals.

The two principal figures in this movement both ended up founding monasteries that engendered congregations of dependent houses, and which ultimately adopted the Benedictine rule, becoming centres for reformed, but in essence traditional and conventual, monasticism. It is probable that neither intended this to be the case, but once they had attracted disciples, their careers developed a momentum almost independent of their intentions. One should, however, enter a note of caution, in that most of what we know about William of Vercelli, and almost all of what is known about John of Matera, comes from hagiographical *vitae* that both served a didactic function, being intended for public recitation to a monastic audience, and reflect the established conventions of the genre. Hence the author of John's *Life* was familiar with and drew upon the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, just as Cassinese authors did, and various episodes in the text appear to be hagiographical commonplaces. Nevertheless, the life of John was written within ten to fifteen years of the saint's death in 1139. And while the *Vita* of William is a composite

¹⁶⁴ *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, iii.341–84 no. 119, especially 382. J. Howe, 'Peter Damian and Montecassino', *Revue bénédictine* 107 (1997), 330–51, especially 340–2. This same imagery was also used by Count Geoffrey of Conversano (or his notary) in a charter of 1098, *Pergamene di Conversano*, 135–41 no. 59.

¹⁶⁵ E.g. the foundation charter of St Andrew of Brindisi, 1059: *faciatis exinde secundum testum regule Sancti Benedicti docet*, *Cod. Dipl. Brindisiano*, 7–9 no. 4.

work, the first part, describing the saint's life, may well date from not long after his death in 1142, even though the subsequent sections describing his miracles both in his lifetime and posthumous are, at least in their present form, appreciably later. They may indeed have been reworked through the course of the thirteenth century. The authors knew their subjects personally – William's biographer perhaps only in the last years of his life – and they wrote for an audience many of whom also remembered the holy man. Thus their contents cannot be dismissed out of hand as merely pious platitude.¹⁶⁶

John of Matera seems to have been from a relatively wealthy background, which he rejected, while still a young man, to join a community of Greek monks on an island near Taranto. This was probably c. 1100, or a little earlier. However, he soon fell out with them; his desire for the solitary life led him to refuse to eat with them and as a result he was given starvation rations. After a couple of years he went to Calabria, and then to Sicily, still seeking solitude. There he led 'a life both hard and strict', living off 'the bitterest figs' and wild herbs, in a manner that led his biographer (predictably) to compare him to Saint Anthony. He eventually returned to his homeland in southern Apulia, where having spent two and a half years in isolation and silence he restored a ruined church at Ginosa, 15 km south-east of his birthplace, and was joined by some disciples. There he encountered the somewhat younger William of Vercelli, probably c. 1110. William's *Life* suggests that John had already acquired a considerable local reputation for sanctity, and that he had therefore deliberately sought him out.¹⁶⁷ Eventually, after some trouble with the local count, who imprisoned him for a time, John resumed his wanderings, during the course of which he met William once again. By this stage he had been joined once more by some others, and the little group went to Tricarico. From there John moved northwards to Bari, where he began to preach to the people. He was accused of heresy, but found to be innocent and released on the prince's order. This was presumably Grimoald Alfarantes, who took power in Bari in 1118/19, but trying to date the vague narrative of the *Vita* is of course problematic. From what we know of William's career the second meeting between the two holy men probably

¹⁶⁶ For discussion, F. Panarelli, *Dal Gargano alla Toscana. Il monachesimo riformato latino dei pulsanesi (secoli XII–XIV)* (Rome 1997), 279–86; G. Mongelli, 'Legenda de Vita et Obitu S. Guilielmi Confessoris et Heremite', *Samnium* 34 (1961), 70–119. For the edition of this latter text, *ibid.*, *Samnium* 34 (1961), 144–72, *Samnium* 35 (1962), 48–73. There is an older, and less satisfactory, edition in *Acta Sanctorum*, June, vii. 99–116.

¹⁶⁷ Mongelli, 'Legenda', 150.

took place c. 1127/8, and John's preaching at Bari would therefore have been a little while later.¹⁶⁸ After revisiting his companions at Ginosa – where it would seem that the community he had founded had continued in his absence – John went north once gain to Monte Gargano, where his prayers and exhortations to the populace secured Divine favour in ending a drought. Soon afterwards, probably late in 1129, and encouraged by a vision of the Virgin Mary, he founded a new church at Pulsano on an isolated hilltop a few kilometres south of the town of Monte Sant'Angelo. Although at first he had only six companions, he was soon joined by more than 50, encouraged by a Divine command to receive anyone who wished in his community, 'powerful or weak, great or small'. John spent the remaining ten years of his life ruling this abbey, founding several daughter houses and reforming others, but still also travelling in the immediate vicinity – in one of his miracles, for example, he cured the sick son of one of the leading men of Siponto, with whom he was staying at the time. He died on 20 June 1139 in one of the priories dependent on Pulsano, near Foggia.¹⁶⁹

The life of William of Vercelli is even harder to relate to the historical background than that of John. It informs us, however, that William left his home in northern Italy at the age of 14 to make a pilgrimage to Compostella, 'the mind of this holy youth burning with the desire to visit holy places'. He later decided to go to Jerusalem, but only got as far as Apulia. He stayed first at Melfi, where he learned to read, beginning with the 119th Psalm, and then for some two years at the house of a knight called Peter at *Mons Solicolus* (probably Monte Serico, near Genzano, in the diocese of Acerenza), where a chance encounter with a hermit made a great impression upon him. He gained a reputation for sanctity, but unwilling to acquire such a public regard, he decided to resume his interrupted journey to Jerusalem. It was then that he met John of Matera for the first time, and the latter did his best to dissuade him from his pilgrimage. After being beaten up by robbers near Oria (the *Vita* praises King Roger for later extirpating such bandits), he rejoined John for a time, and then travelled through the mountains in the centre of the peninsula, seeking a suitable place to lead the life of a hermit. His austerities increased, and he acquired an iron breastplate and mailed coif, which he wore all the time to mortify the flesh, as a 'knight of Christ'. Eventually he and a

¹⁶⁸ Panarelli, *Dal Gargano alla Toscana*, 21.

¹⁶⁹ *Acta Sanctorum*, June, v. 36–48 (the posthumous miracles, *ibid.*, 48–50), for the miracle at Siponto, c. 6, p. 43.

companion became hermits on Monte Vergilio, near Avellino. After various adventures – being arrested as suspected bandits, sharing their spring with a bear – and living on beans, chestnuts and barley bread baked, not in an oven, but in the ashes of a fire, they were joined by a further companion, a monk, who had heard of their holiness. Then, after two more years, various others, both men and women, sought to join him, some of the former being in priestly orders. William now faced the problem of organising this community. According to his biographer:

They [the priests] inquired [of him] what rule of religious life [*religionis norma*] did he want them to observe. He said, 'it is my advice, brothers, that working with our own hands we may provide food and clothing for ourselves and what we shall expend on the poor, and gathering at the appointed hours, we may celebrate the Divine office.' The priests observed this salutary advice for a brief period. However, stricken by the evil of the ancient enemy, they first spoke among themselves in secret, and then began to raise a public clamour that those who were priests should be entrusted with the Divine services, for it was not suitable for them to work [manually] or to be occupied cultivating the soil as if they were peasants. It would be better for a church to be built on the mountain, books and priestly vestments to be bought, and thus they would be available for the Divine offices.¹⁷⁰

William, we are told, was so upset by this, and their grumbling so disturbed his contemplative tranquillity, that he abandoned the site and went to Apulia, but was soon forced to return by the illness of the one companion who had accompanied him. He then set about founding a proper monastery, building a church and cells for the brothers with the help of lay people from the nearby towns, acquiring books and vestments, and asking the bishop of Avellino to dedicate its church, in honour of the Virgin Mary.

The first charter to survive from this new abbey, which became known as Montevergine, dates from 1125. The community was described as a monastery, but William was designated as *custos et rector* rather than as abbot. (The so-called 'foundation charter', dated May 1126, in which the bishop granted the monastery exemption at William's request, and indeed insistent demand, is undoubtedly a forgery, probably of the early thirteenth century.)¹⁷¹ The founder's reluctance to assume the abbatial title revealed his ambivalence about the creation of an organised monastery. The *Vita* suggested that this was only increased by disputes with the priests in the community as to what to do with the monetary gifts the monastery received. William wished to distribute these to the poor: they wished to use spend them on the monastery. Fed up with these quarrels, he appointed

¹⁷⁰ Mongelli, 'Legenda', 153.

¹⁷¹ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, ii.199–203 no. 148, 234–40 no. 155.

a deputy to run the community in his place, and retired to another part of the mountain to live once more as a hermit among the woods. There he had a vision of Christ.¹⁷² After various other wanderings, and his second meeting with John of Matera, he found a site for a new monastery, overlooking the upper Ofanto river, some 30 km to the east of Montevergine. Unlike the former site, which was so cold and icy that easy access was only possible during about three months in summer, this was a fertile spot, with plenty of wood and water for the new community. Again both men and women joined him, and this time he organised a community for these would-be nuns, to follow a life of extreme austerity.¹⁷³ And it was at this new monastery at Goletto, dedicated to the Saviour, that William died, on 23 June 1142.

Obviously there are a great many conventional elements in these two 'lives', and not just in the many miracles, some of which were derivative in the extreme.¹⁷⁴ The account of the tribulations of John's early career, and of his preaching, drew heavily on the New Testament to emphasise his affinity with the Apostles. This whole section was intended to demonstrate his sanctity, and is very distinct from the later part of the *Vita* concerning life at Pulsano.¹⁷⁵ Yet these texts cannot be dismissed as having no importance in their own right, not least because they reveal much both about the attitudes of these two important religious figures and about the ideals that animated their communities in the generation after the founders' deaths. Both, for example, reveal the tension between the wandering holy men with no clerical background or training – William, it is made clear, was an autodidact – and those in clerical or priestly orders. William's desire for solitude and contemplation was in direct opposition to the wish of his priestly companions to create a more conventional monastic community. His biographer also told of how an intellectual, a man 'proficient in grammar and learning, but lacking charity', was so envious of the reputation of William, 'a simple and unlettered man', that he launched a violent attack upon him.¹⁷⁶ John's preaching in Bari was necessary because of the

¹⁷² Mongelli, 'Legenda', 157–8. William was still in charge of the abbey in January 1127; unfortunately a further charter naming him, dated May 1127, is probably a forgery, *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, ii.262–5 no. 162, 277–80 no. 165, this latter perhaps confected in the 1170s.

¹⁷³ Mongelli, 'Legenda', 156, 162.

¹⁷⁴ E.g. where John crossed a river without getting wet, *Vita S. Iohannis*, 44, a *topos* derived from Gregory I's *Dialogi* II.7, ed. U. Moricca (FSI, Rome 1924), p. 90, also in Desiderius, *Dialogi de Miraculis*, I.1, MGH SS xxx(2).1118. Similarly, the story about him curing a boy who was hit on the head by a stone, *Vita S. Iohannis*, 40–1, was based on Gregory's *Dialogi*, II.11, p. 98.

¹⁷⁵ Panarelli, *Dal Gargano alla Toscana*, 20, 41.

¹⁷⁶ Mongelli, 'Legenda', 159–60: *homo ydiota et sine licteris*.

corruption of the clergy, and one might suspect that his real offence was not any suspected heresy but an infringement on the clerical monopoly of teaching the Christian message.¹⁷⁷ The drought that John averted on Monte Gargano was the consequence of Divine displeasure at the sins of one of the canons of the church of St Michael; the story once again pitting the virtue of the simple holy man against the corruption of the established churchman.¹⁷⁸

Above all, both these *vitae* stress the importance of strict asceticism and poverty, and that monks should rely on the labour of their own hands. As William's biographer rightly pointed out, Montevergine was a particularly wild and inhospitable site, often cut off by the weather from contact with the surrounding area (sited at 1,270 metres/4,140 feet above sea level, it can indeed be very chilly even when the valley below is pleasantly warm). The lifestyle of William himself, spending his nights in prayer and his days mortifying the flesh,¹⁷⁹ may have represented only an ideal for his monks, but life at his foundations was still extraordinarily austere. His regulations for the nuns of Goleto rigidly prescribed their diet:

In their sacred company there was no one who knew wine, even in sickness. They considered it to be a sin for meat, cheese and eggs even to be mentioned. For three days of the week their food was only bread and apples with raw vegetables (*cum crudis herbis*). In the other three days they had one dish dressed with oil, and bread. From the feast of All Saints to the Nativity of the Lord, and from Septuagesima until the Resurrection of Christ, they fed on bread and water, although some abstained from bread and were content with apples and vegetables (*legumina*). It was their common will and desire to 'have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts',¹⁸⁰ to be dead to the world and to live for the Lord.¹⁸¹

Cheese and wine were similarly forbidden to the monks of Pulsano.¹⁸² These provisions were markedly more strict than contemporary Benedictine practice. Admittedly, we are told that Abbot Peter of Cava, who in his austerity bore more than a little resemblance to the two twelfth-century founders, despised the drinking of wine, until he was eventually persuaded by Urban II to drink it a little for the sake of his health. But fish was certainly part of the diet at Cava, even under the early abbots.¹⁸³ Moreover, given the importance of renders of wine in leases from Cava, this surely must have been consumed by the monks, whatever Abbot Peter's personal restraint. The Rule of Benedict anyway expressly

¹⁷⁷ Panarelli, *Dal Gargano alla Toscana*, 24–31. ¹⁷⁸ *Vita Iohannis*, 39.

¹⁷⁹ Mongelli, 'Legenda', 157. ¹⁸⁰ Galatians, v.24. ¹⁸¹ Mongelli, 'Legenda', 162.

¹⁸² *Vita S. Iohannis*, 50. ¹⁸³ *Vitae Quatuor Priorum Abbatum*, 10–11, 19–20.

permitted the consumption of wine, although the amount was at the abbot's discretion (clause 40). It certainly played an important part in the diet at Montecassino, one of the stories told about Abbot Desiderius in the chronicle related to a crisis caused by a shortage of wine, and reveals that there was a monk whose duty it was to look after the wine store. Furthermore, the chronicle continuation also recounted how thieves had broken into the monastery's cellar and stolen meat, cheese and bacon.¹⁸⁴ Thus, although the monks would presumably not eat meat in the refectory, it still formed part of the diet, at least for the sick or elderly, and probably for all the brothers at some time during the year. (There were, anyway, by the twelfth century all sorts of qualifications as to what constituted 'meat' – defined as the flesh of four-footed animals, as opposed to fowl or offal, which might be eaten in the refectory.)¹⁸⁵ More generally, the presence of meat and eggs among the *salutes* payable by monastic tenants also suggests that these played a part in the monks' diet, at least on feast days. By contrast, such *salutes* seem to have been absent from Montevergine leases, at least in the first generation of that monastery's existence.¹⁸⁶ And while one of the miracles ascribed to William by his biographer was the conversion of water into wine, the account makes clear that this was for building workers who were helping the brothers construct a house, not for the brothers themselves.¹⁸⁷ John of Matera forbade his brothers to harm animals, and one who disobeyed him and set a snare duly suffered for his disobedience, before prayer to the saint secured forgiveness.¹⁸⁸ The implication of this tale is surely that meat played no part in the diet at Pulsano, even for the sick.

Like William, John was reluctant to accept excessive gifts or sums of money. After he had cured the sick boy at Siponto (above, p. 472), he refused the rewards offered by his family, and avoided lodging with them in future. He expelled a recruit to the monastery who had brought treasure with him to the house and had by doing so 'set a pernicious example'.¹⁸⁹ Above all, his monks were expected to perform manual labour, and he himself took part in this. When he and his companions were living at Tricarico, 'through their own labour they were able to provide a little shelter from the rain and cold'. Later, at Pulsano, he went with some of the brothers to cut wood, and they were threatened by a devil (devils play a

¹⁸⁴ *Chron. Cas.* III.38, 64, pp. 414, 446.

¹⁸⁵ See especially B. Harvey, *Living and Dying in England 1100–1540. The Monastic Experience* (Oxford 1993), 38–41.

¹⁸⁶ E.g. *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, iii, nos. 228–9, 282; iv, nos. 300–I, 304, 311, 317, 332–4.

¹⁸⁷ Mongelli, 'Legenda', 163–4. ¹⁸⁸ *Vita S. Iohannis*, 45. ¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 43.

significant role in this *vita*). On another occasion, 'the Blessed John and had gone out one day with some of the brothers to work with their hands (*ad opera manuum*)', and while they were doing this he saved one of the brothers who was attacked by a viper. And one of the monks had a dream, in which he encountered various deceased brothers of the house, one of whom asked pardon for accidentally hitting the abbot with a piece of wood he was cutting.¹⁹⁰ The point of such stories to the author was of course the miracles that God had wrought through the saint's agency, but they make clear in passing that manual labour was an important part of the monastic life at Pulsano. William, meanwhile, gathered beans and chestnuts 'with his own hands' – he was no enclosed recluse relying on companions or servants to supply him – and one of the prime causes of the tension with the priests in his following was precisely because he expected them to perform manual labour.¹⁹¹ This contrasted with the attitude of the Cassinese chronicler Leo Marsicanus, who regarded the head of a community performing manual labour as decidedly eccentric (above, p. 56).

Nor were these two holy men socially exclusive. When William had to go to Benevento, which we are told he had to do on occasion, he customarily stayed with a gardener, whose little daughter he cured of blindness. John was commanded by God to receive anyone, of whatever rank, at Pulsano, and a later anecdote described how he 'cured' a peasant (*rusticus*) who had 'given himself to the Devil' and tried to commit suicide, who later became a monk.¹⁹² Established monasteries tended to recruit from the well-to-do. While Pulsano had noble recruits, notably Joel, whom John received as monk in the teeth of his family's opposition, and who later became its third abbot (1145–77),¹⁹³ John did not confine himself to these.

On the other hand, one should not press these contrasts with existing monasticism too far. John's biography also shows that underpinning the community at Pulsano was a relatively conventional infrastructure. A poor knight from Brindisi whom John had assisted during a famine helped to develop the fields and vines of its dependency near Foggia, 'having some little knowledge of agriculture', while a brother was badly hurt when he fell into one of its grain pits.¹⁹⁴ The church at Pulsano had a 'choir for the monks' like other monasteries, and while there may have been hermits associated with the house, perhaps in some of the caves in the hills around the monastery, the community itself appears to have been cenobitic. Unlike William in the early Montevergine charters, John was unequivocally described as 'abbot'.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 38, 44–6. ¹⁹¹ Mongelli, 'Legenda', 152–3.

¹⁹² Mongelli, 'Legenda', 162–3, *Vita S. Iohannis*, 42. ¹⁹³ *Vita S. Iohannis*, 41–2. ¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 43, 47.

Furthermore, in a vision ascribed to the injured monk who had fallen into a grain pit, John was seen as appealing to Saint Benedict in Heaven to justify the practice of discarding the *scapula* while undertaking manual labour. Did Pulsano actually observe the Rule of Saint Benedict from its foundation, albeit with a renewed emphasis on manual labour and a stricter dietary regime? Unfortunately, in contrast to the rich archive surviving at Montevergine, there are no twelfth-century charters from the Gargano abbey, and we cannot be sure that this was the case, but by the time of its first papal bull, in 1177, Pulsano was indeed observing the Benedictine rule.¹⁹⁵

Montevergine also adopted a more conventional monastic framework once its founder abandoned the house. His successor, Albert, was using the title of 'abbot' as early as 1129, and it was given its first dependent church in 1130.¹⁹⁶ The major role in organising its property and economic structure was that of the first prior, Lando, who oversaw its various property transactions from 1130 until 1145.¹⁹⁷ Its possessions began to be augmented during the 1130s by high-status donors like Count Henry of Sarno, Henry of S. Severino and Aymo *de Argentia*, lord of Cicala (who was to become one of King Roger's justiciars), as well as the daughter of Humbert, the lord of Atrepalda, who arranged for her husband's burial in the monastery after he was killed fighting for the king in 1137.¹⁹⁸ In some respects the founder's influence may have remained strong: in the first 40 years of Montevergine's existence (up to 1160) the abbey directly purchased property only once, in 1137. There were three purchases, all for small sums, in the 1160s, but it was only after 1173 that buying property became more frequent, though never on a scale anything like that of Cava. Given the number of documents surviving from this house, argument *ex silentio* in this case is more convincing than it usually is. Indeed, even in the late twelfth century purchase played only a relatively small part in building up Montevergine's assets, in contrast to many other south Italian religious houses.¹⁹⁹ This may well suggest that

¹⁹⁵ Panarelli, *Dal Gargano alla Toscana*, 291–3. On the possible eremitic influence, *ibid.*, 40–4.

¹⁹⁶ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, ii.337–41 no. 180, 378–81 no. 190. The supposed 'foundation charter' of Goleto, attributed to Bishop Robert of Avellino and dated May 1133, claimed that Albert had refused the title of abbot, wishing to live as one among his brother hermits, but this is a later forgery, *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, iii.33–9 no. 210.

¹⁹⁷ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, iii.147 note.

¹⁹⁸ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, iii.179–82 no. 243, cf. *ibid.*, 52–4 no. 214, 93–7 no. 223, 124–7 no. 231, 187–92 no. 245.

¹⁹⁹ The first purchase: *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, iii.143–6 no. 235. Loud, 'Monastic economy', 166–7, 177–8. The local lord, Bohemond Malerba, did, however, gain the return of some money that his deceased father and sister had given to the monastery in their wills, in return for two peasants and their families, in 1152, *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, iv.31–3 no. 308. Yet this could be seen as being in accordance with William's principles.

William's opposition to using monetary gifts to endow the monastery, as opposed to charitable expenditure, was remembered (and the *Vita* does stress this). But between 1161 and 1172 Montevergine also adopted the Benedictine rule, and received a privilege of exemption from Alexander III, and thereafter increasingly resembled the other major south Italian monasteries.²⁰⁰ In 1178 we find Abbot John establishing a new village on its lands to the north of the mountain, and settling 24 peasant dependants there, an initiative that brought the abbey into conflict with the local lord, and may well have stimulated the monks' first excursion into forgery, an art at which they later became expert.²⁰¹ Forging charters was certainly part of the Benedictine mainstream in twelfth- and thirteenth-century southern Italy. And by the time of the first surviving papal confirmation of the abbey's property, in 1197, it possessed no fewer than 33 dependent churches. Henry VI levied a great fiscal levy (*adiutorium*) on the abbey, probably at the beginning of this same year. That he did so, despite apparently looking favourably upon it, and granting it fiscal privileges, was a sign that Montevergine had arrived as a major patrimonial landowner.²⁰² The statutes of Abbot Donatus of 1210 reveal a community of more than 50 monks, with a hierarchy of subordinate officials like those of other great Benedictine abbeys.²⁰³ In the papal tax lists of the early fourteenth century it was one of the wealthiest of south Italian abbeys, with an income behind only Montecassino and Cava [see appendix IV].²⁰⁴ For all their founders' desire for the solitary life, Montevergine and Pulsano ended up as no 'more' than reformed Benedictine houses. Furthermore, a third monastic foundation by a former hermit, the monastery of S. Maria in Gualdo, founded near Benevento by John of Tufara in 1156, followed the Rule of Saint Benedict from the first, even if with considerable emphasis on the importance of manual labour, and with an exemption from the tithe on the monks' own labour (that is on its demesne lands) on the Cistercian model.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁰ Houben, *Venosa*, 70–1. G. Vitolo, 'Vecchio e nuova monachesimo nel regno svevo di Sicilia', in *Friedrich II. Tagung des Deutschen Historische Instituts in Rom im Gedenkjahr 1994*, ed. A. Esch and N. Kamp (Tübingen 1996), 190.

²⁰¹ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano* vii.80–6 no. 621, 151–4 no. 640. Tropeano suggests that *ibid.*, ii.277–80 no. 165 (dated May 1127) was actually forged as a consequence of that dispute.

²⁰² *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano* xi.258–61 no. 1072. H. Houben, 'Sfruttatore o benefattore? Enrico VI e Montevergine', in *Federico II e Montevergine* (Atti del convegno su Federico II, 1995), ed. P. M. Tropeano (Montevergine 1998), 49–63, esp. 59–60.

²⁰³ These included the claustral prior, dean, *custos* of the Hospital, cellarer, cellarer of the hospital, infirmarian, *custos* of the high altar, and *custos* of the *castello* of Mercogliano, at the foot of the mountain, P. M. Tropeano, *Montevergine nella storia e nell'arte* (Naples 1973), 232–3.

²⁰⁴ *Rationes Decimarum, Campania*, 339 no. 5158. ²⁰⁵ *Italia Pontificia*, ix.109 no. 1.

The absence of charters from Pulsano means that we cannot follow its fortunes in detail in the way that is possible for Montevergine. On a purely material level it never achieved the same success, although the papal *decime* of 1310 show it to have had an annual income of 137 *unciae*, which made it almost the wealthiest of the second-rank houses of the kingdom.²⁰⁶ But where Pulsano was important was in terms of influence. By 1177 its congregation within the *regno* comprised 14 dependencies, albeit largely confined to northern Apulia, and especially to the dioceses of Siponto and Troia. In the latter diocese there were three houses in and around Foggia: St James, where John of Matera died in 1139, St Nicholas, based on a church given to the monastery by Bishop William (II) of Troia in 1140, and the nunnery of St Cecilia. The priory of St Nicholas had at least 12 monks by c. 1177. The nunnery was considerably larger, probably one of the largest in the kingdom.²⁰⁷ However, more significantly, within a decade or so of the founder's death the influence of Pulsano had spread much more widely through Italy: to the Abruzzi, with the foundation of St Peter of Vallebona in 1148, to Lombardy with the takeover of the existing house of the Holy Saviour, near Piacenza, in 1144, and even to Dalmatia (S. Maria Meleta being first attested as a Pulsanese house in 1151). By the 1170s Pulsano had also gained dependencies in Tuscany and at Rome.²⁰⁸ Apart from Montecassino, which had a cell in Rome, another in Lucca and considerable influence in Sardinia, Pulsano was the only religious house in the kingdom to have any external impact.

There were two other contrasts between these two reformed houses. Although Montevergine acquired dependent churches, these usually remained staffed by secular clerics, and the two monastic houses founded by William remained entirely separate, as did the monastery of the Incoronata, an existing house in the diocese of Troia, not founded by William, that provided the priests who provided spiritual ministrations to the nuns of Goletto.²⁰⁹ (The latter may have had a brief existence as a double monastery for men and women, and in 1143–4 was headed by a male abbot, to whom the *Vita* of William, written at Goletto, was dedicated. But by c. 1150 it was purely a nunnery, headed by an abbess.) However, it only became subject to Montevergine in the thirteenth century. In the meanwhile, Goletto acquired a number of subject

²⁰⁶ *Rationes Decimarum Italiae*, Apulia, 6 no. 50.

²⁰⁷ *Chartes de Troia*, 210–11 no. 62, 285–7 no. 95. Panarelli, *Dal Gargano alla Toscana*, 93, 104.

²⁰⁸ Panarelli, *Dal Gargano alla Toscana*, 137–236. For one of its Tuscan dependencies, D. Osheim, *A Tuscan Monastery and its Social World: San Michele of Guamo (1156–1348)* (Rome 1989).

²⁰⁹ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, iii.366–9 no. 290.

churches of its own.²¹⁰ Montevergine did have a few monastic dependencies, but these were mostly established quite late; the priory at Capua, for example, was first attested only in 1191.²¹¹ By contrast, the abbots of Pulsano attempted to keep a tight control over the various houses subject to it, or at least those within the *regno*, which in turn led to a number of legal disputes, while some of the subordinate houses sought greater independence, as prospering cells tended to do. Hence the monks of St James at Foggia sought the aid of the diocesan bishop, Elias of Troia, against the mother house c. 1175, and in 1177 the nuns of St Cecilia complained to Alexander III about the oppression of the monks of Pulsano and their exactions from the nunnery's property. The case was deputed to a group of cardinals, who appear to have taken the nuns' side. (The case also reveals that the nuns were making textiles: this was their counterpart to the manual labour expected of the Pulsanesi monks.)²¹²

These disputes were perhaps no more than the normal tensions within a monastic congregation, although the complaints of the nuns of Foggia about their bullying do not paint the Pulsano monks in an attractive light. However, the heyday of the Pulsano observance was brief, and already by the pontificate of Honorius III the mother house was facing grave difficulties, both disciplinary and economic. Its abbot, Stephen, was accused in 1219 both of wasting the resources of the abbey, embroiling it in a dispute with the local Templars, and of exercising a tyrannous regime over the monks. Whether or not all these charges were true, and abbots were always vulnerable to accusations of mismanagement by disaffected monks, the situation eventually proved serious enough for the pope to remove the abbot in 1224. Matters did not greatly improve thereafter, and the community was wracked by dispute, culminating in the election of two rival abbots in 1236. And at the same time the links with the more distant houses of the Pulsano observance began to dissolve. The dependency near Piacenza had joined the Cistercians by 1215.²¹³ Montevergine, however, was still flourishing in the early thirteenth century. Unlike the majority of other Benedictine houses in the south, it continued to receive donations of property and churches, and to attract the favour of powerful nobles such as Count James of Tricarico, one of the S. Severino clan, who made a number

²¹⁰ J.-M. Martin, 'Le Goleto et Montevergine en Pouille et en Basilicate', in *La società meridionale nelle pergamene di Montevergine. I normanni chiamano gli svevi* (Atti del secondo convegno internazionale 1987, Montevergine 1989), 101–28, especially 109–18. By 1182 Goleto had eleven subordinate churches.

²¹¹ *Cod. Dipl. Verginiano*, ix.191–5 no. 856. ²¹² *Chartes de Troia*, 285–9 nos. 95–6.

²¹³ Panarelli, *Dal Gargano alla Toscana*, 159–60, 240–6.

of benefactions of churches and property in Lucania to the abbey.²¹⁴ Thus while both Montevergine and Pulsano evolved into relatively conventional Benedictine houses, their subsequent fortunes were somewhat different.

There were, of course, other hermits or eremitic groups within the kingdom, although mention of these is sufficiently unusual to suggest that the phenomenon was not especially widespread, or (as we have seen from the examples of Pulsano and Montevergine) that the tendency within reformed monasticism in southern Italy was overwhelmingly to draw eremitic foundations into the Benedictine mainstream. Thus William I and William II both made donations to Stephen, a hermit living on Mount Etna, who was by 1170 at the head of an organised monastery, and there was a monastery of St John of the Hermits on Monte Furano in the principality of Salerno in 1192.²¹⁵ However, the one significant example of an eremitic house that enjoyed a lengthy existence and remained unequivocally as a community of 'hermits', and therefore presumably with the monks living in individual cells, was the Holy Saviour on Monte Majella in the Abruzzi, founded c. 1010. The 'prior of the hermits of Majella' received a grant from the bishop-elect of Chieti in 1141, and the community was still described as one of hermits in a papal bull of 1175, although by this time its head was styled abbot.²¹⁶

This was, however, an isolated house in the mountains of the Abruzzi – a region that was only incorporated with the rest of the south in 1140. Furthermore, even this house was not entirely divorced from its Benedictine neighbours, for in 1110 its then prior, John, was elected as the abbot of Carpineto. This was probably a tribute to his personal qualities, for that monastery's chronicler described him as 'distinguished in life, of widespread reputation, modest and simple, clever and circumspect, careful in learning, weaned on religion and honesty, [and] kind in speech'.²¹⁷ But John was hardly just an unworldly holy man, for by this time the monastery of the Holy Saviour was already a significant landowner in its own right, with both three *casalia* and a number of churches subject to it, exacting labour services from its peasant tenants, and considerably favoured by the Abruzzi aristocracy, some of whom preferred to

²¹⁴ Martin, 'Le Goleto et Montevergine en Pouille et en Basilicate', 118–19.

²¹⁵ *Documenti inediti*, 124–6 no. 54; *William I Diplomata*, deperdita no. 31; *Les Archives du diocèse de Campagna dans la province de Salerne*, ed. H. Taviani-Carozzi (Rome 1974), 105, appendix no. 9.

²¹⁶ 'Dissertatio de Antiquitate, Ditione, Viribus Varieque Fortuna Abbatiae S. Salvatoris ad Montem Magellae', in *Collectio Bullarum Basilicae Vaticanae*, i (Rome 1747), xxi, 62–4; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio di S. Pietro, Pergamene Caps. lxxii fasc. 53(1), fols. 4r–6r.

²¹⁷ *Chron. Carpineto*, 55.

endow this house rather than the wealthier abbey of Casauria. And this was not necessarily a tribute to a perceived superiority in its observance, but because the more modest house of the Holy Saviour was a less threatening and overbearing neighbour than the powerful Benedictine abbey.²¹⁸ By the twelfth century this community of hermits had become a modestly prosperous and soundly established monastery, which enjoyed close relations with the new royal administration in the region.²¹⁹ Even if its internal arrangements and observance may have remained eremitic, one might suggest that it was only in the most technical sense a community of 'hermits'. In that progression, it was typical of other such foundations within the *regno*.

The Norman conquest might have been expected to open up monasticism in the south to external influences. Up to a point this might be considered true – if one thinks, for example, of the link between St Evroul in Normandy and the monastic foundations of the Hauteville dynasty, notably the abbeys of St Euphemia and Mileto in Calabria, and Venosa in southern Apulia, where the St Evroul chronicler Orderic proudly recorded c. 1115 that 'the liturgy of St Evroul is chanted, and the monastic rule has been observed to the present day'.²²⁰ Whether this connection still mattered as much to the monks of these southern houses in the early twelfth century as it did to Orderic, one might be disposed to doubt. Similarly, although the author of the *Lives of the First Four Abbots* appears to have felt some pride at his house's connections with Cluny, where Abbot Peter had spent time in his youth, noting his attempts to introduce Cluniac customs to Cava, and even claiming that his death was presaged by a vision of three holy abbots of Cluny, modern scholars see little or no Cluniac influence on the monastic observance at Cava, bearing out what his biographer said about the unpopularity of Peter's innovations.²²¹ Meanwhile Montecassino was openly hostile to the spread of Cluniac customs – Abbot Desiderius went so far as to denounce these as an infringement of the rule in a letter to the abbot of Hersfeld in Germany in 1072/3, even if he was, at a time of

²¹⁸ Feller, 'Casaux et *castra* dans l'Abruzzes', 150–3, 161–6. 124 donations to this abbey between 1010 and 1196 are noted in its chartulary.

²¹⁹ Thus in 1144 Count Bohemond of Manopello restored a dependent monastery to it, on the instructions of King Roger, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio di S. Pietro, Pergamene Caps. lxxii fasc. 53(1), fols. 9r, 16v.

²²⁰ Orderic, ii.102–3.

²²¹ *Vitae Quatuor Priorum Abbatum*, 17–18–26. G. Vitolo, 'Cava e Cluny', in S. Leone and G. Vitolo, *Minima Cavenisia. Studi in margine al IX volume del Codex Diplomaticus Cavenensis* (Salerno 1983), 19–44.

crisis, prepared to welcome Abbot Hugh of Cluny to Montecassino in 1083.²²² Only one genuinely Cluniac priory (that is a house directly affiliated to Cluny) was founded in the kingdom of Sicily during the twelfth century, at Sciacca on the island of Sicily. The impetus for this foundation may have come from King Roger's Spanish wife Elvira, whose father (Alfonso VI of Castile) was one of Cluny's greatest patrons, in which case it must have been founded before her death in 1135.²²³

However, if there was no discernible Cluniac influence upon the kingdom, neither did the so-called 'new religious orders' of the early twelfth century have much impact either, until the very last years of that century, after the death of William II. Count Roger I admittedly founded a house of Augustinian canons at Bagnara in southern Calabria about 1085, and subsequently welcomed Bruno of Cologne, the founder of the Carthusian order, and his companions to this same region. He assisted them in establishing an eremitic house, S. Maria della Torre, on an isolated mountain site in the diocese of Squillace, about 22 km east of Roger I's Calabrian capital, Mileto, in or about 1090.²²⁴ This in turn spawned two further abbeys in the early twelfth century, St James in Montauro and St Stephen *de Nemore* (S. Stefano del Bosco). Interestingly, the Greek Bishop of Squillace assisted in the foundation of S. Maria, and took part in its consecration in 1094: the eremitic lifestyle of the Carthusians was after all closer to Greek ideas of monasticism than that of the Benedictines who staffed most of the ducal and comital foundations in the region.²²⁵ But as with the indigenous foundations of Montevergine and Pulsano, as time went on there was a tendency to evolve from an eremitic to a conventual model. When the abbey of Montauro was reorganised about 1114, it was intended specifically for 'the brothers who are unable to bear the austerity of the hermitage', who were in future to observe the Rule of Saint Benedict. Furthermore, c. 1166–7 Landricus, the 'Master' who headed the community at St Stephen *de Nemore*, was elected abbot of the Benedictine abbey of St Euphemia, which may suggest that the Rule of Benedict was observed

²²² *Die Ältere Wormser Briefsammlungen*, ed. W. Bulst (MGH *Die Briefe der Deutschen Kaiserzeit*, iii, Weimar 1949), 13–16 no. 1. *Chron. Cas.* III.51, pp. 433–4.

²²³ White, *Latin Monasticism*, 149–51. H. Houben, 'Il monachesimo cluniacense e i monasteri normanni dell'Italia meridionale', *Benedictina* 39 (1992), 341–61, at 354–7 (reprinted in his *Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo. Monasteri e castelli, ebrei e musulmani* (Naples 1996), 7–22, at 17–20).

²²⁴ For the date, L.-R. Ménager, 'Lanfranco, notaio pontificio (1091–3), la diplomazia ducale Italo-normanna e la certosa di S. Stefano del Bosco', *Studi storici meridionali* 3 (1983), 1–37. There is no satisfactory study of the Calabrian Carthusians, and the documentation has been seriously corrupted by early modern forgeries.

²²⁵ Trinchera, *Syllabus*, 69–71 no. 53. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, ix.425.

there too. Eventually, the monastery of St Stephen was affiliated to the Cistercian order in 1192.²²⁶ Saint Bruno's original foundation thus remained an isolated example of an eremitic community, and had little discernible local influence.

Meanwhile Bagnara remained as the only house of regular canons in the south for more than a generation. Admittedly, according to their first papal bull in 1113, the Hospitallers, at this stage still simply Augustinian canons, possessed houses at Bari, Otranto, Taranto and Messina, but there is no later evidence for these houses, and whether they actually existed has, probably correctly, been doubted.²²⁷ There is no clear evidence for another canonical house within the kingdom until King Roger entrusted his intended burial church at Cefalù to Augustinians from Bagnara, and established a bishopric there in 1131. The aftermath of the papal schism placed the bishopric in doubt for many years, and its existence was eventually confirmed only in 1166 (above, p. 165). But assisted by royal patronage, Cefalù became one of the major patrimonial landowners on the island.²²⁸ A handful of Augustinian priories were subsequently founded on the island. St Lucy, near Syracuse, was a dependency of Cefalù, to which it was given in 1140, but the first reference to a prior there, suggesting that it was staffed by Augustinians, came only in 1172 – it had been held earlier by Rossemanus, the deposed Anacletan archbishop of Benevento.²²⁹ Bagnara had a priory at Noto, in south-eastern Sicily, also dedicated to St Lucy, and held a number of other churches on the island, although these were not necessarily staffed by Augustinians. Both these two priories were established at existing churches. Priories may also have been established at two churches given to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, at Piazza Armerina and near Adernò on the slopes of Mount Etna, but if so these were probably very small. In addition, there was the sole Premonstratensian house in the kingdom, St George of Gratterì, established by Duke Roger of Apulia,

²²⁶ MPL 163, 395 no. 452 = *Italia Pontificia*, x.72 no. 14. Jamison, 'Iudex Tarantinus', 513. H. Houben, 'Le istituzioni monastiche dell'Italia meridionale all'epoca di S. Bernardo di Clairvaux', in *I Cistercensi nel Mezzogiorno medioevale* ed. H. Houben and B. Vetere (Lecce 1994), 80. Montauco was a probably Greek monastery, that Count Roger gave to the Carthusians in 1097, *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.* v.253–4 no. 497.

²²⁷ *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers de St. Jean de Jérusalem (1100–1310)*, i.29–30 no. 30. A. Luttrell, 'Gli Ospedalieri nel Mezzogiorno', in *Il Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo e le Crociate* (Atti delle quattordicesime giornate normanno-sveve, 2000), ed. G. Musca (Bari 2002), 290–1.

²²⁸ White, *Latin Monasticism*, 189–201. According to the papal taxation lists of the early fourteenth century Cefalù had an annual income of 350 *unciae*, compared with 600 for the archbishopric of Palermo, but only 150 for the nearby see of Patti, *Rationes Decimarum Italiae, Sicilia*, 15, 30, 37.

²²⁹ *Documenti inediti*, 41–2 no. 16; Cusa, *Diplomi*, 487–8 no. 6. White, *Latin Monasticism*, 202–4.

King Roger's eldest son, before his death in 1149, and which was modestly favoured by the royal family thereafter.²³⁰

On the mainland, the spread of the Augustinians was similarly meagre. The priory of St Leonard near Siponto, in northern Apulia, began as a Benedictine house, and most unusually for one in this region was at first subject to, and perhaps established from, a monastery in northern Italy, St Michael at Chiusa, which lay near the Mont-Cenis Pass, on one of the principal routes across the Alps. This foundation probably occurred in the very early years of the twelfth century. St Leonard's was subsequently converted to the Augustinian observance between 1137 and 1146, and flourished modestly thereafter. A papal bull of 1167 listed nine churches dependent upon it, and it was still prospering during the minority of Frederick II.²³¹ However, it was to fall on hard times in the thirteenth century, and finally was transferred to the Teutonic Knights in 1260.²³² The church of St Peter *ad Aram* in Naples was transferred to Augustinian canons by the Neapolitan-born cardinal John of S. Anastasia c. 1170.²³³ There may also have been an Augustinian house at Foiano, near Benevento, subject to the monks of S. Maria in Gualdo, but if so its existence was brief, being mentioned only once in the foundation bull of John of Tufara's abbey.²³⁴ Further Augustinian houses were established at Barletta in 1180 and in the diocese of Siponto (independently of St Leonard's) in 1198.²³⁵ Yet compared with the number and significance of canonical houses in northern Europe, or the major role that the Augustinians played in the Crusader states, the number extant in the kingdom of Sicily was remarkably few.

The settlement of the Cistercians in the kingdom was also limited, at least until the very last years of the century. The first Cistercian monastery in southern Italy, S. Maria Requisita, later known as Sambucina, in the Val di Crati, near Cosenza, was established shortly before 1145. Like so many monastic houses in the kingdom, it was situated on a high and isolated

²³⁰ White, *Latin Monasticism*, 184–8, 205–6, 229–31.

²³¹ *Regesto di S. Leonardo di Siponto*, especially 8–9 no. 10, 15–16 no. 23 (the first reference to canons), 45 no. 70 (the bull of Alexander III in 1167). In 1201 it was given the *ius patronatus* of a church at Andria by a lay *consorteria*, a church at Trani by Archbishop Samarus, and an oven at Barletta by Frederick II, all of which suggests that it was still an active house, *Regesto*, 80–2 nos. 127–9. For its origins, H. Houben, 'Iuxta stratam perigrinorum: la canonica di S. Leonardo di Siponto', *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia* 56 (2002), 323–45, especially 328–31, and for an exhaustive study of this house see now *San Leonardo di Siponto. Cella monastica, canonica, domus Theutonicorum* (Atti del Convegno internazionale, Manfredonia, 18–19 marzo 2005), ed. H. Houben (Galatina 2006).

²³² *Regesto di S. Leonardo di Siponto*, 129–33 nos. 194–7.

²³³ M. Fuiano, *Napoli nel Medioevo* (Naples 1972), 120. ²³⁴ *Italia Pontificia*, ix.109 no. 1.

²³⁵ *Carte di Trani*, 144–6 no. 68; *Register Innocenz' III. 1 Pontifikatsjahr 1198/1199*, 598–9 no. 400.

mountain site, 870 metres (2,875 feet) above sea level, although as the crow flies it was relatively close to the Roman Via Popilia, the main north–south route through medieval Calabria.²³⁶ This abbey was probably the proposed Cistercian foundation to which Saint Bernard referred in two letters to King Roger written soon after the conclusion of the papal schism in 1139.²³⁷ However, although Bernard thanked the king for ‘receiving with royal liberality’ the monks whom he had sent to southern Italy, the actual founder of S. Maria Requisita was Roger’s cousin (and close counsellor) Count Geoffrey of Catanzaro, whose residence at Luzzi lay only a few kilometres below the monastery.²³⁸ The latter’s family, and particularly his illegitimate son, William of Luzzi, continued as the principal benefactors of the house through the reigns of the two Williams.

But after this initial foundation the Cistercians had little further impact on the south for almost half a century. Another monastery was established at Prizzi in Sicily c. 1155, but since its founder, Matthew Bonellus, was the ringleader of the Sicilian conspiracies against King William I in 1160/1 and the murderer of the king’s trusted minister Maio of Bari, this was hardly a recommendation for the order’s future progress within the kingdom, or the continued prosperity of his own foundation. A generation later this house was converted into a nunnery for refugees fleeing from the collapsing Crusader states, which suggests that by then the monastery for men was moribund.²³⁹ The next Cistercian house in the kingdom, S. Maria di Ferrara, was founded in the diocese of Teano, within the principality of Capua, in 1171 as a priory of Fossanova, one of the earliest Cistercian monasteries in the papal states. Its church was dedicated in 1179, but it only became an abbey in its own right in 1184.²⁴⁰ Furthermore, in that same year the original foundation at Sambucina was laid waste by an earthquake that devastated much of northern Calabria. How many of the monks may have survived this we do not know, but the abbey had to be recolonised from Casamari in southern Lazio – to which it was subsequently affiliated,

²³⁶ *Carte latine di abbazie calabresi*, 41–2 no. 14. For its subsequent history, and the identity between the original foundation and the later Sambucina, P. De Leo, ‘L’insediamento dei Cistercensi nel Regnum Siciliae. I primi monasteri Cistercensi calabresi’, in *I Cistercensi nel Mezzogiorno medioevale*, 317–37.

²³⁷ *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. J. Leclercq and H. M. Rochais, viii (Rome 1977), 67–9 nos. 208–9 (English translation, *The Letters of Saint Bernard*, trans. Bruno Scott James (London 1953), 349–50 nos. 277–8).

²³⁸ He was expressly named as the founder in *Constance Diplomata*, 154–8 no. 43, at 156 (*Carte latine di abbazie calabresi*, 122–5 no. 50).

²³⁹ White, *Latin Monasticism*, 166.

²⁴⁰ E. Cuozzo, ‘I Cistercensi nella Campania medioevale’, in *I Cistercensi nel Mezzogiorno medioevale*, 270–1.

rather than to its original mother house of Clairvaux.²⁴¹ Meanwhile Archbishop Walter of Palermo had founded a second Cistercian house in Sicily in 1177, sited just outside Palermo and dedicated to the Holy Spirit; and subsequently to become famous (or notorious) as the church where the revolt of the Sicilian Vespers began.²⁴² Yet by the middle of the 1180s there were still only four or five Cistercian houses in the kingdom of Sicily, and the two earliest, at Sambucina and Prizzi, were both apparently in serious difficulties.

The expansion of the Cistercian order in the *regno* only really began very shortly before the death of William II. Archbishop Walter of Palermo converted a Greek house in Calabria, which had been on the brink of collapse, to the Cistercian observance in 1188, installing monks from his earlier foundation outside Palermo there in 1188, an initiative confirmed by the king in December of that year. A few months later the archbishop's brother, Bartholomew of Agrigento, settled some Cistercians who had fled from Saladin's invasion of the county of Tripoli, at Refisio in his diocese, although he balanced this by also making the former monastery at Prizzi into a nunnery.²⁴³ Perhaps more surprisingly, the archbishop's rival, and Tancred's chancellor, Matthew, also founded a Cistercian house in Palermo, dedicated to the Trinity and first attested in November 1191. However, after the conquest of the *regno* by Henry VI this house was, like the family of its founder, in grave disfavour, and in 1197 the emperor handed it over to the recently founded order of the Teutonic Knights.²⁴⁴

Furthermore, it was not until the very last years of the twelfth century that the Cistercians had any widespread impact on the mainland. Ferraria remained for a generation the only Cistercian house in the Campania; there were none in Apulia until the 1190s, and the first Cistercian foundations in the Abruzzi, S. Maria Casanova and S. Maria Arabona, came only in 1197. Even in 1200 there were in total no more than 12 or 13 Cistercian abbeys in the kingdom of Sicily, more than half of which had either been founded or converted to the Cistercian *ordo* within the previous decade (see appendix V).²⁴⁵ Indeed, it was one of the more notable features of the early Cistercian foundations in the

²⁴¹ De Leo, 'Primi monasteri Cistercensi calabresi', 323–8.

²⁴² This was subsequently to become one of the wealthiest monastic houses in Sicily, with an annual income of 200 *unciae* in the 1270s, *Rationes Decimarum, Sicilia*, 16 art. 118. Quite when it acquired such resources is unknown, for this house is poorly documented.

²⁴³ *Documenti inediti*, 216–21 no. 89, 229–30 no. 95. White, *Latin Monasticism*, 168–79, 294–5 no. 49.

²⁴⁴ Trinchera, *Syllabus*, 315 no. 234. White, *Latin Monasticism*, 180–1.

²⁴⁵ *I Cistercensi nel Mezzogiorno medioevale*, 189–90, 194–5, 206–10, 270–1, 293, 339, 346.

kingdom of Sicily that so many of them were established houses which were later affiliated to the order of Cîteaux. The organic growth of the Cistercians – that is foundations from existing Cistercian houses within the kingdom – only properly began in the 1190s, with for example the colonisation of S. Maria *de Noharia* near Messina in 1195, from Sambucina.²⁴⁶ Some years later the monks of Sambucina founded S. Angelo de Frigillo, the site of which had been an abandoned Greek monastery that had for some years been a grange of the earlier Cistercian foundation. The new monastery was established, with the agreement of the (Greek) archbishop of Santa Severina, in June 1202. By this time there were about 30 monks at the mother house, in addition seemingly to those sent to its new daughter – traditionally an abbot and 12 in number, so Sambucina was certainly in a position to make such foundations.²⁴⁷

By 1198 the profile of the Cistercians within the south Italian Church *was* sufficiently high for Innocent III to appoint Abbot Lucas of Sambucina as one of the two prelates commissioned to preach the Crusade in the kingdom of Sicily (along with the bishop of Syracuse).²⁴⁸ But it was only with the election of Abbot Lucas as archbishop of Cosenza in 1203 that there began the recruitment of Cistercians for the kingdom's episcopate that was, with papal encouragement, to be a marked feature of the Staufen period.²⁴⁹ While the Cistercians did make a significant impact on south Italian monasticism, this took place only some way into the thirteenth century, when they were entrusted with the takeover and revival of long-established but moribund Benedictine houses such as S. Maria, Matina, in 1220/1, S. Maria on the Tremiti Islands, in 1237, and St Bartholomew of Carpineto, in 1258. In the case of Matina, however, there was an unusual consequence, for it seems that soon after its takeover some physical catastrophe, either a further earthquake or other geological collapse, overtook Sambucina, and the Cistercians transferred to the former Benedictine monastery, while their original house, the oldest Cistercian abbey in the kingdom, was reduced to being a grange.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁶ First attested by *Constance Diplomata*, 37–9 no. 10 (December 1195). S. Fodale, 'I Cistercensi nella Sicilia medievale', in *I Cistercensi nel Mezzogiorno medioevale*, 355.

²⁴⁷ *Carte latine di abbazie calabresi*, 172–9 nos. 68–9. De Leo, 'Primi monasteri Cistercensi calabresi', 333, 339–40.

²⁴⁸ *Register Innocenz' III. 1 Pontifikatsjahre 1198/1199*, 430–3, no. 302.

²⁴⁹ Kamp, 'The bishops of southern Italy', 205. There were at least 22 Cistercians appointed to sees within the *regno* between 1203 and 1266: see the list by Kölzer in *I Cistercensi nel Mezzogiorno medioevale*, 116.

²⁵⁰ *I Cistercensi nel Mezzogiorno medioevale*, 197–8, 211–14, 333–5.

The limited impact of the Cistercians within the kingdom of Sicily is striking, particularly when comparisons are made with other regions. There were, for example, already 12 Cistercian houses in Lombardy by c. 1150 and a further six in Lazio (and three more founded in the latter province by 1175).²⁵¹ It was not that the Cistercians did not have an impact in the Italian peninsula during the twelfth century, but for a long time they had only the most marginal role in the Church of the kingdom of Sicily. Many years ago it was suggested that this was because of the distrust of King Roger and his successors of centralised religious orders that might be more obedient to papal than royal authority.²⁵² While such a view undoubtedly exaggerates the tensions between the kings and the papacy – whose relationship after 1156 was, as we have seen, co-operative and cordial, the lack of royal support may well have been a factor. Admittedly, arguments based upon the number of surviving documents need to be treated with caution, especially given how few diplomas of, in particular, William I survive. But apart from two confirmation diplomas for S. Angelo, Prizzi, both known only from very late transcripts, and at least in their present form forgeries, the only royal diplomas in favour of Cistercian houses before the death of William II were two donations to Sambucina by the minority government in 1166 and 1169, the admittedly generous endowment of the Holy Spirit, Palermo, in November 1177, a diploma for Corazzo, issued soon after this house became affiliated to the Cistercians in 1178, a confirmation of the property of S. Maria de Ligno in December 1188, and a confirmation and grant of immunity for Ferraria in October 1189 (the last known charter of William II), which may also in its present form be a thirteenth-century falsification.²⁵³ While it may have been diplomatic for King Roger to permit the foundation of Sambucina as a means of building bridges with the influential abbot of Clairvaux in the wake of the papal schism – during which Bernard had been a very public critic of the king – we have no evidence that either Roger or his son endowed this abbey.

This total of seven diplomas issued by William II, or in his name, for Cistercian houses compares with more than 80 in favour of Benedictine

²⁵¹ G. Penco, *Storia del monachesimo in Italia delle origini alla fine del medioevo* (Rome 1961), 260–5 (for Lombardy); *Monasticon Italiae*, i *Roma e Lazio* (Cesena 1981).

²⁵² White, *Latin Monasticism*, 56.

²⁵³ *Carte latine di abbazie calabresi*, 58–62 nos. 22–3. The Prizzi diplomas are *William I Diplomata*, 28–30 no. 110, and Enzensberger, *Beiträge zum Kanzlei*, 142–3 no. 3. The S. Spirito and Corazzo charter will be nos. 95 and 104 in Enzensberger's forthcoming edition of William II's charters. *Documenti inediti*, 229–30 no. 95; *Chronicon S. Mariae de Ferraria*, 6–8 (= Enzensberger's no. 1156).

abbeys. It was in marked contrast with the considerable favour shown to the Cistercians by the Staufen rulers after 1194. Thirty-three diplomas of Henry VI and Constance issued for Cistercian houses survive, and there were a further 39 issued during the first 15 years of Frederick II, before his departure for Germany in 1212. The Staufen rulers were in turn highly regarded by the Cistercian order a whole – Constance, for example, was granted by the General Chapter the liturgical commemoration normally reserved for members of the order.²⁵⁴

But while there was a notable contrast between the lack of royal support before 1189 – or at best a certain very limited favour under William II – and the generous privileges of the rulers after 1194, this cannot fully explain the tardy development of the Cistercians in the *regno*. Up to the 1190s there was little favour from the ruling class either, with the exception of Archbishop Walter, whereas thereafter leading aristocrats did patronise the Cistercians. Hence the first two houses of white monks in the Abruzzi were founded by respectively Counts Berard of Loreto (Casanova) and Gentile of Manopello (Arabona), both in 1197, and both filiations from the abbey of Tre Fontani outside Rome, while the foundation of Ripalta in Apulia (pre-1219) was attributed to Count Matthew of Lesina.²⁵⁵ All three of these counts, it should be noted, were natives of the *regno*, not foreigners introduced by Henry VI. Although imperial preferences might well have had their effect with those who supported, or had made their peace with, the Staufen, it appears that up to 1189 the Cistercians had little attraction for potential benefactors in the kingdom.

Nor was the situation very different with the military monastic orders. As was noted above, the evidence that the Hospitallers possessed houses in several south Italian ports as early as 1113 is inconclusive at best. King Roger did grant the Hospitallers protection and rights of pasturage in 1136, but the terms of this diploma, which gave them permission to found houses and hospitals wherever they liked within the kingdom, suggests that they did not at that time possess any.²⁵⁶ Alexander III later referred to an alleged privilege of Roger exempting the Templars from market dues and tolls, but no such document has survived, and there is no evidence that the Templars had any possession within the kingdom during his reign. By the mid-twelfth century the military orders had undoubtedly made some limited

²⁵⁴ Kölzer, 'La monarchia normanno-sveva e l'ordine Cistercense', 107, 114–15.

²⁵⁵ P. Corsi, 'I Cistercensi in Puglia', and R. Paciocco, 'I Monasteri cistercensi in Abruzzo: le linee generali di uno sviluppo (fine sec. XII–inizi sec. XIV)', in *I Cistercensi nel Mezzogiorno medioevale*, 195, 206–9.

²⁵⁶ *Roger II Diplomata*, 119–23 no. 43.

impact in Apulia, with Hospitaller houses founded at Barletta before 1158 and Foggia by 1177, and Templar ones at Minervino and Barletta by 1169. The Hospital had separate priors for Apulia and Messina by c. 1172, and had acquired houses in most of the principal Campanian cities by the end of William II's reign. Nevertheless, the development of the military orders within the kingdom was still relatively slow – the real expansion of Templar houses and possessions came only from c. 1190. The Hospitaller organisation within the kingdom was not completed until well into the thirteenth century. Although men from southern Italy had played a prominent part in the First Crusade, subsequently relations between the kingdom of Sicily and the Crusader states had remained cool for a long time, not least because of the repudiation of King Roger's mother by her second husband, King Baldwin of Jerusalem, in 1118. Furthermore, the kings had been preoccupied by their efforts to acquire a colonial empire in North Africa, and might well have been reluctant to stir up strife between their Christian subjects and the still numerous Muslim population on the island of Sicily. Consequently the attitude towards the Crusade within the kingdom was also somewhat ambivalent, at least until the last years of William II, and so this late and limited development of the military monastic orders in southern Italy is not entirely surprising. As with the Cistercians, the military monastic orders flourished under the Staufen rulers, and both Henry VI and in particular Frederick II were generous patrons of the recently founded Teutonic Knights. But before the reign of William II the military orders had hardly any presence in the *regno*.²⁵⁷

One should therefore conclude that until the very end of the 'Norman' period monasticism in the south remained overwhelmingly Benedictine, and on the mainland dominated by a handful of great houses, most of which had been founded before the Norman conquest, but which had all benefited from the patronage of the conquerors. The *vitae* of John of Matera and William of Vercelli do indeed show that there was another interpretation of the religious life, and that there were those in the *regno*

²⁵⁷ G. A. Loud, 'Norman Italy and the Holy Land', in *The Horns of Hattin. Proceedings of the Second Conference for the Society of the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Jerusalem and Haifa, 2–6 July 1987*, ed. B. Z. Kedar (Jerusalem 1992), 49–62 (reprinted in Loud, *Conquerors and Churchmen in Norman Italy*), especially 60; H. Houben, 'Templari e Teutonici nel Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo', and A. Luttrell, 'Gli Ospedalieri nel Mezzogiorno', both in *Il Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo e le Crociate*, especially 258–65, 269, 298–9.

who sought to lead a life of Apostolic poverty and renunciation, just as there were in contemporary northern Europe. But such impulses were speedily domesticated within the Benedictine tradition. By the end of the twelfth century problems were beginning to trouble, and sometimes overwhelm, a number of the existing monasteries, but it was then and only then that the new religious orders, and above all the Cistercians, played a significant part in the Church in southern Italy. Until then monastic life remained remarkably 'conservative'.

Latins, Greeks and non-Christians

Much of the south Italian peninsula had been taken from the Byzantine empire, and Duke Robert and Count Roger conquered the island of Sicily from Islam. These regions had not just been provinces subject to alien powers, but a significant part of the population spoke the language and followed the religion of their rulers. At the end of the twelfth century Peter of Eboli famously described Palermo as 'endowed with people of three languages'.¹ While in Apulia Greeks were in a majority – and indeed present in any numbers at all – only in the Salento peninsula in the extreme south, at the time of the conquest they had an overwhelming preponderance in Lucania and central and southern Calabria, as well as comprising anything up to a third of the population of Sicily, concentrated especially in the north-east of the island, the Val Demone. In the rest of Sicily there were a few Christians; some Greeks, but probably more Arabic-speakers in everyday life, even if Greek was their liturgical language. But here the Norman conquerors faced the problem of a largely Muslim population, who remained under Christian rule. Some of the Muslim elite emigrated during or immediately after the conquest,² but many of the Muslim inhabitants of Sicilian towns and the overwhelming majority of those in the countryside remained. Furthermore, in order to secure the surrender of Muslim towns, the Normans had granted recognition of Islamic law and *de facto* religious toleration. Thus, at the capture of Palermo in 1072, the Muslim inhabitants:

refused absolutely to abandon or to act in breach of their own faith. But provided that they were sure that they would not be forced to do this, and that they would not be oppressed with new and unjust laws, then . . . they would surrender the city, serve them faithfully and pay tribute. They promised to ratify this on oath in accordance with their law.³

¹ *Liber ad Honorem Augusti*, 9, line 56.

² Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily*, 28–9.

³ *Malaterra*, II.45, p. 53.

Given the small numbers of the conquerors, such a policy was surely inevitable, not only for military reasons, but since the continued prosperity of the island depended upon the labour of Muslim peasants. A very similar policy of toleration was later followed when Roger II's forces conquered various coastal cities in Muslim North Africa during the last decade of his reign. Here too there was little alternative, since despite the survival of small indigenous Christian communities these were overwhelmingly Muslim towns.⁴ Furthermore, since in the early years, at least, of Norman rule, almost all the Christians on the island of Sicily belonged to the Greek rite, it was equally necessary for the new count not just to tolerate but actively to favour the Greek Christians under his rule.

It has, admittedly, been argued that on the mainland the dukes of Apulia pursued a radically different policy, deliberately favouring Latin Christian churchmen, converting bishoprics from the Greek to the Latin rite, and subjecting Greek monasteries to Latin ones, especially those that they themselves had founded. The consequence of this pressure was to induce a considerable number of Calabrian Greeks to emigrate to Sicily – from which in some cases their ancestors had come – and to encourage the Latinisation of hitherto 'Greek' areas, certainly of those regions such as northern Calabria and Lucania that had never been exclusively Greek.⁵ Yet, it must be said that the evidence for such a policy is thin, and the argument unconvincing. The chroniclers of the conquest, especially Malaterra, but to a lesser extent also Amatus, may have displayed a certain contempt for the Greeks – 'a people who were customarily devoted to luxuries and self-indulgence rather than to warlike exercise', as the former suggested.⁶ But there was an element of cliché here, and it was anyway necessary to justify the conquest through demonstrating the unworthiness of those inhabiting or previously ruling the land. Furthermore, Malaterra, as a relatively recent immigrant to the south, cannot be assumed to represent the opinion of those who had been born there or had arrived many years previously.

Obviously while the conquest was still going on, a degree of mutual hostility was likely, and particularly since contemporary military tactics often entailed the deliberate wasting of the countryside and the destruction

⁴ D. S. H. Abulafia, 'The Norman kingdom of Africa and the Norman expeditions to Majorca and the Muslim Mediterranean', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 7. *Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1984* (Woodbridge, 1985), 37–40.

⁵ Ménager, 'La "Byzantinisation" religieuse (1959)', 5–40; followed by, among others, F. Russo, 'Politica religiosa di Roberto il Guiscardo in Val di Crati (1050–1086)', *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 43 (1976), 11–38.

⁶ *Malaterra*, III.13, p. 64.

of vines and olive trees; damage to which would take several years to make good. Hence a Greek from Lucania, recounting the history of a monastery that his father had founded, could record in 1071 that 'our whole country was seized and occupied by heathen hordes, and everything came to complete ruin'.⁷ These 'heathen hordes' were the Normanno-French invaders; the monastery's patron was probably referring to the seizure of the Tricarico region by Count Drogo c. 1048. Yet once the Norman takeover had been achieved, there is little evidence for deliberate hostility among the conquerors to churches and churchmen of the Greek rite. Robert Guiscard, for example, not only confirmed the election of a Greek bishop of Tropea in southern Calabria in 1066, but also granted the see a wide-ranging immunity from the fiscal exactions and jurisdiction of his officials.⁸ When the Normans captured Palermo, they found a Greek archbishop called Nicodemus, probably the only Greek prelate left on the island. He, 'although he was a Greek and a timid man, had been celebrating the Christian religion as best he could in the poor church of St Cyriacus'. He was duly installed as archbishop in the former cathedral, which had been converted to become the main mosque of Palermo, and was now reconsecrated once more as a Christian church, and soon rebuilt on a more substantial scale by Count Roger.⁹

Admittedly, the successor to this archbishop was a Latin, and indeed probably a Frenchman, known to have been in office by 1083. He was one of a number of Latin-rite prelates installed in formerly Greek sees during the second half of the eleventh century. But whether such appointments can be seen as part of a coherent plan to 'Latinise' the south Italian Church is very doubtful. In some cases, the installation of a Latin-rite prelate was probably for strategic reasons, as at Otranto, where Archbishop Hugh was in office by 1067, and the incumbent Greek prelate in exile at Constantinople. If the latter was still Hypatios, who was last attested by name in 1054, he had admittedly been a close ally of the Patriarch Michael Keroularios in the dispute following the latter's breach with the papacy in 1054.¹⁰ But there were eminently practical reasons for the change, whoever the Greek prelate may have been. With Bari as yet still in Byzantine hands,

⁷ Robinson, 'Carbone' (1929), 171–5 no. 8; for the date of which, A. Guillou, 'Notes sur la société dans le Katépanat d'Italie au XIe siècle', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 78 (1966), 451.

⁸ Ménager, *Recueil*, 73–5 no. 17.

⁹ *Malaterra*, III.45, p. 53; *Amatus*, VI.23, p. 285–6. The name Nicodemus comes from a later bull of Calixtus II, *Italia Pontificia*, x.230 no. 24.

¹⁰ Kamp, 'Vescovi e diocesi', 386; P. Herde, 'The Papacy and the Greek Church in southern Italy between the eleventh and the thirteenth century', in *The Society of Norman Italy*, 221. For the archbishop in exile, Mansi, *Concilia*, xix.1044: unfortunately his name was not given.

it was clearly important to prevent any restoration of Byzantine rule in southern Apulia, and especially in those ports that might be used to land reinforcements from the Balkans. A French archbishop was obviously more reliable than a Greek with close ties to Constantinople. Similarly, another Latin-rite, and probably French, prelate, Baldric, was in office in that same (Graecophone) region as bishop of Gallipoli in 1115, and one might suspect that this was linked with the expedition launched against the Byzantine Empire by Bohemond some years earlier.¹¹ But whereas Otranto remained a Latin see, Baldric's successors at Gallipoli were once again Greeks, and indeed that see was only eventually converted to the Latin rite in 1513. The appointment of a Latin bishop there in the early twelfth century appears therefore to have been a short-term expedient.

A number of sees were Latinised in Lucania and Calabria, but this was a slow, almost evolutionary process. The first Latin-rite archbishop of Reggio, William, appears as the scribe of a ducal charter early in 1082; at that time he had not received consecration, and so had presumably only recently been appointed.¹² What, however, had led to his appointment was the earlier choice of a Greek archbishop for the see, not by the clergy of Reggio but at Constantinople. Since Robert Guiscard's earlier peace treaty and alliance with the Emperor Michael VII had been terminated by the latter's deposition, in March 1078, such a move can only have been interpreted as a hostile attempt to intrude a fifth-columnist into his territory. By the time of William's appointment, the duke was actively preparing, if he had not already started, his expedition against Byzantium. It was therefore an initiative, not against the Greeks of southern Italy, but against the Byzantine emperor. Furthermore, a decade later, when both Urban II and the church of Constantinople were actively seeking to restore good relations – and Urban was asking the help of Count Roger in forwarding these negotiations – the possibility of restoring the exiled Greek archbishop, Basil, was seriously mooted. Ultimately, the latter's refusal to swear obedience to the papacy prevented this; but had he been willing to do so, Urban would have been prepared to sanction his installation, presumably with the agreement of Duke Roger Borsa. Only when Basil refused the oath of obedience was a new Latin-rite archbishop mooted – first the Carthusian Bruno, who refused the see, and eventually the French cardinal Rangerius, who was recorded as archbishop-elect, though

¹¹ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, ix.428.

¹² Ménager, *Recueil*, 124–9 no. 40, a problematic document known in three different versions, all of which perished in the destruction of the contents of the Archivio di Stato of Naples in 1943.

not yet consecrated, in December 1091. By contrast, the incumbent Greek archbishops of Rossano and S. Severina did acknowledge the papal supremacy at the Council of Melfi in September 1089, and were retained in office.¹³

Admittedly, the years following this episode did see Latin bishops installed in formerly Greek sees; at Cassano in northern Calabria the first Latin-rite bishop was attested in 1089, at Tropea a Latin was appointed in 1094 and at Squillace in the autumn of 1096. At Lecce, in the Terra d'Otranto, where a Greek bishop was attested between 1092 and 1101, a Latin had been appointed by 1114. This last was probably the work of the local Norman counts, followers of Bohemond, and thus not necessarily well-disposed towards the Greeks – as at Otranto, one wonders whether the change was linked with the 1107–8 expedition.¹⁴ Duke Roger also sought to impose a Latin-rite archbishop at Rossano in 1093, and here we are expressly told that this was against the wishes of the inhabitants. But faced with rebellion among his Norman followers, he abandoned his attempt and allowed the election of a Greek prelate, in return for the inhabitants' support against his rebellious brother-in-law William de Grandmesnil.¹⁵ Rossano subsequently remained in the hands of Greek prelates until the early fourteenth century, and the Greek rite continued to be celebrated at the cathedral until 1461.¹⁶

However, one should note first that generally Latin bishops were only installed when a Greek bishop died and the see was vacant; what happened at Otranto and Reggio appears to have been exceptional. Secondly, what seems to have been some pressure for Latinisation only took place a generation after the conquest itself. Cassano was, for example, in the north of Calabria, in an area which had never been exclusively Greek, and a previous Greek bishop had been one of the ringleaders of an uprising against the Normans which had been bloodily suppressed by Count Roger in 1059. Squillace had also surrendered to Count Roger in that same year, yet a Latin bishop was not installed for another generation.¹⁷ Furthermore, the appointment of Latin-rite bishops does not necessarily imply Graeco–Latin hostility. Theodore, the last Greek bishop of Squillace, who came from a prominent local family called the Mesimeroi, was actively involved in the foundation of S. Maria della Torre, in 1091, and took part

¹³ W. Holtzmann, 'Die Unionsverhandlung zwischen Kaiser Alexios I und Papst Urban II', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 28 (1928), 38–67; Stiernon, 'Basile de Reggio, le dernier métropolitain grec de Calabre', 189–226, especially 199–203. Rangerius: Trinchera, *Syllabus*, 69 no. 53.

¹⁴ Kamp, 'Vescovi e diocesi', 386. ¹⁵ *Malaterra*, IV.22, p. 100.

¹⁶ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, ix.304; *Italia Pontificia*, x.100. ¹⁷ *Malaterra*, I.32, 37, pp. 22, 24.

in its dedication in August 1094, along with the archbishop of Palermo and three other Latin bishops, including the recently appointed first Latin-rite incumbent of Tropea, a Frenchman called Tristan.¹⁸ Furthermore, to judge by his name the first 'Latin' bishop of Squillace, John *de Nichifero*, although expressly identified as belonging to the Latin rite, was of Greek descent and therefore presumably bilingual. If so, he was a tactful choice.¹⁹ And while the eventual appointment of this Latin bishop at Squillace in 1096 took place with the sanction and encouragement of the papal vicar for Calabria, Bishop Sasso of Cassano,²⁰ neither can this process be seen as one impelled by papal pressure. As we have seen, Urban II was quite prepared to accept Greek prelates provided that they acknowledged the ultimate authority of the papacy. The Greek archbishops of Rossano and S. Severina not only attended his council at Melfi, but they or their (Greek) successors subsequently also played a part in papal councils during the pontificate of his successor (above, p. 205). And after 1100, the pace of Latinisation slackened – apart perhaps from in the peculiar circumstances of Bohemond's expedition against Byzantium. Admittedly, the evidence for many of the bishoprics of Calabria is exiguous, but it would appear that after 1096 the next formerly Greek see to receive a Latin bishop was Umbriatico, shortly before 1164.

Furthermore, the replacement of a Greek-rite bishop with a Latin one did not mean that this was now an exclusively 'Latin' see. Many, if not most, of the ordinary clergy remained Greek. When Bishop Tristan of Tropea was appointed in 1094, Duke Roger made the clergy of the now-defunct former see of Amantea subject to him, and noted expressly that these were Greeks. Similarly, when Duke William confirmed the rights of the archbishop of Cosenza in 1113 he included among them jurisdiction over all priests, both Greek and Latin.²¹ Messina possessed a Latin bishop, and later archbishop, from 1096 onwards, when the see was transferred from Troina. Yet it remained an overwhelmingly Greek city, whose character only began to change through immigration from the mainland in the later twelfth century.²² Nor were these new Latin prelates part of an anti-Greek movement. The bishop of Anglona (the seat to which the formerly Greek see of Tursi had been transferred) and the bishop-elect of Cassano were among the judges who decided a complicated legal dispute in favour

¹⁸ Trinchera, *Syllabus*, 69–71 no. 53; Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, ix.425. For his family, von Falkenhausen, *Untersuchungen über die byzantinische Herrschaft*, 141.

¹⁹ von Falkenhausen, 'Mileto tra Greci e Normanni', 121.

²⁰ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, ix.426. ²¹ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, ix.192–3, 425.

²² Von Falkenhausen, 'The Greek presence', 280–1. For the transfer of the see, Cusa, *Diplomi*, 289.

of the Greek monastery of Carbone in July 1144, against a nobleman who from his name (Gillius) was of French descent.²³ Our first evidence for the Latinisation of the bishopric of Umbriatico in 1164 is a charter witnessed in Latin by Bishop Robert and seven canons, all with 'western' names. But the charter itself is written in Greek, and recorded the restoration of a subordinate cell in his diocese to the famous Greek monastery of the Patiron at Rossano.²⁴ And as late as 1194 the bishop of Tricarico in Lucania commissioned a Latin translation of the *bios* of a famous Greek holy man, Vitalis of Castronuovo.²⁵

The crucial issue was that whatever the theological problems that sometimes complicated relations between Rome and Constantinople, both Latins and Greeks still considered themselves to be part of one and the same Church. Where, as in southern Italy, Greek clergy were subordinated to Latin bishops or Greek bishops recognised papal authority (which was always the sticking point in negotiations between Rome and Constantinople), then the Greek rite was still perfectly acceptable, and the prayers of Greek clergy and monks deemed just as efficacious as those of Latins. And despite occasional worries about the vagaries of Greek theology, or practices such as using leavened bread at the Eucharist, the papacy also tolerated Greek observance. It was only with the pontificate of Innocent III that attitudes at Rome began to harden.²⁶

The two surviving twelfth-century Greek saints' lives do suggest that there could sometimes be tensions. Lucas, bishop of the minuscule see of Isola Capo Rizzuto in south-east Calabria (died 1114) had a dispute with some Latins as to the use of leavened or unleavened bread at the Eucharist. His biographer claimed that he proved his case by many scriptural citations, but then launched into an attack on 'the innumerable heresies of the Latins'. Some Latins then built a chapel, apparently without the bishop's permission. He entered it, started to celebrate mass, and the chapel miraculously caught fire – the saint, however, remained unharmed, and the Latins were thrown into consternation. Later, the biographer reported a posthumous miracle in which a Latin who oppressed priests fell ill, and was then cured when he went, seemingly repentant, to the saint's tomb. But when he relapsed into his former sin, and behaved worse than before, he was struck down with illness and died.²⁷ Lucas had at one point intended to travel to Constantinople, although in the event he never got further on his

²³ Robinson, 'Carbone' (1930), 30–8 no. 37. ²⁴ Holtzmann, 'Die ältesten Urkunden', 341–2 no. 2.

²⁵ *Acta Sanctorum, March*, ii 34. ²⁶ Herde, 'Papacy and the Greek Church', 224–5.

²⁷ *Vita di S. Luca, vescovo di Isola Capo Rizzuto*, ed. G. Schiro (Palermo 1954), 106–8, 120–2.

journey than Taranto, but whether the incidents reported in his biography suggest that he could be considered anti-Latin is doubtful. He received a privilege from Count Roger in 1092, and anyway as bishop must surely have been acceptable to the ruler of Calabria.²⁸ But the tone of the biography, written within a very few years of the bishop's death, does imply that the arrival of Latins in what had formerly been an almost exclusively Greek area could cause problems.

Bartholomew of Simeri (d. 1130), the founder of the Patiron monastery, was certainly one Greek holy man who embraced the new regime, even journeying to Rome in 1105 to secure a bull from Paschal II exempting his monastery from episcopal jurisdiction. His monastery benefited from the patronage of Christodoulos, the principal minister of the young Roger II, who supported him against the opposition of the Greek diocesan, Archbishop Nicholas Maleinos of Rossano. While Bartholomew actually went to Constantinople, unlike Lucas, and was received there by the emperor, he did this with the blessing and encouragement of the pope. Yet the *Life* of Bartholomew also recorded how two monks from the Latin monastery of S. Angelo of Militino accused him both of financial corruption, misusing the riches that had been given to his abbey, and of heresy, and Roger II was so annoyed by this that he came close to having Bartholomew executed. To what extent there was any truth in this story is doubtful – and although the biography was written soon after the saint's death, in its surviving form it dates from the early fourteenth century and has later accretions. But it is interesting that the biographer blames the Latin monks for this incident, not the count, to whom they had lied. And why the monks might make such charges, if indeed they did, is not clear; was this perhaps in competition for comital patronage?²⁹

For it is clear that both the counts of Sicily, and members of the new Franco-Norman nobility, did patronise Greek monasteries. Indeed, the encouragement given to Greek monasticism on the island of Sicily by Roger I was striking. More than 20 new Greek monasteries were founded on Sicily under his rule, and the count himself founded, or assisted in the foundation of, 14 of these. This was in contrast to the three, or possibly four Latin foundations made by Roger I in Sicily (counting Lipari, a major Sicilian

²⁸ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, ix.506. *Vita di S. Luca*, 12, 90.

²⁹ *Acta Sanctorum, September*, viii 819–21 (the papal bull and visit to Constantinople), 823–4. For discussion, Scaduto, *Monachesimo basiliano nella Sicilia*, 165–75. There is a modern edition of the *Life* of Saint Bartholomew, edited by G. Zaccagni in *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, n.s. 33 (1996), 193–274, which unfortunately I have not seen.

landowner, as one).³⁰ These Greek houses were for the most part relatively small, and none was endowed on the scale of the Latin abbey of Lipari and cathedral priory at Catania. But these last were essentially alien foundations, reliant to begin with at least on importing monks from the mainland; the Greek houses existed to serve the needs of the indigenous Christian population. After the death of Roger I his widow, Countess Adelaide, continued his patronage of Greek houses, and in particular of the abbey of St Philip at Fragalà, an ancient house that Roger had in effect refounded in 1090, soon after his marriage to Adelaide, and endowed with extensive lands on the northern slopes of Mount Etna. Adelaide made at least nine donations to this house.³¹ Subsequently, during her time as Queen of Jerusalem, one of her knights, Eleazar son of William Mallevrer, who had apparently stayed in Sicily, gave a church and other lands to this house in May 1116.³²

Furthermore, despite the alleged anti-Greek policy that some historians have identified, a number of Greek houses on the mainland benefited substantially from Norman/Latin patronage. The abbey of St Bartholomew of Trigona, near Mileto, for example, may well have been founded by, or with the encouragement of, Robert son of Rao, lord of Sinopoli; certainly it owed its original endowment, including the land on which the monastery stood, to his generosity. And when in October 1144 King Roger issued a confirmation of previous donations to this Greek abbey, the majority of the 19 earlier *sigillia* expressly mentioned, dated between 1092 and 1128, had been issued by Norman/Latins. These included three previous gifts he himself had made (between 1112 and 1119), and one by his mother (in 1110).³³

The Greek abbey of Carbone in Lucania benefited especially from the generosity of the lords of the Clermont (Chiaromonte) family, who granted no fewer than six privileges to this house between 1074 and 1135. Thus in March 1074, in a charter witnessed, among others, by the Greek bishop of

³⁰ White, *Latin Monasticism*, 41–5 suggests that there were 21 Greek monasteries in Sicily by 1101; Scaduto, *Monachesimo basiliano*, 80–143, discusses these houses in detail, and adds two more: St Barbarus in the Val Demone, which was a pre-Norman foundation, and S. Maria at Massa, near Messina, *ibid.*, 110, 121.

³¹ Scaduto, *Monachesimo basiliano*, 104–6, III. V. von Falkenhausen, 'Zur Regentschaft der Gräfin Adelasia del Vasto in Kalabrien und Sizilien (1101–1112)', in *AETOS. Studies in Honour of Cyril Mango*, ed. I. Sevckenko and I. Hutter (Leipzig 1998), 87–115, especially 105–15. The 'foundation charter', Cusa, *Diplomi*, 383–5.

³² Cusa, *Diplomi*, 411–12. Eleazar was later entrusted with fulfilling her bequests after her death, *Chartes de Terre Sainte provenant de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de Josaphat*, ed. H. F. Delaborde (Paris 1880), 38–40 no. 13.

³³ V. von Falkenhausen, 'S. Bartolomeo di Trigona: storia di un monastero Greco nella Calabria normanno-sveva', *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* n.s. 36 (1999), 93–116, especially 96–102; see also von Falkenhausen, 'Mileto tra greci e normanni', 128–9.

Tursi, Hugh of Clermont and his wife confirmed the abbey's property and granted further land to it to pasture its animals, 'knowing the monastery to be full of good and religious monks'.³⁴ Hugh, who came originally from Clermont-sur-Oise in the Beauvaisis, had probably been granted his lordship in Lucania by Robert Guiscard; he was one of those present at the latter's deathbed in 1085.³⁵ Carbone indeed seems to have been in considerable favour with a circle of Norman benefactors, including members of the ruling Hauteville dynasty. Richard the Seneschal, the lord of Mottola and Castellaneta, and first cousin of Duke Roger, granted it a tenement at the abbot's request in 1100 and a church and its (quite extensive) lands in 1118.³⁶ Carbone received a privilege from Bohemond I in 1110 and another from his son in 1124, and in January 1126, shortly before his departure to take control of the principality of Antioch, from which he was not to return, he granted Abbot Nilos of Carbone the administration of a nunnery at Taranto, founded by his mother, which had been in difficulty since its abbess had left on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, with the intention of remaining there. This appears to have been founded as a Latin-rite house; from her name (Aloysia) the abbess was certainly not a Greek. Nevertheless, its subjection to the Greek abbey was confirmed by both the Latin cathedral clergy of Taranto (the see apparently being vacant at this time) and the archbishops of Bari, Brindisi and Otranto.³⁷ Carbone was situated in a diocese where the bishopric had been converted to the Latin rite (although quite how and when this took place is obscure, see above, p. 233), yet this does not seem to have affected its relations with its diocesan. Bishop Richard of Anglona decided a legal dispute in its favour against another monastery in 1172.³⁸ And its surviving charters show a circle of benefactors that was just as much Franco-Norman in origin as Greek. Greeks might seek burial at the monastery, as for example Bisantius the *cabellarios* (knight?) in 1134, but a knight or minor baron called Alan who made a donation to it, in a Latin charter, in 1170 noted therein that his father was buried there too.³⁹

³⁴ Robinson, 'Carbone' (1929), 176–9 no. 9. For this family, Ménager, 'Inventaire', 275–84, 371.

³⁵ *Orderic*, iv.32.

³⁶ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vii.74–5; Holtzmann, 'Papst-, Normannen- und Kaiserurkunden' (1956), 56–8 no. 7.

³⁷ Holtzmann, 'Papst-, Normannen- und Kaiserurkunden' (1956), 55–6 no. 6; Robinson, 'Carbone' (1929), 246–51 no. 26, 257–61 no. 28.

³⁸ Holtzmann, 'Papst-, Normannen- und Kaiserurkunden' (1956), 70–2 no. 10.

³⁹ Robinson, 'Carbone' (1930), 9–12 no. 32, 80 no. 48. It is possible that this *Alaynius Alamiani* was the son of *Alaymus de Pomarico*, whose widow was recorded as holding his fief at Pomarico (in the hills between the Bradano and Basento rivers) in *Catalogus Baronum*, 27 art. 150. The name was an uncommon one in the south. The son would presumably have been a minor when the Catalogue was compiled c. 1150. However, the property concerned in this donation was further south, near Senise.

Furthermore, Carbone was also favoured by the kings of Sicily. Every ruler from King Roger through to Frederick II issued at least one privilege in favour of this Greek monastery. To some extent this was the routine confirmation of previous privileges; indeed the first such privilege, from King Roger in May 1132, claimed that it was, in turn, confirming a document of Robert Guiscard, now lost. In its present form the 1132 charter may be a forgery, or at least a corrupt later copy, and thus we cannot be certain that Guiscard ever issued such a privilege, but there can be no doubt that a genuine original lies behind the 1132 privilege, for a document of this date was expressly confirmed by William I in 1154.⁴⁰ And in January 1168 William II entrusted the abbot of Carbone with authority as archimandrite over all the Greek monasteries of Lucania and the southern part of the principality of Salerno, a privilege expressly confirmed by the Empress Constance in October 1195, who in appointing a new archimandrite ordered him to eradicate any practices contrary to the rule of Saint Basil.⁴¹ And to secure these confirmations, the abbots on a number of occasions attended the royal court, at Palermo in October 1154, Messina in the spring of 1185 and again in August 1191, Palermo in September 1196, and Melfi in September 1232.⁴² Thus throughout this period the abbots of this Greek monastery were favoured petitioners before the monarchs, as well as before Latin-rite prelates, and they received extensive benefactions from non-Greeks. Nor does the subjection of Carbone to the new archbishopric of Monreale in 1181 appear to have had any significant impact upon the Lucanian monastery. What this embodied, in effect, was simply the replacement of the bishop of Anglona by the archbishop as the diocesan. Given the role of Monreale as *the* favoured royal church, it might well be seen as a mark of esteem towards Carbone.⁴³ In short, there is nothing in the history of this Greek abbey to suggest that there was any conscious policy to the detriment of the Greek rite on the mainland. Rather it shows

⁴⁰ Robinson, 'Carbone' (1929), 273–5 no. 31, which was dismissed as a forgery by L.-R. Ménager, 'Notes et documents de quelques monastères de Calabre à l'époque normande', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 50 (1957), 19. Holtzmann, 'Papst-, Normannen- und Kaiserurkunden' (1956), 59, suggested that this was a copy c. 1300. Cf. *William I Diplomata*, 7–8 no. 2. Roger also issued a mandate ordering his officials to protect Carbone's property in 1139 or 1141, Robinson, 'Carbone' (1929), 240–2 no. 24.

⁴¹ Robinson, 'Carbone' (1930), 68–73 no. 46; *Constance Diplomata*, 14–19 no. 4.

⁴² For these last three, *Tancred Diplomata*, 46–7 no. 19; *Constance Diplomata*, 125–7 no. 35; *Historia Diplomatica*, ed. Huillard-Bréholles, iv.387. Archimandrite Hilarion I obtained a mandate from the royal court early in 1185, which was presented to a court at Senise in July of that year, Robinson, 'Carbone' (1930), 108–13 no. 56. The text of this was not copied, however. William II was at Messina in April 1185, *Documenti inediti*, 200–2 no. 82.

⁴³ *Catalogo illustrato del tabulario di S. Maria Nuova in Monreale*, 17–18 no. 29.

the symbiosis between Greek and Latin Christians that continued through the 'Norman' period.

Two other related issues should also be noted. In November 1088 Hugh of Clermont donated another Greek monastery in Lucania, S. Maria of Kyrozosimi, in the Val di Sinni, to Cava. Given the favour that Hugh and his relatives showed to Carbone, and subsequent donations to Kyrozosimi by his son and grandson, this cession surely cannot be viewed as part of an anti-Greek policy or tendency either.⁴⁴ By the early twelfth century, Kyrozosimi did have Latin priors. But it also continued to receive benefactions from Greek donors, and some of its charters, including those from the Clermont family, were still written in Greek. Indeed, the prior of Kyrozosimi, despite having the Latin name of Lando, had a charter drawn up for him in Greek by the local *taboularios* as late as 1200.⁴⁵ Furthermore, its subject monastery of St Nicholas de Peratico, given to it by Alberada, lady of Policoro, a daughter of Hugh of Clermont, in 1122, remained as a Greek house – or at least some years later was still ruled by a Greek abbot called Nicodemus.⁴⁶ And in July 1192 this received a donation from the royal admiral Margaritus of Brindisi, Count of Malta, who was a Greek, which was subsequently put into effect by one of his officials, also a Greek, for the 'spiritual health' of the heirs of Count Margaritus.⁴⁷ It appears therefore that this part of Lucania remained largely, if no longer exclusively, Graecophone, even at the end of the twelfth century, and that despite being subject to Cava Kyrozosimi remained as a focus for the religious instincts of this population. Was it indeed, despite its Latin priors, still a partly Greek house? Certainly its principal dependency still was at the end of the twelfth century – for the abbot of St Nicholas de Peratico in 1197 had the Greek name of Nilos.⁴⁸

Thus while there was a tendency for Greek abbeys to become part of the expanding congregations of the more important Latin monasteries, this did not necessarily mean the death of Greek observance therein. Another Greek house given to Cava was S. Maria at Pertosa, in the Tanagro valley near the southern border of the principality of Salerno. This had been

⁴⁴ L. Mattei-Cerasoli, 'La Badia di Cava e i monasteri greci di Calabria superiore', *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 8 (1938), 275–6 no. 1; Trinchera, *Syllabus*, 75–6 no. 58 (1093), 96–7 no. 74 (1112), 105–6 no. 80 (1116), 115–16 no. 88 (1121).

⁴⁵ Trinchera, *Syllabus*, 339–40 no. 250. Charters of Greek donors to Kyrozosimi include *ibid.*, 187–8 no. 141 (1145), 193–4 no. 146 (1149).

⁴⁶ Mattei-Cerasoli, 'Badia di Cava' (1939), 278–9 no. 3, 280–1 no. 5 (1132); Trinchera, *Syllabus*, 144–5 no. 110.

⁴⁷ Mattei-Cerasoli, 'Badia di Cava' (1939), 295–6 no. 14; Trinchera, *Syllabus*, 319–20 no. 237.

⁴⁸ Mattei-Cerasoli, 'Badia di Cava' (1939), 298–9 no. 16, which appears to be a Latin translation of a Greek *sigillion*.

donated to Cava by 1121, almost certainly by Robert, lord of Caggiano, the dominant local landowner. However, Robert had already been a considerable benefactor of the monastery of S. Maria, and it remained a Greek house, at least for a while, after being made subject to Cava.⁴⁹ Similarly, the monastery of St Elias at Melicuccà, in southern Calabria, was given to the Latin monastery of St Euphemia by Robert Guiscard, as part of the original endowment of that house in 1062. Nevertheless, this house flourished thereafter: its community in 1163 comprised the abbot and 13 other monks, and it remained staffed by monks of the Greek rite until the fifteenth century.⁵⁰ There was an obvious attraction for secular lords of being associated with the prayers and spiritual benefits of great and prestigious houses, and thus to subject Greek monasteries within their dominions to these Latin congregations. But this was not because they disliked the Greek rite or saw it as inferior – they were often benefactors of these houses, and their descendants continued to be. Indeed, the last link between Kyrozosimi and the lords of Clermont/Chiaromonte was not severed until 1221, when Richard of Chiaromonte remitted the annual *census* of one ox that the house had owed to his family from time immemorial.⁵¹

There could also be other reasons for making Greek houses subject to Latin ones. In 1089, for example, the Greek abbot of St Nicodemus of Kellarana in Calabria came to Count Roger I and, pleading his house's poverty, requested exemption from various dues and services. Within a decade, this abbey had been made subject to the count's Benedictine foundation at Mileto. That presumably the count himself had done this was surely to safeguard the continued existence of the monastery of St Nicodemus. In this, he succeeded, and it too remained as a Greek-rite monastery until the end of the Middle Ages. That not all Greek houses were so fortunate was not because there was a deliberate attempt to extinguish them. Many were very small, like the three *monasteriola* at Gerace confirmed to Mileto in a papal bull in 1098 – this was a Greek town, and these were undoubtedly Greek.⁵² Often they had a limited lifespan, and sometimes the death of the founder, or the extinction of his family, led to their collapse, while at others monks might simply abandon one site and move on to another. Donating the monastery, or its site, to a

⁴⁹ Trinchera, *Syllabus*, 71 no. 54 (1092), 82–3 no. 65 (1098), 84 no. 67 (1099), 118–19 no. 90 (1121), 134 no. 102 (1127).

⁵⁰ Ménager, *Recueil*, 38–47 no. 11, at 44; *Les Actes grecs de S. Maria di Messina*, ed. A. Guillou (Palermo 1963), 91–8 no. 9. von Falkenhausen, 'Mileto', 122.

⁵¹ Mattei-Cerasoli, 'Badia di Cava' (1939), 301–2 no. 18.

⁵² Ménager, 'L'Abbaye bénédictine de la Trinité', 24–6 no. 6, 90–1; *Papsturkunden* ii.331–4 no. 8.

larger house in the vicinity might ensure that some form of monastic observance continued. Nor was this always to the benefit of Latin houses. In December 1092 a certain Hugh Marchese gave Abbot Blasius of Carbone two deserted Greek monasteries 'to take and restore them', and in 1093 Alexander, the son-in-law of Hugh of Clermont, also gave the site of an old and now deserted monastery in Lucania to Carbone, with the expressly mentioned consent of his Norman *fideles*.⁵³ Furthermore, occasionally such a donation might be made by the Greek proprietors themselves, as when a widow, now living as a nun, and her son and grandson, gave their family monastery near Rossano to Cava in November 1086: in this case it appears still to have been a going concern, or at least to have possessed property and resources, including two yokes of oxen, a donkey, 30 sheep and 4,000 vines – although perhaps significantly the donation charter does not mention any monks. However, one of the witnesses was an official of the (Greek) archbishop, which suggests that this donation had his agreement.⁵⁴

Similarly, while the early years of the Normans on the island of Sicily had seen an efflorescence of Greek monasticism on the island, many of the houses founded after 1070 were very small and poor, and within a generation or two were in danger of failing. To stabilise this situation, Roger II sought to provide an organisational structure for these Greek monasteries. To head this organisation, he founded a new, and for once substantial, Greek abbey on the peninsula that sheltered the port of Messina. In May 1131 the king decreed that this abbey, dedicated to the Saviour, should become the mother house of a congregation of subordinate abbeys, while its head should have the title of archimandrite to mark his superior status, and should be directly subject to the king. Subsequent privileges, from the newly promoted archbishop of Messina and from the king, the latter in February 1133, listed the 18 houses in Sicily and four in Calabria that were to be entirely subject to the Holy Saviour, as cells (*metochia*), while its archimandrite was to exercise general disciplinary supervision over another 13 houses in Sicily and three in Calabria that were to retain their own abbots, to be freely elected by the monks of those houses (although under

⁵³ Robinson, 'Carbone' (1929), 195–201 nos. 13–14.

⁵⁴ Trincherà, *Syllabus*, 64–5 no. 49. More generally, V. von Falkenhausen, 'I monasteri greci dell'Italia meridionale e della Sicilia dopo l'avvento dei normanni: continuità e mutamenti', in *Il passaggio dal dominio bizantino allo stato normanno nell'Italia meridionale* (Atti del secondo convegno internazionale di studi sulla civiltà rupestre medioevale nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia, Taranto-Mottola, 31 ottobre–4 novembre 1973), ed. Cosimo Damiano Fonseca (Taranto 1977), 197–219, especially 207–10.

the supervision of the archimandrite to ensure that the elections were canonical). Further donations from the king followed, and the monastery of the Holy Saviour became one of the wealthiest landowners in Sicily.⁵⁵ Papal taxation records suggest that it enjoyed an income of 500 *unciae* a year in the later thirteenth century, which made it the richest monastic house on the island apart from the cathedral monastery of Monreale, and wealthier than most of the Sicilian bishoprics.⁵⁶

Historians have debated whether the idea for this federation of Greek houses was derived from the congregations of the mainland Benedictine monasteries, or perhaps from the analogous Byzantine monastic confederation of Mount Athos. The latter is certainly possible, since the first archimandrite appointed, Lucas, had previously been the successor of Bartholomew of Simeri as abbot of S. Maria Patiron at Rossano, and Bartholomew had visited Athos.⁵⁷ Both models may well have contributed. But one should note that the archimandrite of the Holy Saviour did not have authority over every Greek monastery in Sicily, but only over those expressly conceded to him. Almost all of these were in the diocese of Messina – which admittedly contained the majority of Greek-rite Christians and monasteries on the island – but even there not every Greek monastic house was subject to him, whereas he did have authority over four *metochia* in the diocese of Reggio and three other houses in Calabria. The *typikon* subsequently promulgated by Lucas laid down that all these houses should have a minimum of six monks and a maximum of 12, which gives some idea of the (relatively small) total number of monks in the congregation.⁵⁸ Yet in the long run the foundation of the congregation of the Holy Saviour did no more than slow the decline of Greek monasticism in Sicily. More than sixty years later the Empress Constance recalled that her father had given ‘many almost deserted abbeys’ to that of the Holy Saviour – and she did so in a diploma granting another Greek house, at Marsala in western Sicily, that was by then ‘deprived of abbot and monks’ to the monks of S. Maria della Grotta of Palermo. In this case the intention was that the Greek monks of Palermo should recolonise the abandoned house.⁵⁹ In other cases, such as that of S. Maria de Ligno in

⁵⁵ Cusa, *Diplomi*, 292–4: *Diplomi della cattedrale di Messina*, 6–8 no. 5; Pirro, *Sicilia Sacra*, ii.974–6. Scaduto, *Monachesimo*, 180–92; Falkenhausen, ‘Monasteri greci’, 214–16.

⁵⁶ In the levies for 1275–80, it was assessed as owing 200 *unciae* over four years; assuming that this was at the usual rate of one-tenth, this suggests an annual income of 500 *unciae*, *Rationes Decimae, Sicilia*, 43 art. 379.

⁵⁷ Scaduto, *Monachesimo*, 187–9. ⁵⁸ Scaduto, *Monachesimo*, 201.

⁵⁹ *Constance Diplomata*, 83–8 no. 23.

Calabria, which according to Archbishop Walter of Palermo had collapsed and fallen into disrepute, and been deprived of most of its endowment, 'because of the grave and evident excesses' of the abbot and monks, a former Greek house was revived as one of the Latin rite – in this case as a Cistercian abbey.⁶⁰

Yet the problems of Greek monasticism were not caused by official hostility, or even indifference, but rather by the intrinsic weaknesses of many houses, perhaps also by an over-enthusiastic wave of foundations in the immediate aftermath of the liberation of Sicily from Muslim rule, which subsequent recruitment could not maintain, as well as by a slow change in the demographic balance of Sicily. This last factor should not, however, be emphasised too much. The north-east of the island was still largely Graecophone in the late twelfth century, and insofar as Sicilian Muslims converted to Christianity they mainly converted to the Greek rite, not the Latin.⁶¹ (Some may have remained Muslim, but adopted the protective colouration of Greek/Arabic bilingualism; certainly Sicilian Arabic became increasingly corrupted by Greek.)⁶² The influx of settlers from mainland Italy, especially in the south-east of the island and in the environs of Palermo, helps to explain the growth of Latin monasticism, but it did not necessarily, at least in the short run, cause the decline of the Greek variety. The Graecophone area in Sicily contracted, but primarily after 1200. And if Latin rather than Greek became the language of the royal chancery after 1150, and Latin prelates played a prominent role among the *familiares* under William II, there were still also Greek officials who were sympathetic to Basilian monasticism. A son of King Roger's chief minister George of Antioch was one of the officials who in 1172 took part in the survey of the boundaries of a village near Misilmeri that his father had given to the nunnery of S. Maria which he had founded in Palermo. Tarantinus, one of the master justices of the royal court, retired to become a monk at Holy Saviour, Messina, in 1173, while Eugenios, the master of the *Duana Baronum* (the royal financial office on the mainland), praised the monastic life there in one of his poems. Another senior financial official, Eugenios Calì, who unlike his namesake was employed in the central administration in Sicily, gave his garden next to the Jewish synagogue in Palermo to S. Maria della Grotta during a serious illness in

⁶⁰ *Documenti inediti*, 216–21 no. 89.

⁶¹ J. Johns, 'The Greek Church and the conversion of Muslims in Norman Sicily', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 21 (1995), 133–57.

⁶² Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, 150–73.

December 1183.⁶³ Nor were the kings hostile. William II expressly confirmed the verdict of one of his master justices upholding the claims of Holy Saviour, Messina, against an influential Latin baron who was trying to take over some of its land near Taormina in 1185.⁶⁴ King Tancred gave a garden, adjoining vineyard and other land around Palermo to S. Maria della Grotta in May 1191. In December 1192 he ordered his officials to respect the property of St Philip of Fragalà and confirmed the liberties 'which our predecessors have conferred upon that church'; and in May 1193 he assigned some of the revenues from the dye-works at Rossano to provide oil for a lamp to be kept shining in perpetuity before a famous icon of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Rossano cathedral.⁶⁵

The rulers also sought to uphold Greek monasticism by creating congregations on the mainland analogous to that of the Holy Saviour, Messina. The abbot of Carbone in 1168 was indeed, as we have seen, given a general right of supervision over the Greek monasteries of Lucania and the south of the principality of Salerno. That this latter region was specifically included in his remit suggests that, even in this primarily Lombard area, there were still some Greek houses, as there had undoubtedly been in the eleventh century. In Calabria there was a further Greek congregation, subject to the monastery of St Adrian, near Rossano (a tenth-century foundation), which in the time of William II had some 17 subject houses. When this congregation was founded is unknown. By 1192, however, the title of archimandrite had been transferred to the abbot of S. Maria of the Patiron, and this house subsequently became the focus for Greek monasticism in northern and central Calabria.⁶⁶ Similarly S. Nicholas of Casole, founded in 1098/9, some 7 km north of Nardo, like the Holy Saviour acquired its own congregation of dependent houses, some 16 strong by the early thirteenth century, in the Terra d'Otranto (or Salento peninsula). But as with the Messina archimandrite, its congregation did not include all the Greek houses in that region, which was one that remained strongly Hellenised until the late Middle Ages. Twelve other Greek monasteries in this same area were subject to the Benedictine abbey of S. Maria at Nardo – which did not prevent them continuing in the

⁶³ L.-R. Ménager, *Amiratus* – Ἀμειράτς, *L'Émirat et les origines de l'amirauté (XIe–XIIIe siècles)* (Paris 1960), 214–20 no. 33; Jamison, 'Iudex Tarantinus', 300–1; Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, 56–9, 75–6; *Documenti inediti*, 195–6 no. 79.

⁶⁴ C. A. Garufi, 'Per la storia dei sec. XI e XII. Miscellanea diplomatica, IV: i de Parisio e i de Ocra nei contadi di Paterno e di Butera', *Archivio storico per la Sicilia orientale* 10 (1913), 358–60 no. 1.

⁶⁵ *Tancred Diplomata*, 32–4 no. 13, 72–5 no. 30, 80–1 no. 33.

⁶⁶ Holtzmann, 'Papst-, Normannen- und Kaiserurkunden' (1963), 93–7.

Greek observance into the fourteenth century.⁶⁷ Casole remained a significant centre of Greek culture during the thirteenth century. And indeed in this region there was one, albeit brief, exception to the tendency towards Latinisation, for the archbishop of Taranto between 1177 and 1181 had the Greek name of Basil, this in a see that had always been held by Latin-rite prelates even under Byzantine rule.⁶⁸ This once again suggests that there was no intrinsic hostility at the royal court to the Greek rite in the later twelfth century.

The forces of immigration and acculturation were undoubtedly lapping away at Greek southern Italy, and contact with the heartland of the Byzantine Empire, from which the cultural vitality of Greek churches might be refreshed, became increasingly infrequent as time went on. (Casole may have been an exception in this regard.) By the late twelfth century Greek charters from mainland southern Italy show a language that was increasingly debased, and corrupted by Latinate adoptions.⁶⁹ Yet if the Greek Church in southern Italy was on a downward slope, this was a very gradual one, down which it had slid only a little way by the end of the 'Norman' period. There were still seven Greek sees in central and southern Calabria, as well as that of Gallipoli in the Terra d'Otranto, in 1200. Two of these, Crotone and Gerace, were among the richer of the Calabrian sees, not that this says very much, but they were in fact somewhat better endowed than many of the Latin bishoprics of inland Apulia and the principality of Salerno.⁷⁰ And despite a hardening of papal attitudes towards Greek churchmen during the thirteenth century, five of these sees still observed the Greek rite, even if not all of them had Greek bishops, in 1400. The final one, Bova, was only fully Latinised in 1573. A few Greek monastic houses lasted even longer – St Bartholomew of Trigona indeed into the eighteenth century.⁷¹ Similarly, while Greek monasticism on the island of Sicily was already in decline by 1200, some houses, even in predominantly Latin parts of the island, also continued until a remarkably late date. For example, S. Maria della Grotta at Palermo remained a Greek-rite house until its eventual collapse in the early fifteenth century. Although its exposed site outside the city was abandoned for a time in the fourteenth century, the community of the Holy Saviour at Messina remained in being

⁶⁷ C. D. Poso, *Il Salento normanno. Territorio, istituzioni, società* (Galatina 1988), 93–4, 98, 133.

⁶⁸ Houben, *Tra Roma e Palermo*, 134.

⁶⁹ A. Guillou, 'Grecs dans la Calabre latine au XIIe siècle', *Byzantion* 50 (1980), 447–54.

⁷⁰ Crotone had an annual income of 60 *unciae* in 1310, and Gerace 60–80 in the 1270s, although this had declined considerably by the early fourteenth century, Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, ii.956, 965.

⁷¹ von Falkenhausen, 'S. Bartolomeo', 108–9.

and eventually returned to its original house on the peninsula, where it remained until 1538, when the monastery was transformed into a fortress to defend the port.⁷²

If the attitude of the twelfth-century rulers to the Greek churches of their dominions was broadly favourable, and any decline in Greek observance was due to impersonal forces and unconscious tendencies, their view of their non-Christian subjects was more complex. The circumstances of the conquest had dictated that toleration and relatively favourable treatment be accorded to the Muslim population of Sicily, which remained in a majority on the island until the second half of the twelfth century. There were also substantial Jewish communities in many of the major towns, both on the mainland and in the island. An eleventh-century Jewish chronicler from southern Italy mentions *inter alia* Hebrew communities that flourished in his own day at Oria, Bari, Benevento and Capua. Indeed, he recorded that his own grandfather, Rabbi Samuel, who died in 1008, had been appointed as supervisor of the princely treasury at Capua.⁷³ A Jewish cemetery just outside Capua was recorded in 1112; there was later one at Syracuse which the community there sought to enlarge in 1187, and (as was noted above) a synagogue at Palermo in 1183.⁷⁴ This last may not have been the only one, for the Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela estimated that there were as many as 1,500 Jews – or perhaps even Jewish households – at Palermo around 1170. Benjamin noted significant Jewish communities at nine other towns in the south, including Salerno, Naples and Messina. Some scholars have estimated that Jews may have formed up to 5 per cent of the population of the kingdom of Sicily, and while this might seem an over-estimate (possibly a striking one), there were certainly many more Jews in southern Italy than in the north at this period. Many of the Jews of the kingdom were involved in textile manufacture or dyeing.⁷⁵ These Jewish communities belonged to the king, although (as we have seen) the rulers sometimes granted the Jews and/or the dye-works of particular towns to the local bishop or archbishop (above, pp. 316–17). Since they comprised a valuable source of income, they were therefore accorded royal or episcopal protection.

⁷² Scaduto, *Monachesimo basiliano*, 138–40, 301–2, 360.

⁷³ *The Chronicle of Abimaes*, trans. M. Salzman (Columbia 1924), 91–3, 100.

⁷⁴ *Regesto di S. Angelo in Formis*, 15–17 no. 7; Cusa, *Diplomi*, 495; *Documenti inediti*, 195–6 no. 79.

⁷⁵ See H. Houben, 'Gli Ebrei nell'Italia meridionale tra la metà dell'XI e l'inizio del XIII secolo', in his *Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo*, 193–211.

There is even some evidence to suggest that there were occasional conversions from Christianity to Judaism, especially in the eleventh century. One such reference comes in the *History* of Amatus of Montecassino, although it is possible that this may be a later interpolation.⁷⁶ Certainly in 1102 a priest in Lucania, whose father had the French name of Drogo, apostatised, and adopted the Jewish name Obadiah. And, in an autobiographical fragment that he later composed, he referred to an earlier and much more sensational conversion, that of Archbishop Andrew of Bari, whom he claimed had become a Jew during a visit to Constantinople, which must have been in the mid-1060s. Andrew, of course, could not return, and ended up in Egypt.⁷⁷ On the other hand even ordinary converts would have found remaining in their home towns after changing faith problematic: the convert to whom Amatus (or his interpolater) referred later returned to Christianity, and Obadiah also emigrated to Egypt where he spent the remainder of his life. King Roger legislated against those who apostatised, and while he did not specifically prescribe the death penalty he did authorise the confiscation of their property, the abolition of all right of inheritance, and all legal protection – surely nearly as much of a disincentive.⁷⁸ This may suggest that such conversions, always unusual, became still rarer and more difficult during the twelfth century.

The situation of the Sicilian Muslims undoubtedly began to deteriorate from around the middle of the twelfth century. The chronicle attributed to Romuald suggested that in the last years of his life King Roger may have become less tolerant, even claiming that 'he laboured in every conceivable way to convert Jews and Muslims to the faith of Christ'. A later addition to this chronicle then described the trial and execution of a royal official, Philip of Mahdia, for apostasy, probably in the last year of the king's life.⁷⁹ These developments coincided with the death in 1151 of the Greek Christian minister George of Antioch, who had close contacts with the Muslim world, and especially the Fatimid court at Cairo, and the growing influence in the royal administration of Maio of Bari, a Latin Christian from the mainland. Maio was already chancellor in Roger's last years,⁸⁰ and under William I became the king's all-powerful chief minister. He was also, despite the slanders of the so-called 'Hugo Falcandus', a man of

⁷⁶ *Amatus*, II.38, pp. 104–6. Houben, 'Gli Ebrei', 194–5.

⁷⁷ J. Prawer, 'The autobiography of Obadyah the Norman, a convert to Judaism at the time of the First Crusade', in *Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature*, ed. L. Twersky (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), 110–34.

⁷⁸ 'Vatican Assizes' c. xiii, in Monti, *Stato normanno-svevo*, 125. ⁷⁹ *Romuald*, 234–6.

⁸⁰ Johns, *Arabic Administration*, 197, 309.

considerable piety and, for a layman, considerable Christian learning. And Maio's murder in November 1160 opened the way for the increasing influence of Latin-rite bishops in the government of the kingdom. For most of the reign of William II two out of three of the royal *familiars* or ministers were Latin prelates; after 1184 the promotion of William of Monreale to their ranks made this three out of four (above, pp. 274–5). Despite this, it is not clear that there was any official persecution, although unlike his predecessors William II was actively involved in providing support for the Christians in the Holy Land, and in 1182 also launched an attack, which in the event proved abortive, against the Muslims of Majorca.⁸¹ Arabic documents celebrated him as 'defender of the pope at Rome' and 'protector of the Christian faith'.⁸² Yet the Spanish Muslim Ibn Jubayr, who visited the island in 1184, famously suggested that King William himself was 'admirable for his just conduct and the use he makes of the industry of the Muslims', and tolerant towards their religion, even when practised by those at the royal court who were nominally Christian.⁸³

Nevertheless, whatever the king's personal views may have been, by the 1180s the Muslim communities of Sicily felt themselves to be under threat. Immigration from the southern mainland, and also from northern Italy to the lands in the south-east of the island held by King Roger's maternal uncle Count Henry of Butera and his descendants, had changed the demographic balance on the island, and largely pushed the Muslims out of its eastern parts. During the attempted coup against William I in March 1161 the insurgents and other Christian rioters murdered a number of Muslim townsmen, and several royal officers who were either Muslims themselves or converts who were clearly suspected of being still at heart adherents of their original religion. The long-term effect of this was to drive most of the city's Muslims out of their homes into a separate quarter where, according to Ibn Jubayr, 'they live apart from the Christians'. In the troubles that followed many of the Muslims in the south-east of the island were also massacred, and the remainder fled, a process of 'ethnic cleansing' in which the north Italian immigrants took the lead. And when the king moved to suppress these disturbances, trouble broke out in his army between Muslim and Christian troops.⁸⁴ If thereafter actual violence towards the Muslims

⁸¹ For this last; Abulafia, 'The Norman kingdom of Africa', 44–5.

⁸² Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, 46.

⁸³ *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, trans. R. J. H. Broadhurst (London 1952), 340–1.

⁸⁴ *Travels*, 348–9; *Falcandus*, 56–7, 69–70, 73 (*Tyrants*, 109–10, 121–2, 124).

subsided, the report of Ibn Jubayr still suggests a community that felt dangerously exposed and tolerated only under sufferance. Some Muslims, he claimed, were under pressure to convert, or feared that their children might be persuaded to become Christians, while the Muslims of the island generally were cut off from the heartlands of their faith and thus lacked intellectual and religious leadership.⁸⁵ The situation of the Muslims may have varied from place to place; it was one of the leading men of Messina who claimed that he and his co-religionists were unable to practise their faith openly, whereas at Palermo and Trapani there were mosques and prayer rituals could openly take place, for example to mark the end of Ramadan.⁸⁶ However, Ibn Jubayr only visited the towns of the north coast of Sicily, and not the central and western interior where the bulk of the peasantry were Muslim, with an admixture of Arabic-speaking Christians, of whom a very large number had been made subject to the new royal foundation of Monreale and its archbishop. When, after the death of William II, there was a renewed attack on the Muslim community in Palermo, those who escaped the Christian violence fled into the interior,⁸⁷ and the subsequent insurrection lasted, with occasional intermissions, for more than 30 years. Ultimately it was to spell the death-knell of the Sicilian Muslims, at least as an organised community.

The relative tolerance accorded to non-Christians in the twelfth-century kingdom of Sicily was always a matter of pragmatism rather than principle, and (as was suggested in an earlier chapter) the rulers appear to have been conventionally pious Christians. Prominent Muslims may always have been under some pressure to convert, like Roger, 'once in the faith of the Saracens and then called Ahmed', who in 1141 gave three villages that he had once, many years earlier, received from his godfather, Count Roger I, to the archbishopric of Palermo.⁸⁸ There was also the case of 'Chamut' (Hamūd), the emir of Enna, who converted to Christianity on surrendering the town in 1087, and whom Roger I resettled at his own request in Calabria.⁸⁹ One would like to know more about other, lower-status, converts, such as the Cafarus, *de genere agarenorum*, who was living in

⁸⁵ *Travels*, 342–3, 357–60.

⁸⁶ *Travels*, 351. Metcalfe, 'The Muslims of Sicily under Christian rule', presents an admirably nuanced picture, including a discussion of the evidence of Ibn Jubayr. See, also, Houben, 'Religious toleration'.

⁸⁷ *Annales Casinenses*, ad an. 1189, MGH SS xix.314.

⁸⁸ Cusa, *Diplomi*, 16–19; Latin version in Pirro, *Sicilia Sacra*, i.85–7.

⁸⁹ *Malaterra*, IV.6, p. 88. On the problems concerning the identity of this man, Johns, *Arabic Administration*, 236–8.

Conversano in southern Apulia in 1138 when he made a donation to the monastery of St Benedict, to which he declared himself subject.⁹⁰ As presumably a convert to the Latin rite, he may have been unusual for someone who was not connected to the royal court, which might also explain his presence in Apulia. In Sicily, not only were most conversions apparently to the Greek rite, but they may often have been gradual ones, as much by acculturation and osmosis as by dramatic renunciation of Islam.⁹¹

At the court, however, the Arabic officials, distinguished by the title of *caid*, who continued to hold important posts, especially in the royal financial administration and the office of land registration, during the twelfth century appear to have been either Christians by birth or they were expected to convert – and hence they were known by such ‘Christian’ personal names as Peter, Richard and Martin – these, it should be noted, Latin names, not Greek ones. Even so, they were often in a precarious position, although this may have been due as much to the often vicious internal rivalries of the court as to religious or ethnic hostility *per se*. ‘Falcandus’ referred to the execution of a senior financial officer, whom he called Caid Iohar (Arabic Ġawhār), but who may have had the baptismal name of Theodore, allegedly for trying to desert to the king’s enemies with the royal seals, prompted by violence supposedly inflicted upon him by William I himself.⁹² (This last claim was part of the author’s repeated denigration of the king, and we have no idea whether or not it may have been true.) ‘Falcandus’, our principal source for the affairs of the court, disliked these Arabic officials, and had no hesitation in suggesting that their adherence to Christianity was a sham. He wrote of the most prominent figure among these ‘palace Saracens’ during the reign of William I, Caid Peter, that ‘like all the palace eunuchs [the demeaning term by which he referred to them], this man was a Christian only in name and appearance, but a Muslim by conviction (*animo saracenus*).’ Despite being raised to the rank of *familiaris*, Peter subsequently fled to north Africa in 1167, in fear of assassination by his enemies at court, notably the Queen’s cousin Count Gilbert of Gravina. The latter, according to ‘Falcandus’, was a bitter critic of the trust vested in such Arabic officials, although as a Spaniard – or perhaps a Frenchman who had been resident in Spain – this is unlikely to

⁹⁰ *Pergamene di Conversano*, 186–8 no. 85. ⁹¹ Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, 178–81.

⁹² *Falcandus*, 77 (*Tyrants*, 128). For him, Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, 44; Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, 48; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, 224. This was the only instance where ‘Falcandus’ referred to one of these ‘palace Saracens’ by his Arabic name. Johns rejects the identification of Iohar with the Master Chamberlain Theodore – however, his argument is not conclusive.

have come as a complete shock to him.⁹³ 'Peter' reverted to Islam, and to his original name of Ahmed, and became a prominent military commander for the Almohad rulers of north Africa.⁹⁴ He presumably had little choice in becoming a Muslim once again after his position in Sicily became untenable. However, Theodore, if he was the official whom 'Falcandus' claimed was executed for disloyalty in 1162, was commemorated in the necrology of Salerno cathedral, which suggests that his Christianity was more than superficial.⁹⁵ Meanwhile, another of these alleged crypto-Muslims, Caid Richard, became one of the enlarged council of *familiares* in 1168–9, and remained as one of the two master chamberlains of the palace, effectively the king's principal financial officers, until 1183, or perhaps 1187, when he was attested for the last time. He was also in charge of the office of land registration. His colleague, until his death in 1176, was Caid Martin, who was also briefly a *familiaris*, and whom 'Falcandus' specifically accused of being a secret Muslim who harboured anti-Christian sentiments.⁹⁶ (Whether or not this was true is another matter.) These Arabic officials thus continued to fulfil an important role in the royal administration throughout the reign of William II.

However, the key feature about these officials was that they were at least nominally Christian. Their religious loyalties may well have been complex. That some may have been Muslims at heart is suggested not just by both 'Falcandus' and Ibn Jubayr, but also by the evidence of their *alāmas* or signature mottos, which drew on the Qurān. Yet in 1186 the bishop of Patti could describe the influential Caid Richard, one of the officials whose *alāma* had Qurānic overtones, as 'a brother of our church', and he added, 'we especially follow his guidance in all the affairs of this church'.⁹⁷ So Richard was clearly outwardly a Christian. In what language he and those like him may have heard the liturgy is, though, a good question; from a surviving trilingual Psalter written in Palermo during the reign of King Roger we know that the offices were celebrated there in Arabic, and it is

⁹³ *Falcandus*, 25, 95–100 (*Tyrants*, 78, 144–8). *Falcandus*, 29, said expressly that the queen had summoned Gilbert from Spain, but for his descent from the Counts of Perche, see *Tyrants*, 159 n. Johns, *Arabic Administration*, 249–50, suggests that many of these officials genuinely were eunuchs, but notes that those who were are likely to have been captives or imported slaves, not native Sicilian Arabs.

⁹⁴ Ibn Khaldun, in M. Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula* (2 vols., Turin 1880), ii.187, 205.

⁹⁵ *Necrologio di S. Matteo*, 20.

⁹⁶ Takayama, *Administration*, 126–8, 135–7; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, 228–34. *Falcandus*, 79–80 (*Tyrants*, 129–31).

⁹⁷ White, *Latin Monasticism*, 278–9 no. 36; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, 234, 251–2. My translation is slightly different from that of Johns.

possible that this manuscript was connected with the court.⁹⁸ However, the continued importance of these Arabic officials as expert and multilingual administrators, 'technocrats' who might well have been very hard to replace, does not invalidate the discernible trend towards Latinisation during the later twelfth century. This was apparent even in the royal administration. Thus after the death of Caid Martin his replacement as master chamberlain and supervisor of the office of land registration was a Latin Christian, Geoffrey of Modica.⁹⁹ It may also not be coincidental that whereas most Arabic documents such as the *ġarīda* that listed serfs were accompanied by a Greek translation, one of the last such documents to survive, that describing the Monreale lands in 1182, was translated into Latin.¹⁰⁰ And while Peter of Eboli may have shown the Latin, Greek and Arabic notaries of the court in one of the illustrations to his poem in praise of Henry VI, in fact 92 per cent of the surviving chancery documents from the reign of William II are in Latin. While the survival rate of Greek, and especially Arabic documents (many of which were written on paper rather than the more durable parchment), may well have been lower than that of Latin ones, the contrast with the time of King Roger is striking.¹⁰¹ The decline was proportionally more noticeable with regard to Greek documents than Arabic, the numbers of which, at least surviving, were never that numerous, although we should remember that the Sicilian land registers (most of which have been lost) continued to be kept in Arabic. But the growing predominance of Latin ministers and subordinate officials marked an irreversible change, not least because whereas Greek and Arabic administrators invariably knew Latin, Latin Christians who knew Greek or Arabic were few, and the extent of such knowledge may even then have been sketchy.¹⁰²

While the Greek Christian rite contracted during the 'Norman' period, it did so only to a limited extent. If Greek bishops remained only in those areas that were overwhelmingly Graecophone, then they were still solidly entrenched there, and most such sees remained in the charge of bishops of the Greek rite for a long time to come. While Greek monasticism was contracting, this was due more to the inherent instability of the genre than

⁹⁸ Houben, 'Religious toleration', 327–8.

⁹⁹ Takayama, *Administration*, 128. ¹⁰⁰ Johns, *Arabic Administration*, 186–92.

¹⁰¹ H. Enzensberger, 'Le cancellerie normanne: materiali per la storia della Sicilia musulmana', in *Del nuovo sulla Sicilia musulmana* (Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Fondazione Leone Caetani 26: Rome 1995), 51–67, especially 58.

¹⁰² Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, 111–13.

to any hostility either from the Crown, which remained supportive, or the Latin episcopate. Indeed, many Greek monasteries remained until the fifteenth century, and a few even later. Several of the leading Greek houses such as Carbone or the Patiron near Rossano flourished during the twelfth century. And if the Greeks were no longer in the majority among the Christians on the island of Sicily, they remained a significant presence. However, by 1189 the outlook for the Sicilian Muslims was much bleaker. The author of the 'Letter to Peter' (written perhaps in 1190, or more probably in 1194) called upon all Sicilians, including the Muslims, to unite to defend their homeland from the German invaders – a call that is all the more surprising if the author was, as is usually assumed, also that of the History of 'Hugo Falcandus', whose attitude towards both Muslims and the Christian converts at court was so jaundiced. But, as he himself noted in the 'Letter': 'it would be difficult for the Christian population not to oppress the Muslims in a crisis as great as this, with fear of the king removed.'¹⁰³ By the late twelfth century it was the king who stood between the Muslims of Sicily and a growing Latin Christian population that was also growing in intolerance. The Arabs of Sicily remained useful to the monarch, not least as a source of loyal soldiers, and as the cultivators who maintained the prosperity of western Sicily. But when the long-standing revolt after 1189 meant that they abandoned that latter role, Frederick II was quite prepared to resort to large-scale 'ethnic cleansing', deporting many of the Sicilian Muslims to his military and agricultural colony at Lucera in the Capitanata, and clearing the way for the repopulation of the west and centre of the island by Latin Christian immigrants.¹⁰⁴ That the Latin sees of Monreale and Agrigento had suffered severely during the revolt may perhaps have been a contributory factor in his decision. The emperor might indeed proclaim, in the *Liber Augustalis*, that non-Christians, 'Jews or Saracens' should not be harassed as they went about their business. But his primary concern here was probably the maintenance of law and order, and not harming productive servants of the crown, perhaps even 'not so much disapproval of persecution as disapproval of violent persecution'.¹⁰⁵ Like his Norman predecessors, his view of the non-Christians of his dominions was essentially practical, not tolerance for its

¹⁰³ Falcandus, 173 (*Tyrants*, 255).

¹⁰⁴ D.S.H. Abulafia, 'The end of Muslim Sicily', in *Muslims under Latin Rule 1100–1300*, ed. J.M. Powell (Princeton 1990), 103–33; J.A. Taylor, 'Lucera Saracenorum; a Muslim colony in medieval Christian Europe', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 43 (1999), 110–25.

¹⁰⁵ *Liber Augustalis*, I.28, in *Konstitution Friedrichs*, 182. Quote from D.S.H. Abulafia, 'The Italian Other: Greeks, Muslims and Jews', in his *Italy in the Central Middle Ages* (Oxford 2004), 226–7.

own sake. And as the kingdom of Sicily became more 'Latin', many of his subjects did not share even that limited ideal.

Thus by the mid-1240s, when a second wave of deportations to the mainland took place, the Muslims of Sicily had been dispersed, and if Arabic-speaking Jews and Christians remained, they were comparatively small minorities. By the same time the Greek community was in retreat, back to its heartlands in the interior of the Val Demone in Sicily – the region which had remained Greek under Muslim rule, and on the mainland in the mountains of Sila and Aspromonte in Calabria, and the Terra d'Otranto – those regions that had remained under Byzantine rule even at the height of the Lombard expansion in the eighth and early ninth centuries. There the Greek communities were to remain for centuries, though shrinking slowly, little by little. By the 1240s the victory of the Latin Church had already been won. It was not necessarily one that the rulers, or even Latin churchmen, had consciously sought, certainly before the end of the Norman dynasty in 1194. But by the early thirteenth century that victory had nonetheless been achieved.

Conclusion

Between the 1050s, when the Normans began to colonise southern Italy in earnest, and the death of the Empress Constance in 1198, the Latin Church in southern Italy was transformed. At the most obvious level, the conquest of Sicily had led to the re-Christianisation of the island and to the introduction of the Latin Church there. If the former process was not as yet complete by 1198, it was nevertheless already well advanced. The Greek churches of the former Byzantine provinces, and on Sicily, still existed, but as part of an ecclesiastical hierarchy subject to the pope at Rome. Furthermore the Latin episcopate and Latin rite were making inroads into formerly Greek territory, although in 1200 the Graecophone area was still substantial and its religious rite was to last for centuries to come.

Just as, if not more, striking a transformation had, however, affected the Latin Church itself. The confused, inchoate, institution of 1050 had been reorganised: a system of ecclesiastical provinces that had still been in its infancy in the early eleventh century, and confined to the Lombard principalities, had been extended over the whole region, new bishoprics had been founded, and the hierarchy of the secular Church brought under the supervision of the papal Curia. During the twelfth century individual dioceses became more structured, networks of subordinate churches and a type of parochial structure developed, albeit slowly. In the Lombard principalities bishops had possessed a more or less exclusively sacramental role, now they supervised their clergy and governed their dioceses – although given the small size of many of these we must always be aware of the limitations of such activities, and sadly of the evidence that reveals them. Monasticism, equally disorganised and sporadically distributed, had been regularised under the Benedictine rule, and had spread to all areas. In the wake of the Norman conquest, there had been many new foundations, and the congregations of leading Benedictine abbeys like Montecassino and Holy Trinity, Cava, had absorbed many lesser houses, and spread their customs over wide areas of the peninsula. Other monasteries, notably those

founded by Robert Guiscard and his brother Roger in Calabria, had had a similar impact on a more localised level – in the case of these Calabrian houses especially by taking over former Greek monasteries, although this did not automatically lead to the cessation of the Greek observance. However, the impact of the ‘new monasticism’ of northern Europe had been limited, at least up until the last years of the twelfth century. The Cistercians were only just beginning to become a significant presence in the Mezzogiorno. Their great days were to be after 1200, although their role during the thirteenth century in taking over even some famous and relatively influential existing abbeys suggests that all was not necessarily well with traditional Benedictine monasticism. Indeed, a number of prominent houses such as Venosa and St Benedict, Conversano, were already in difficulty during the later twelfth century.

The Norman conquerors had had an undoubted, yet on the whole relatively limited, impact upon the south Italian Church. To say that may seem perverse, given the conquest of Sicily. Yet on the mainland Norman or French prelates were always in an overall minority, even if they might be found clustered in certain areas such as the principality of Capua. Even there, they never enjoyed a monopoly. There were Norman monastic foundations, some of which prospered greatly, like Venosa, Mileto and St Lawrence, Aversa. But in fact the greatest profiteers from the Norman conquest were existing houses like Montecassino and Cava, which remained, so far as we can tell, largely recruited from and directed by members of the indigenous population. The reason for this was obvious – the settlers from north of the Alps were never that numerous. While many of the existing aristocracy were displaced, or lost most of their property and status, the Norman/French newcomers never monopolised the top ranks of society. Some indigenous families prospered, natives and newcomers intermarried, and the distinction between ‘Norman’ and ‘Lombard’ became increasingly irrelevant from the early twelfth century onwards. Because of the difference in language and culture, the Greeks remained a distinct element, but they too were more than a subject people. French nobles patronised Greek churches, and Greeks played an important role in the comital, and later royal, administration of Sicily. King Roger’s reign also saw a significant role played by Arabic administrators, albeit at least nominally Christian ones.

Some contemporaries, like John of Salisbury, criticised the Sicilian rulers for their overbearing policy towards the Church, but as we have seen such complaints were largely misplaced. For all the superficial orientalised of their court, the kings of Sicily were conventionally pious

Christians, and their imposition of effective government on the mainland undoubtedly benefited the Church, above all by the creation of an effective system of justice to which churchmen could have recourse. The rulers were also generous to their own foundations, albeit for reasons of prestige as well as piety, although after 1130 their benefactions to churches on the mainland were limited. They may well have considered that the leading churches were already sufficiently well endowed, even though many mainland bishoprics were in fact relatively poor. To some extent grants of tithes of royal income from towns or dioceses compensated for the lack of landed benefactions, although only a minority of sees received these gifts. Yet given the extraordinary proliferation of bishoprics on the mainland during the eleventh century, such inequalities of wealth were inevitable.

The papacy during the age of the Gregorian reform and thereafter also loomed larger over the south Italian Church than it had during the early Middle Ages. This was particularly the case since from 1059 onwards the rulers were papal vassals. However, the relationship was essentially one of alliance rather than dependence. But while the south Italian rulers were sometimes remarkably impervious to papal direction, not least the great conqueror Robert Guiscard, they were for the most part well-disposed towards the popes, and co-operation rather than conflict was the norm. Thus Urban II and Paschal II both spent substantial parts of their pontificates in the south, and the reorganisation of the structure of the secular Church was largely the work of their pontificates. It was only in the period 1127–56 that relations between the rulers and the Curia were problematic, and even then by no means all the time, although the repercussions from the papal schism of 1130 were considerable. If Roger II profited from the schism to secure agreement to his kingship, his support of Anacletus posed problems long after the death of that unfortunate pontiff in 1138.

However, the Treaty of Benevento in 1156 marked a new era, in which the kings of Sicily and the papacy were closely allied, and as during the era of the Gregorian reform south Italian support was vital to a pope faced with a hostile German emperor. When in 1198 Innocent III praised the loyalty and support that the kings of Sicily had traditionally rendered to St Peter, the hyperbole of his bull rested on a firm foundation of truth. After 1156 too the developing system of ecclesiastical justice brought some south Italian churchmen into close contact with Rome. For all the safeguards that were embodied in the Treaty of Benevento, the kings were quite prepared to accept this. On the other hand the popes were anxious not to upset the rulers by pressing their rights and claims too far, especially with regard to the operation of papal legates. And while the provisions for episcopal and

abbatial elections were renegotiated in 1192, and again in 1198, the kings had not ridden rough-shod over the Church. Elections required royal permission, and were under royal supervision, but for the most part canonical elections took place. Royal appointees were a small minority among the prelates of the south Italian Church. For all their claims to autocratic powers, the twelfth-century kings of Sicily were benevolently disposed towards the Church in their dominions.

Once again the situation changed rapidly after 1198. The combination of King Frederick's long minority, and then absence from 1212 to 1220, and the dynamic and intrusive papal government of Innocent III, meant that the balance of the relationship changed. Furthermore, the Church suffered from the absence of firm government during this period. After 1220 Frederick's position as emperor as well as king of Sicily almost inevitably brought him into conflict with the papacy, and the fall-out from this dispute wrought dire harm to the churches of the kingdom. The thirteenth century was to be a time of travail and torment for the south Italian Church. The abbot of Montecassino, for example, lamented in 1273 that 'for 26 years before our arrival' (that is during 1240–66) his abbey had been 'a den of robbers not the Temple of the Lord'.¹ Even allowing for exaggeration, it was an unhappy period. The contrast was stark. The rulers of the 'Norman' dynasty had been the Church's friends and protectors. John of Salisbury (as well as hostile German commentators) might stigmatise King Roger as a tyrant. But during his reign, and those of his son and grandson, the Church in the kingdom of Sicily enjoyed an age that in retrospect, given the problems that followed, seemed golden indeed.

¹ *Registrum Bernardi I Abbatis Casinensis*, 145 no. 364.

Appendix I
*The dioceses of the kingdom of Sicily in the later
twelfth century*

Archbishoprics in **bold**. Arranged in roughly geographical order, but it should be noted that the province of Benevento stretched from Campania into the Capitanata. Name changes in square brackets.

ABRUZZI (exempt bishoprics) Aprutium (Teramo), Chieti, Forcone, Marsia, Penne, Valva

CAMPANIA (exempt bishoprics) Fondi, Gaeta, Sora, Aversa,¹ Ravello

Province of **Capua**: Aquino, Calvi, Carinola, Caserta, Isernia and Venafrò,² Suessa Aurunca, Teano

Province of **Naples**: Acerra, Cuma, Ischia, Nola, Pozzuoli

Province of **Sorrento**: Massa Lubrense, Stabia, Vico Equense

Province of **Amalfi**: Capri, Lettere, Minori

Province of **Salerno**: Acerno, Marsico (Grumentino), Nusco, Paestum (Capaccio), Policastro, Sarno

Province of **Conza**: Bisaccia, Lacedonia, Monteverde, Muro Lucano, Sant'Angelo dei Lombardi, Satriano

Province of **Benevento**: Alife, Ariano, Ascoli, Avellino, Boiano, Bovino, Civitate, Dragonara, Fiorentino, Frigento, Guardialfiera, Larino, Limosano,³ Lesina(?),⁴ Lucera, Montecorvino, Monte Marano, Sant'Agata de'Goti, Telesse, Termoli, Tertiveri, Trevico, Volturara

APULIA (exempt bishoprics) Melfi, Monopoli, Rapolla, Troia

Province of **Siponto**: Vieste

Province of **Trani**: Andria, Bisceglie

¹ Subsequently became a suffragan of Naples in the thirteenth century.

² The two sees were combined in the twelfth century, but split in 1207.

³ See only attested 1132, subsequently suppressed.

⁴ The existence of this see in the twelfth century is uncertain. It may have been an early thirteenth-century foundation.

Province of **Bari**: Bitetto, Bitonto, Canne Conversano, Giovinazzo, Lavello, Minervino, Molfetta, Polignano, Ruvo, Salpi, *Cattaro*.⁵

Province of **Brindisi**: Ostuni

Province of **Taranto**: Castellaneta, Mottola

Province of **Otranto**: Castro, Gallipoli, Lecce, Leuca, Ugento

Province of **Acerenza**: Anglona (Tursi), Gravina, Montepeloso, Potenza, Tricarico, Venosa.

CALABRIA (exempt bishoprics) Bisignano, Mileto, **Rossano**, San Marco Argentano.

Province of **Cosenza**: Martirano

Province of **Santa Severina**: Belcastro, Cerenza, Isola Capo Rizzuto, San Leone, Strongoli, Umbriatico

Province of **Reggio**: Bova, Cassano, Catanzaro, Crotone, Gerace, Nicastro, Oppido, Squillace, Tropea

SICILY⁶

Province of **Palermo**: Agrigento, Mazara, Malta

Province of **Messina**: Cefalù, Lipari (Patti)

Province of **Monreale**: Catania, Syracuse

⁵ Diocese in Croatia, subject to Bari in papal bulls of 1151 and 1172.

⁶ The structure here is that from the creation of the archbishopric of Monreale in 1183. The province of Messina only definitively existed from 1166.

Appendix II
Incomes of selected bishoprics from mainland southern
Italy, according to the papal tax lists of 1308/10
(by metropolitan province)¹

In *unciae*. 1 *uncia* = 30 *tari*. In early fourteenth-century coinage, 1 *tari* = 2 carlini; and 1 *uncia* = c. 5 florins. Archbishoprics in **bold**; chapter where assessed in common, although such entries are rare.

| <i>See</i> | <i>Mensa Episcopalis</i> | <i>Chapter</i> |
|------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| Amalfi | 200 | |
| Lettere | 15 | |
| Minori | 50 | |
| Ravello | 60 | |
| Bari | 600 | 200 |
| Bitonto | 150 | |
| Bitetto | 40 | |
| Canne | 16 | |
| Conversano | 21 + 10 <i>tari</i> | |
| Polignano | 37 | |
| Benevento | 100 | |
| Alife | 42 | |
| Ariano | 40 | |
| Avellino | 30 | |
| Boiano | 60 | |
| Bovino | 30 | |
| Civitate | 30 | |
| Dragonara | 30 | |
| Fiorentino | 20 | |
| Frigento | 35 | |
| Larino | 45 | 15 |
| Lesina | 15 | |
| Lucera | 100 | |

¹ Sources: *Rationes Decimarum Italiae, Aprutium-Molise*, ed. P. Sella (Vatican City 1936), *Apulia-Lucania-Calabria*, ed. D. Vendola (1939), *Campania*, ed. P. Sella, M. Inguanez and L. Mattei-Cerasoli (1942).

| <i>See</i> | <i>Mensa Episcopalis</i> | <i>Chapter</i> |
|------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| Montecorvino | 16 | |
| Sant'Agata | 80 | |
| Telese | 58 | |
| Trevico | 22 | |
| Trivento | 50 | |
| Volturara | 30 | |
| Brindisi | 240 | 50 |
| Conza | 229 | |
| Nusco | 15 | |
| Satriano | 30 | |
| Capua | 1000 | |
| Aquino | 40 | 10 |
| Carinola | 60 | |
| Caserta | 100 | |
| Sessa Aurunca | 60 | |
| Teano | 100 | |
| Venafro | 50 | |
| Naples | 1000 | |
| Acerra | 40 | |
| Aversa | 200 | |
| Nola | 152 | |
| Pozzuoli | 80 | |
| Otranto | 300 | |
| Lecce | 25 | |
| Reggio Calabria | 300 ² | |
| Bova | 20 | |
| Catanzaro | 30 | |
| Cotrone | 60 | |
| Oppido | 11 | |
| Squillace | 70 | |
| Tropea | 100 | |
| Rossano | 40 | |
| Salerno | 800 | |
| Capaccio | 300 | |
| Marsico | 20 | |
| Nusco | 15 | |
| Policastro | 25 | |
| Sarno | 31 | |
| Taranto | 180 | |
| Castellaneta | 20 | |
| Mottola | 15 ³ | |

² From the 1275–6 returns.

³ From the 1324 returns.

| <i>See</i> | <i>Mensa Episcopalis</i> | <i>Chapter</i> |
|--|--------------------------|----------------|
| Sees directly subject to the Roman Church | | |
| <i>Marsia</i> | | |
| Aprutium (Teramo) | 60 | 31 |
| Chieti | 120 | |
| Marsia | 60 | |
| Penne | 100 | |
| Valva (Sulmona) | 50 | 20 |
| <i>Campania</i> | | |
| Fondi | 60 | |
| Gaeta | 70 | |
| Sora | 60 | |
| <i>Apulia</i> | | |
| Melfi | 200 | |
| Monopoli | 150 | |
| Troia | 100 | 16 |
| <i>Calabria</i> | | |
| Mileto | 143 | |

Appendix III
Incomes of the bishoprics on the island of Sicily,
according to the papal tax lists of 1274/80 and
1308/10 (by metropolitan province)¹

In *unciae*. Archbishoprics in **bold**.

| <i>See</i> | <i>1274/80</i> | <i>1308/10</i> |
|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Messina | 400 | 750 |
| Cefalù | 170 | 310 |
| Patti | 150/200 | 150 |
| Monreale | 200 | 1000 |
| Catania | 300 | 770 |
| Syracuse | 50 | 80 |
| Palermo | 400 | 600 |
| Agrigento | 180/185 | 400 |
| Mazara | — | 170 |
| Malta | 20/25 | 135 |

¹ Source: *Rationes Decimarum Italiae, Sicilia*, ed. P. Sella (Studi e Testi 112: Vatican City 1944).

Appendix IV
Incomes of the principal monasteries of the
kingdom of Sicily, according to the papal
tax lists of 1308/10

In *unciae*. Monasteries are Benedictine, unless stated.

| | |
|---|------|
| Montecassino | 2000 |
| Cava | 700 |
| Montevergine | 580 |
| Holy Saviour, Messina (Greek) | 500 |
| Holy Trinity, Venosa | 400 |
| St Sophia, Benevento, | 400 |
| St Vincent on Volturno | 320 |
| S. Maria, Ferraria (Cist.) | 260 |
| St John in Lamis | 240 |
| St Lawrence, Aversa | 220 |
| Holy Trinity, Montesacro | 210 |
| Holy Spirit, Palermo (Cist.) | 200 |
| St Benedict, Salerno, | 170 |
| S. Maria, Pulsano | 137 |
| St Clement, Casauria | 130 |
| S. Maria, Calena | 130 |
| St Benedict, Capua, | 125 |
| S. Maria, Capua (nuns) | 120 |
| St Stephen <i>del Bosco</i> (Cist.) | 120 |
| S. Maria, Maniace | 105 |
| Holy Trinity, Mileto | 100 |
| Casanova and Carpineto (Cist.) ¹ | 85 |
| St Benedict, Conversano, | 74 |
| St Philip, Agira ² | 70 |
| S. Maria, Messina (nuns) | 70 |
| S. Maria, Elce | 60 |
| St John, Capua (nuns) | 60 |
| Holy Saviour, Teleso | 60 |

¹ Carpineto was taken over by the Cistercian monastery of Casanova in 1258.

² In the Norman period this was a dependency of St Mary of the Latins at Jerusalem.

| | |
|--|-----|
| St Modestus, Benevento | 50 |
| Sts Nicholas and Cataldus, Lecce | 50 |
| S. Maria della Grotta, Palermo (Greek) | 50 |
| S. Maria, Mattina | 40 |
| S. Maria, Nardo | 40 |
| St Matthew Servorum Dei, Aquino | 40 |
| St Lupus, Benevento, | 32 |
| St Victorinus, Benevento (nuns) | 32 |
| S. Maria, Benevento (nuns) | 22½ |
| St George, Salerno (nuns) | 20 |
| St John, Lecce (nuns) | 15 |

Appendix V
Cistercian abbeys in the kingdom of Sicily,
c. 1144–1220¹

| Name | Region | Date of foundation (F) or affiliation (A) to the Cistercians |
|--------------------------------|----------|---|
| S. Maria, Sambucina | Calabria | c. 1144 (F), refounded after 1184 |
| S. Angelo, Prizzi | Sicily | c. 1155(?) (F), nuns from c. 1190 |
| S. Maria, Ferraria | Campania | 1174 (F) |
| S. Maria, Corazzo | Calabria | pre-1177 (A), founded 1157 |
| S. Spirito, Palermo | Sicily | 1177 (F) |
| S. Maria de Ligno | Calabria | 1188 (F), replaced derelict Greek abbey |
| S. Trinità, Refesio | Sicily | 1188/9 (A), probable; founded c. 1170 |
| S. Trinità, Palermo | Sicily | 1190/1 (F), to Teutonic Knights 1197 |
| S. Maria del Galeso | Apulia | 1190–5 (A), founded pre-1169 |
| S. Stefano del Bosco | Calabria | 1192 (A), founded c. 1120 |
| S. Maria, Roccamadore | Sicily | 1194 (F) |
| S. Maria <i>de Nobaria</i> | Sicily | 1195 (F) |
| S. Maria, Aquaformosa | Sicily | 1195 (F) |
| S. Maria, Casanova | Abruzzi | 1197 (F) |
| S. Maria, Arabona | Abruzzi | 1197 (F) |
| S. Maria Sagittario | Lucania | c. 1200/2 (A), founded c. 1152 |
| S. Angelo del Frigillo | Calabria | 1202 (F) |
| S. Maria Vallis Luceda | Campania | 1208 (F), cell of Ferraria, abbey 1220 |
| S. Maria della Carità | Apulia | 1211 (F) |
| S. Pietro, Amalfi | Campania | 1214 (A), founded 1212 for canons |
| S. Maria Incoronata, Foggia | Apulia | 1218 (A), (re?)founded c. 1140 |
| S. Spirito, Gulfiano | Apulia | 1218 (F) |
| S. Maria, Ripalta | Apulia | pre-1219 (F) |
| S. Maria, Roccadia | Sicily | pre-1220 (F) |
| S. Maria <i>de Arcu</i> , Noto | Sicily | pre-1220 (F) |

¹ Sources: *Monasticon Italiae*, iii. *Puglia e Basilicata* (Cesena 1986); *I Cistercensi nel Mezzogiorno medievale*, ed. H. Houben and B. Vetere (Lecce 1994). An older study by H.-W. Klewitz, 'Die Anfänge der Cistercienserordens im normannisch-sizilischen Königreich', in his *Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters* (Aalen 1971), 405–20 (first published 1934), has been superseded, and should be used with care.

Appendix VI

The succession of the archbishops of Capua during the reign of King Roger, 1130–54

The succession to this important see during the reign of Roger II had significant repercussions for both royal and papal policy towards the Church, but unfortunately it appears to be both particularly complex, and poorly documented. Insofar as this is possible, this note will attempt to clarify the situation.

Archbishop Hugh (I) is attested in February 1130, consenting to a property exchange involving one of the city churches, and again in November of that year, when Anacletus II revoked an earlier bull making the nunnery of St John the Baptist subject to the archbishop, which he claimed the latter had persuaded him to grant *fraudulenter*. (This nunnery had in fact long been subject to Montecassino.)¹ Which, therefore, leaves it unclear whether Hugh had recognised Anacletus as pope.

The next reference we have to an incumbent of this see comes in 1135, when Alexander of Telesse described how a delegation of the clergy and laity of Capua, with King Roger's advice, elected a cleric called William, 'a man well endowed with both Divine and secular knowledge', to the archbishopric, adding that his predecessor had been deposed for simony. A plausible reconstruction of the chronology of Alexander's account suggests that this took place at the very end of August 1135.² Alexander did not, however, name this predecessor of William who had been deposed, which leaves it unclear whether this was Hugh (I) or some unknown successor. Two years later, according to the chronicle attributed to Romuald of Salerno, William 'of Ravenna', still archbishop-elect of Capua, was elected as archbishop of Salerno. This testimony surely ought to be reliable, for Romuald, if he himself wrote this part of the chronicle, was writing of his immediate predecessor as archbishop.³ The

¹ *Pergamene di Capua*, i. 63–5 no. 25; Pflugk-Harttung, *Acta*, ii.331 no. 372.

² *Al. Tel.* III.31, pp. 76–7; cf. the commentary by D. R. Clementi, in *ibid.*, 263.

³ *Romuald*, 225; though not expressly dated, the mention of this immediately follows the account of the negotiations to end the papal schism that took place at Salerno in the autumn of 1137.

first documentary record of William as archbishop of Salerno comes only in February 1140, by which time he was described as 'archbishop', and not 'elect', and had therefore been consecrated.⁴ By this time there was a new archbishop-elect of Capua, Henry, who was one of the witnesses to the foundation charter of the Palatine chapel in Palermo on 28 April 1140.⁵ Unfortunately there is no other reference to him.

Matters, however, are complicated by John of Salisbury who, in his *Historia Pontificalis*, discussed clerics who had been unfrocked, or had abandoned their callings, and had then contracted marriages. As an example, he cited a former archbishop of Capua, who had been consecrated by Peter Leone (Anacletus), later deposed by Innocent II, and who had settled in Rome, where he practised medicine and married.⁶ John did not name this archbishop, but a letter from Conrad III of Germany to Pope Eugenius III in 1150 calls him Peter – this letter makes clear that this was the same man, for it refers to his great knowledge of medicine, and that Pope Innocent had granted him a church in Rome.⁷ The problem here is whether this Archbishop Peter was the prelate deposed c. 1134/5 or earlier, whom Alexander of Telesse claimed had been deposed for simony, or whether he had been installed at Capua after William, in 1137. In the former case, Alexander would have had to be deliberately obscuring the issue – which is not impossible given that he never mentioned the schism or either of the rival popes at all. In this case the deposition of Peter must have occurred while Prince Robert II and his allies were still in control of the principality of Capua, and in rebellion against the king, in alliance with Pope Innocent, probably therefore before June/July 1134, when the principality submitted to King Roger, or perhaps in April/May 1135 when Robert briefly recovered his principality at the head of a renewed rebellion against the king. This reconstruction is more probable than that Peter had been consecrated by Anacletus in the autumn of 1137 or early in 1138, for Anacletus was by then confined to Rome (where he died in February 1138), and given the disturbed conditions of the time the journey there would have been very hazardous. Furthermore, it must have been obvious that he had by then lost the schism – so why would an archbishop-elect have wished to risk consecration by him, knowing that he would inevitably face the wrath of the victorious party? One can suggest therefore that Peter

⁴ Salerno, Archivio diocesano, Mensa archiepiscopalis, *Arca* I no. 45.

⁵ *Roger II Diplomata*, 133–8 no. 48, at 138. ⁶ *Historia Pontificalis*, 8–9.

⁷ 'Wibaldi abbatis epistolae', no. 236, in *Monumenta Corbeiensia* (Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum 1), ed. P. Jaffé (Berlin 1864), 355.

was consecrated by Anacletus as archbishop of Capua at some stage in the early 1130s, presumably after the death of Hugh I.

The fortunes of the archbishopric in the early 1140s are equally obscure, although it appears that the see was once again vacant c. 1145. It was then, according to a passage in one of the continuations of the *Chronicle of Sigebert of Gembloux*, that Geoffrey, former Bishop of Dol in Brittany, abandoned his see, 'not daring to return there', and fled to Roger of Sicily, who appointed him archbishop of Capua. R. L. Poole suggested that the author of this story was in fact John of Salisbury, for the manuscript, from the abbey of Fleury, which contains this continuation of Sigebert's chronicle also contains the unique copy of the *Historia Pontificalis*.⁸ Whether or not John was the author of this passage, the truth of the story is attested by a later letter of Innocent III, written to Archbishop Bartholomew of Tours in 1199, which gave a long account of the attempts by successive bishops of Dol to obtain metropolitan status for their see, going back to the ninth century, and which concluded with a reaffirmation that this was not permitted, and that Dol was simply a suffragan bishopric of the province of Tours.⁹ Innocent recalled that his predecessor Lucius II had also pronounced against the pretensions of the bishop of Dol, although he had allowed its bishop, Geoffrey, to continue to use the *pallium* while he presided over that church. The key passage for our purpose now follows:

Since this same Geoffrey also aspired to the metropolitan see of Capua, he is said to have colluded along the way with the archbishop of Tours, nor did he defend the cause of the church of Dol well. He abandoned his church both in body and in soul, for immediately after this sentence he passed over to the church of Capua.¹⁰

Lucius's sentence was contained in a letter written to Archbishop Hugh of Tours on 15 May 1144, backed up by two others, one sent on the same day to the bishops of Brieuç and Tréguier, absolving them from the obedience they had earlier promised to the church of Dol, and the other, sent three days later, to the count of Brittany and the barons of the three bishoprics, informing them of his decision.¹¹ It would appear therefore that Geoffrey must indeed have become archbishop of Capua c. 1145.

He cannot, however, have held the see for very long, since by 1150 Hugh (II) was archbishop. Shortly after the agreement between King Roger and

⁸ MGH SS vi.388–9; cf. *Iohannes Saresberiensis Historia Pontificalis quae supersunt*, ed. R. L. Poole (Oxford 1927), 98.

⁹ *Register Innocenz' III. 2 Pontifikatsjahr 1199/1200*, 150–70 no. 79.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 156–7. ¹¹ MPL 179, cols. 875–7, 879–80, nos. 40–1, 43.

Eugenius III at Ceprano, the pope translated him to the archbishopric of Palermo.¹² His successor, Alfano, was first attested in February 1153, and ruled the see until shortly after March 1180. His activities are reasonably well attested, unlike those of his two predecessors, neither of whom left any charters, or were even mentioned in charters.¹³

¹² *Historia Pontificalis*, ed. Chibnall, 67.

¹³ An unpublished charter referred to by Kamp, 'Der unteritalienische Episkopat', 127 n. 110; *Pergamene normanne della Mater Ecclesia capuana*, 152–7 no. 20. The only original charter issued by Alfano is *Pergamene di Capua*, i.84–6 no. 35 (April 1168), but there are a number of references to him in papal sources.

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